

**REEL NUMBER**

5





**THE HICOG SURVEYS**

**Volume VII**

**Reports 171 - 186**

Volume VII

171. How Do Germans Feel about an American Informational Operation in West Germany? (11 February 1953)	4619
172. Note on Year-End Trends in West German Attitudes toward the United Nations (14 February 1953)	4649
173. Some Early West German Reactions to the New American Administration (24 February 1953)	4661
174. The American Soldier as Appraised by the West German People: A Continuing Study of Civilian-Troop Relations (5 March 1953)	4681
175. A German Audience Evaluation of the Film <u>Without Fear</u> (20 March 1953)	4807
176. Green Week Visitors Appraise the Marshall House Exhibit "Agriculture in the Free World" (27 March 1953)	4827
177. Current Appraisal of West Berlin Morale, with Reactions to the Refugee Influx (20 April 1953)	4845
177S. West German Public Opinion in the Wake of Stalin's Death and the Soviet "Peace Offensive" (30 April 1953)	4927
178. German Impact and Evaluations of President Eisenhower's Foreign Policy Address (14 May 1953)	4959
179. Current West German Political Trends and Projected Reactions to Possible Russian Proposals (15 June 1953)	4982
180. German Political Trends Following Recent Soviet Concessions and Subsequent East Zone Riots (6 July 1953)	5009
181. The America House Evaluated: A Study of the Effectiveness of the U.S. Information Centers in West Germany (17 July 1953)	5050
182. The Current Standing of RIAS among West Berlin Radio Listeners: I. Reactions and Evaluations (31 July 1953)	5182
183. Some Clues to the Effectiveness of a Productivity Film Program among German Factory Workers (14 August 1953)	5212
183S. German Thinking on a Four-Power Conference (24 August 1953)	5248
184. West Berlin Subscribers Appraise the <u>Neue Zeitung</u> (27 August 1953)	5267
185. East Zone Views on the June Riots, Food Aid, and Current Political Issues (17 August 1953)	5325
186. Further Soundings of East German Opinions on Current Political Issues (18 September 1953)	5366



05050

181

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## INTRODUCTION

Since the inception of the American program in Germany, the U.S. Information Centers - designated America Houses in West Germany - with their free access to books, periodicals, documentary films, etc. have been one of the cornerstones of the American effort to inform the German people about Western democratic values in general and American aims and policies in particular.

Earlier studies by the Evaluation Staff (formerly Reactions Analysis Staff), Office of Public Affairs, based on general population sampling have indicated widespread awareness and predominantly favorable reactions to the Information Centers. But in the present period of stock-taking, it is desirable to subject to more intensive and searching scrutiny the status and the probable impact of such a large investment of American Public Affairs' effort in Germany.

For these reasons the Evaluation Staff has in the past few month conducted two surveys - in one the sample was based on the areas of convenient access to America Houses; in the other on visitors to certain selected America Houses.\* Together they provide an extensive body of data which go far toward filling in a detailed picture of the part America Houses play in presenting Western and American values and viewpoints in Germany.

The findings answer such significant queries as:

- How large is the audience?
- How frequently do they come?
- Who are in the audience?
- What about audience renewal?
- Is much audience expansion possible or desirable?
- How much audience participation is there?
- How do visitors appraise the Centers?

And finally evidence is brought to bear on the most important question of all:

What is the probable impact of the America House program in West Germany?

\* See Appendix I for a detailed description of the rationale and design of these two samplings.

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## SUMMARY OF THE REPORT

## I. Attendance at the America Houses

## HOW LARGE IS THE CURRENT AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE?

The past year's audience in the America House service areas totals to approximately one million people. Responses to a series of questions yield the finding that 15 per cent of the people living in the areas conveniently accessible to the Information Centers report having visited a Center once or more during the past year. Projection of this 15 per cent against the service area population (15 years and older) of approximately 6,830,000 makes the count 1,025,000. This count is exclusive of children and of what might be termed secondary audience - people who because of their geographic removal from the 46 America Houses in West Germany are unlikely to attend often enough to partake in any intensive way of America House impact.

## HOW MANY VISITS DOES THE AUDIENCE MAKE ANNUALLY?

Piled up by the one million West Germans in the past year's service area audience, was a total of almost 14 million visits. Visiting frequencies vary markedly, with an appreciable group attending as often as once or more a week.

## SIGNIFICANCE ...

With one million visitors and 14 million visits a year - exclusive of children and attendance from without service areas - it would seem that the 40-odd America Houses are suffering no dearth of attendance. In fact it is clear in some instances that the problem is the contrary, with some criticisms voiced of overcrowded conditions.

So in attendance the America Houses score high in quantity. But what about quality? This leads to the next step in evaluation - are the Information Centers hitting their audience target?



## R E S T R I C T E D

## II. Description of the America House Audience

## WHO CONSTITUTE THE AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS?

The influential, leadership elements in the service area population are strongly represented in the America House audience, particularly within the group designated as the Frequent audience in this report. This is illustrated by the following findings:

AMONG THE UNIVERSITY TRAINED ... residing in the America House service areas, as many as six in 10 visited a Center during the past year. More important, almost half (47%) of the University trained are fairly regular visitors, a quarter are in the Frequent audience.

Other above-average educational groups are also strongly represented. Four in 10 of the service area population who have gone to the Higher schools are in the audience with three in 10 visiting quite regularly; a third of the people with secondary schooling attend, with a fifth visiting with some frequency. About a seventh (13%) of the service area population with only elementary schooling are in the audience with half of them visiting fairly often.

OVER HALF OF THE SERVICE AREAS PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE ... doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, etc. are visitors, with a fifth in the Frequent audience. Clerical workers and students also come in proportionately large numbers. Businessmen and laborers are less likely to visit the Centers.

YOUNG PEOPLE ... are heavily represented in the America House audience. For example in the total service area audience as of 1953, 44 per cent are under 30; in the Frequent audience, 51 per cent are under 30.

AS TO THE YOUTH, THE CREAM OF THE CROP ... visit the Information Centers. Taking educational attainment as an illustration, 71 per cent of the youth in the Frequent audience have had more than average education, and 44 per cent are now students. In contrast, only 22 per cent of all youth in the service area population have had more than average education, and only 8 per cent of them are now students.

PEOPLE WITH MANY CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS ARE IN THE AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE ... Bearing out the high level of the audience as to education and other characteristics is that America House visitors are people with many and varied cultural interests. In the Frequent audience, over a third patronize libraries weekly, four in 10 go to the theater about once a month, as many attend lectures with similar frequency, a quarter go to concerts. Clearly, these people do not visit the America House for lack of anything else to do.

## SIGNIFICANCE ...

The America Houses geared as they are to attracting the influential, leadership groups in West Germany clearly appear from the foregoing to be hitting the target. The Centers are of course open to all comers regardless of education, socio-economic status, age or interests, and accordingly they receive people from all walks of life. But the priority target group is the one they are largely getting: the well-educated, younger, upper socio-economic elements in West Germany. The next question is: Can the America Houses continue to draw such elements, and even improve the quality of the audience?

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R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

## III. Renewal of the America House Audience

## HOW MANY NEWCOMERS AMONG AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS?

Evidence that new blood enters the America House audience is the finding that on an average day in one of the Centers, 15 per cent of the people in attendance are there for the first time.

## WHO ARE THE NEWCOMERS?

The "first time" visitors to the America Houses tend to be young people with better than average education.

- ... Six in 10 are under 30 as compared with less than half (44%) in the present total audience and 5 in 10 of the present Frequent audience.
- ... In educational attainment, they are like the present Frequent audience, though fewer are University trained, owing probably to their relatively youthfulness. But more of them are students - 22 per cent as compared with 17 per cent in the Frequent audience and 10 per cent in the present total audience.
- ... Indications are also that the new blood in the America House audiences as represented by the "first time" visitors is markedly superior in quality to that of the "fall off" visitors. People who formerly visited Centers are older and definitely lower in education, socio-economic status, and the like.

All in all, the newcomers to the America Houses appear to be people of above-average attainment and interests, the kind who are now, or likely to become, part of the influential, opinion leading elements in West Germany.

## SIGNIFICANCE ...

The America Houses appear to be more than maintaining audience standards in the turn-over that is bound to occur in any audience. The fact that the newcomers as a group tend to have the same qualities as the present cream of America House visitors - the Frequent audience - rather than to be like the cross-section of the present total audience suggests that the future America House audience will be superior to the present.

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R E S T R I C T E D



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## IV. Audience Expansion Within the America House Service Areas

## WHAT ARE THE POSSIBILITIES OF EXPANDING THE AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE WITHIN THE SERVICE AREAS?

As already indicated, 15 per cent of the people living in the vicinity of America Houses are now patronizing them. Apparently available are also the 51 per cent of the Service area population who express an interest in visiting a Center. Thus, the America House audience could presumably be greatly increased by drawing on these "potential" visitors. But, all aside from the problem of capacity, it is to be doubted that it is desirable or possible to reach most of these people.

## WHO ARE THE SO-CALLED "POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE?

The 51 per cent who declare an interest in visiting a Center do not on analysis appear to be very promising material from the America House point of view. This is suggested by the following considerations:

EDUCATIONALLY ... their attainment is much lower than of the present audience. Seven in 10 have had only elementary schooling.

IN AGE ... they are considerably older than the present audience.

THEIR CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS ... are few. Unlike the present audience, only a handful now patronize libraries, go to theaters, concerts, lectures, etc.

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH ... is very limited among them as compared with that of the present audience. Some knowledge of English is a basic requirement for patronage of the America Houses - at least with any frequency - since many of the books and periodicals, as well as lectures are in English.

## SIGNIFICANCE ...

Most of the America House reservoir within the present service areas appears to have been tapped. (Extension of the present service areas is another question, not dealt with here.) To attract the so-called "potential" audience would seem to necessitate a change in audience objectives and policies in a direction scarcely desirable and possibly at the cost of losing the leadership elements so strongly represented in the present audience.

Constant replacement and selection of a high quality audience appears to be the future task rather than expansion for facilities already in many instances overtaxed.

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R E S T R I C T E D

## V. Audience Participation in America House Offerings

## HOW MUCH PARTICIPATION IS THERE?

Among the Frequent audience - the mainstay of the America Houses - the following proportions make use of the various offerings:\*

- ... 75% use the library (and 54% use reading rooms at least once a month)
- ... 73% attend film showings
- ... 62% attend lectures
- ... 56% attend concerts
- ... 52% attend exhibits
- ... 24% attend theater performances
- ... 11% attend English language courses
- ... 11% attend discussion groups

Most of the Frequent audience take part in several of the America House offerings. Some in fact, participate regularly in as many as six activities; the average number of offerings used by these regular patrons is about three. As would be expected, language classes and discussion groups must be limited in size which helps to explain their relatively lighter patronage.

## HOW MANY USE THE LIBRARY LENDING SERVICE?

SEVEN IN TEN ... of the Frequent audience have taken out books during the past year. Four in 10 of the total audience have done so.

THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF AMERICA HOUSE BOOKS READ ... during the past year by the Frequent audience is ten.

## WHAT KIND OF BOOKS ARE READ?

Again with reference to the Frequent audience, it is apparent that the America House libraries are used to acquire information or satisfy interests from books not easily obtained in German libraries. The three leading types of books read are: Scientific and technical books (35%), fiction, especially modern American, (28%); historical and socio-political books, dealing with the U.S. (13%).

## SIGNIFICANCE ...

The library is clearly one of the chief and most durable attractions of the America Houses in West Germany. But it would be a mistake to consider the Centers merely as libraries. Documentary film showings, lectures, concerts and exhibitions also attract very many regular as well as occasional visitors. Especially to the Frequent audience, the America Houses appear to serve as community centers.

\* Figures for the Occasional and Infrequent audience may be found in the body of the report.

R E S T R I C T E D

## R E S T R I C T E D

## VI. Audience Reactions to America House Offerings

## WHAT DO FREQUENT USERS THINK OF THE LIBRARY AND READING ROOMS?

Both offerings are very favorably received as could be expected in view of their heavy patronage. Specifically praised in the library are:

THE COMPREHENSIVE ASSORTMENT OF BOOKS... on a variety of subjects and presenting different points of view.

THE SYSTEM USED ... open book shelves and free lending service.

The wide selection of periodicals and newspapers in the reading rooms is particularly commended.

CRITICISMS ARE FEW AND SCATTERED ... with the relative lack of books and periodicals in the German language coming up with some frequency. Crowded conditions in the reading rooms also are brought up.

## WHAT DO THEY THINK OF THE OTHER OFFERINGS?

In general, reactions to all of the offerings are very favorable. This is seen in the ratings given on a scalometer ranging from plus 5 to minus 5. The overall average for all offerings is plus 3.9 - that is, fairly close to the possible top rating of plus 5. Film showings receive the highest rating of plus 4.3, discussions the lowest with plus 3.4.

## SIGNIFICANCE ...

To the extent that liking the offerings can be expected to contribute to the impact of the America Houses, the highly favorable reaction registered by the Frequent audience is noteworthy.

R E S T R I C T E D

VII. Audience Evaluation of the America Houses

WHAT IS THE AUDIENCE APPRAISAL OF THE AMERICA HOUSES?

It appears in general that the Centers are highly esteemed by the people who visit them, particularly by the Frequent audience. This is demonstrated in their responses to a variety of inquiries, indirect for the most part on the assumption that a more valid appraisal is thereby obtained.

PURPOSES OF THE AMERICA HOUSES ARE WIDELY APPROVED ... with about six in 10 maintaining that the U.S. through the Centers seeks to serve the cause of peace and international understanding. Approval of this aim is almost universal. Among other American aims as volunteered by the audience, all of which are generally approved by those advancing them, are that the U.S. seeks to inform people about America thus to further mutual understanding, or wishes to educate or indoctrinate people.

FRIENDS HAVE BEEN ADVISED TO VISIT THE CENTERS ... by eight in 10 of the people who know the Houses best, that is by members of the Frequent audience. The few who have not recommended the Centers say people they knew already attend, or are opposed in principle to recommending anything.

THE AMERICAN STORY IS HONESTLY SET FORTH ... in the Centers, according to six in 10 of the Frequent audience. The minority who feel the America Houses try to give too favorable a picture of the U.S. believe they err only slightly in this direction, rather than greatly.

SUGGESTED CRITICISMS OF THE CENTERS ARE GENERALLY REJECTED ... by the audience. To tap any reserves of adverse attitudes a number of conceivable criticisms of the kind that would be serious if widely held were advanced for consideration by the America House visitors.

All of the criticisms are rejected by majorities ranging from 72 to 84 per cent of the Frequent audience. They cover such points as the followings: America Houses stress the wealth and riches of the U.S.; they offer political propaganda under the guise of culture; they ignore the fact that German culture is older and superior to the American; they encourage young people to underrate their fatherland and ape American ways; they stress cultural matters and forget the most important political task - the East-West conflict; and they offer nothing for the "little man."

THE OPERATION AND FACILITIES ... are generally commended. The America House staff are considered competent, the hours the Centers are open are satisfactory, as are the furnishings and equipment, according to the majority of those most competent to pass judgment - the Frequent audience.

SIGNIFICANCE ...

Not only do America House visitors like the specific offerings, but their overall appraisal of the purpose, manner of presentation, management and organization of the Centers also appears to be highly favorable. So again - as in regard to audience size, volume of visitor traffic, audience composition and facilities - the America Houses have passed an important test of effectiveness. But while all these are necessary, they are not entirely sufficient conditions of effectiveness. The final test is the extent to which the America Houses foster understanding and favorable attitudes toward the United States among the German people. Findings on this point follow.

## R E S T R I C T E D

## VIII. Impact of the America Houses

Two findings suggest that the U.S. Information Centers in West Germany appear to have had a demonstrable influence among visitors in fostering good will and better understanding of the United States.

VIEWS AND IDEAS ON THE U.S. OF HALF THE FREQUENT AUDIENCE HAVE CHANGED ... according to their own statements.

Queried on four selected areas - American politics; culture; business and industry; family life and living conditions - about half of the Frequent audience declare their opinions have changed for the better in one or more of the areas as a result of their America House experiences.

More informative than the bare figures are the illustrations they give of changed views. Their comments detailed in the report, run along these lines:

"Before I visited the America House, I didn't believe democratic ideals could be realized. Now the way the America House is run - that everybody can express his opinion freely, that people can do what they please, and can move about freely - has convinced me differently."

"I learned that though American culture is not as old as ours, it's just as highly developed."

"I had underrated the Americans' talent for organization and their efficiency. I didn't use to have an accurate idea of the economic potential of America."

"I found out that a happy family life is considered important over there and that people aren't mammon-worshippers."

"CARRY-OVER IS ALSO EXTENSIVE ... with three quarters of the Frequent audience reporting that information acquired at the Centers has been of use to them in their jobs or in discussions with friends and acquaintances, or in other ways.

## SIGNIFICANCE ...

In a program as avowedly long-range as that of the America Houses, the final measure of the good will and understanding they create for the United States must await the passage of time, and is of course more conclusively based on actions than words. But the returns so far obtained would seem to go far toward demonstrating that the America Houses are achieving the kind of impact to which they aspire. It remains for future studies to focus more intensively the extent and kind of influence the America Houses exert on attitudes and views of their visitors.



## R E S T R I C T E D

## I. ATTENDANCE AT THE AMERICA HOUSES

Important opening questions in any media evaluation study are: What is the size of the audience and what is the frequency of contact? The America House surveys yield the following answers:

## ONE MILLION PAST YEAR'S AUDIENCE IN SERVICE AREAS ...

Fifteen per cent of the West Germans 15 years of age and older living in the America House service areas - that is in towns and cities conveniently accessible to America Houses - report having visited a Center during the past year. In addition, 6 per cent who did not patronize an America House during this period say they have done so previously. When the 15 per cent proportion is projected against the figure of 6,830,000, the approximate population 15 years and over in the service area, the indication emerges that in the past year the size of the America House audience was about one million people (exclusive of children).\*

It is important to understand that the above figures allude only to what might be termed primary audience - the audience which derives from the America House service areas or areas of convenient access. There is also a secondary audience emanating from such sources as attendance at the hundred-odd America House reading rooms, visits to America Houses by people who live outside the geographic areas of convenient access, and in a more marginal sense participation in extension activities such as the bookmobile and the like.

It is on the side of conservatism to assume that most of the impact of the America House program in West Germany is confined to the primary audience who both have a range of America House facilities available and are in a position to attend with some frequency. It is for this reason that the present study focused on this group. But while secondary audience effects cannot be assumed to be intensive, they may be quite extensive. This is suggested by the returns from a West Germany-wide survey containing a question on America House attendance. The indication was that the number of West Germans (18 or over) who had ever visited an America House (or reading room) over the past years was in the neighborhood of three million.

\* More precisely 1,025,000. This is the single most probable figure. All such statistical projections involve a range of possible chance variation which in the present instance is roughly 800,000 to 1,200,000 (at the 95% probability level).

## R E S T R I C T E D

Thereupon the 87 per cent claiming awareness of the existence of Information Centers were asked to specify some of the offerings. Such a so-called "confusion control" test is advisable since some respondents - because of the name America House - confuse the centers with various other U.S. establishments -- consulates, GYA centers, etc. -- or even with houses occupied by American families. Thus, only people who could meet this test - and almost a third could not - were asked the key question about attendance of the centers.

Most frequently specified in the offerings, it will be noted, are library facilities including newspapers and periodicals. Lectures and film showings are close runner-ups. A point to keep in mind here is that not all of the America Houses offer all the items - which accounts in part for the less frequent mention of some of the offerings.

"What is offered the public in the America House?"

## America House Cities

Library, newspapers, periodicals	51%
Lectures, discussions	39
Film showings, theater performances	37
Exhibitions, arts	9
Concerts, music	19
Language courses	12
Youth groups	6
Other facilities	5
Don't know	32
	210%**

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

To sum up the findings to this point:

- ... 55% in the America House cities know of the Centers and can name some of the things they offer.
- ... 32% in the areas say they have heard of the Centers but do not know what they offer.
- ... 13% have no awareness whatsoever of the America Houses.

Only the 55 per cent who had survived this careful filtering process by clearly indicating knowledge of America House offerings were queried as to patronage of the centers, with the following results:

"Have you visited the America House in the course of the past year?" (If "Yes": "Approximately how often?")  
(If "No": "Did you, perhaps, visit the America House previously?")

Have visited: (21% total - 15% in past year)

12 times or more	4%
7 to 11 times	1
4 to 6 times	3
2 to 3 times	4
Once in past year	3
Prior to past year	6

Have not visited in past year or earlier:

34  
55%

To complete the picture, all people living in the America House cities who have never visited the centers - 79 per cent of the population in those areas, 15 years of age and over - were asked if they would like to visit one. Replies of the 79 per cent divide as follows: 51 per cent say they would like to visit, and 28 per cent say they have no desire to do so. Before making this inquiry, the people who had never heard of the Information Centers were given a brief description of them:

"The America House are houses which have been established in various towns by the Americans in order to familiarize the German population with America and other countries through lectures, books, films, concerts, discussions, etc. All services of the America Houses are free of charge."

In summary then the following pattern emerges as to attendance of America Houses among the residents of the service areas:

Visiting Pattern in America House Cities

5%	Frequent Audience	(7 or more times a year)
7%	Occasional Audience	(2 to 6 times a year)
3%	Infrequent Audience	(once in past year)
6%	Past Audience	(visited prior to last year)
51%	"Potential" Audience	(non-visitors who would <u>like</u> to visit)
28%	Non-interested	(non-visitors who are <u>not</u> interested in visiting)
<u>100%</u>		

R E S T R I C T E D

## FOURTEEN MILLION VISITS IN PAST YEAR ...

Shifting attention from visitors to visits, the present findings indicate a total volume of 13,850,000 visits to America House over the past year (exclusive of children and Extension program participation.)\*

## HOW VISITS FIGURE OBTAINED ...

Since the visitors' sampling provides more detailed and reliable data on visiting frequencies than is obtainable from the service area sampling, frequency returns from the former study are used as the basis for the present calculations. The first table below gives (1) the frequency categories employed, (2) the proportion of the visitor sample indicating attendance with varying frequencies, (3) these same proportions corrected by weighting for reasons explained in Appendix I (see page II), and finally, (4) the projected numbers of visitors in America House service areas who have attended with the frequencies indicated.

	Uncorrected proportions from visi- tors' <u>sampling</u>	Corrected proportions from visi- tors' <u>sampling</u>	Projected numbers in service area popu- lation
Frequency Groups:			
Once or more a week	59%	15,6%	160,000
Two to three times per month	24	10,8	111,000
Once a month	6	6,7	69,000
Five to 11 times per year	3	5,0	51,000
Once to 4 times per year	4	21,5	220,000
Less than once a year	3	40,4	414,000
No answer	$\frac{1}{100\%}$	$\frac{-}{100,0\%}$	$\frac{-}{1,025,000}$

The table following on the next page pushes the calculations a step further to obtain the total volume figure for the year.

\* Again this is the single most probable estimate. The limits of chance variations in the present projection lie roughly between 10,8 million and 16,2 million.

R E S T R I C T E D



## R E S T R I C T E D

	Figure taken as average annual rate X	Number visitors in service area	Volume of visits
<u>Frequency Groups:</u>			
Once or more a week	52%*	160,000	8,320,000
Two to three times per month	30	111,000	3,330,000
Once a month	12	69,000	828,000
Five to 11 times per year	8	51,000	408,000
Once to 4 times per year	2.5	220,000	550,000
Less than once a year	1**	414,000	414,000
No answer	-	-	-
(Overall Average) (Number of Visits)	13.5	(Total visi- 1,025,000 tors)	(Total vol- 13,850,000 ume of visits)

\* Since no precise average could be struck for this category the 52 base value was utilized as the most conservative approximation.

\*\* For convenience and because of its relative unimportance this average was simply taken as 1.

## CONCLUSION ...

With one million visitors and 14 million visits a year it would not be surprising if the 46 America Houses are not on the average close to their practical limits of capacity. In fact, it will be seen from later comments that some of the centers are already being criticized for being too crowded.

So the America Houses must be considered as scoring close to the top in respect to audience size and audience traffic.

The focus of evaluation shifts, then, to the next important question - Are the right people coming to the centers; that is to say, are the America House hitting the target in audience composition?

R E S T R I C T E D

## II. DESCRIPTION OF THE AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE

## DO THE AMERICA HOUSES REACH TARGET GROUPS? ...

The answer to this query is Yes, judging by the results of this survey. While the U.S. Information Centers in West Germany are open to all comers regardless of socio-economic background, they are designed especially to serve people whose intellectual and cultural interests are above those of the bulk of the population - that is the kind of people who read serious books, attend lectures, concerts, participate in discussions and the like. People with such interests are not too numerous in West Germany, a country in which the great bulk of the population has only elementary schooling, but they are the influential leadership group. It is this leadership group that is America House target. And as will be seen from the graphic description of the audience presented in the following pages, the America Houses have achieved considerable success in this direction.

## AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE INCLUDES A LARGE PROPORTION OF THE UNIVERSITY TRAINED ...

The key segment of the America House target group is the well educated West German. Here, the Information Centers score high, particularly among the educational elite - the University trained. As Chart I shows, 61 per cent of West German university people residing the service areas have visited America Houses during the past year. More important, almost half of them (47%) have been fairly regular visitors, with a quarter of them being counted among frequent visitors.

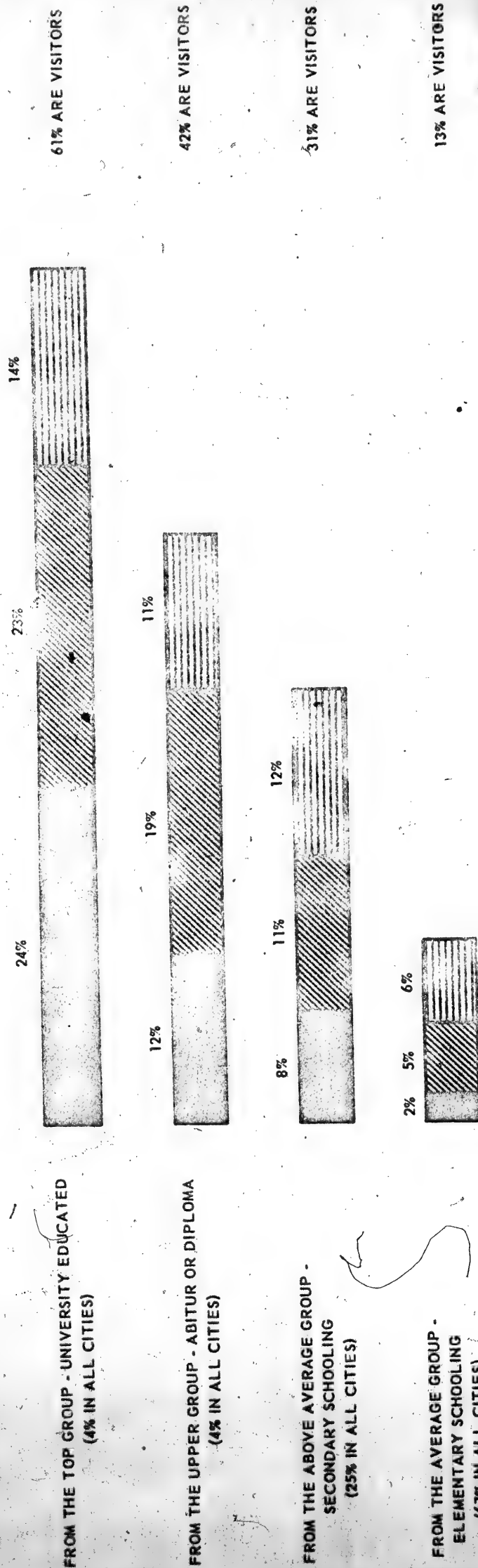
Next highest in the educational scale are those people who have completed what West Germans call Higher School (Gymnasium or technical schools) with a diploma - roughly equivalent to completion of Junior College in the U.S. educational system. Four in 10 of them are in the America House audience, with three in 10 visiting fairly often. Also in the above-average educational group are those who have had some secondary schooling. Of them almost a third are in the America House audience, with a fifth attending with some frequency. Finally, as would be expected in view of the nature of Information Centers offerings, only about a seventh (13%) of the elementary schooled are among the audience, with about half (7%) visiting with some frequency.

The second chart in this series takes the analysis of the America Houses' share of educational groups in the cities served by the Centers a step farther. It shows what proportions of men and women from each group are visitors. Of particular interest here is the finding that the America House apparently draws relatively fewer University women than men. (Chart II)

R E S T R I C T E D

CHART I

AMERICA HOUSE SHARE OF POPULATION  
IN SERVICE AREAS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL



KEY

FREQUENT AUDIENCE - 7 OR MORE TIMES DURING PAST YEAR

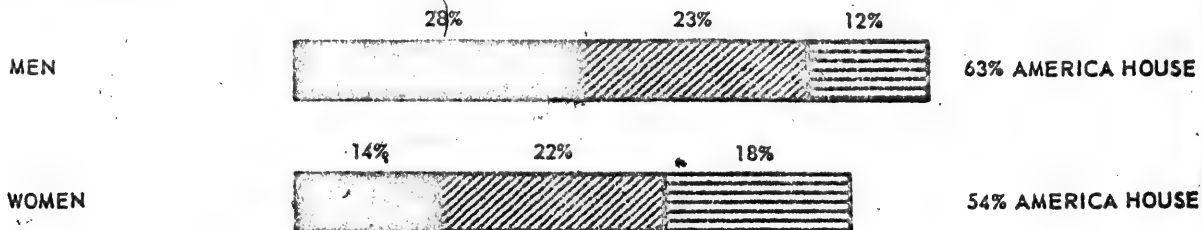
OCCASIONAL AUDIENCE - 2 - 6 TIMES DURING PAST YEAR

INFREQUENT AUDIENCE - ONCE IN PAST YEAR AND/OR PREVIOUSLY

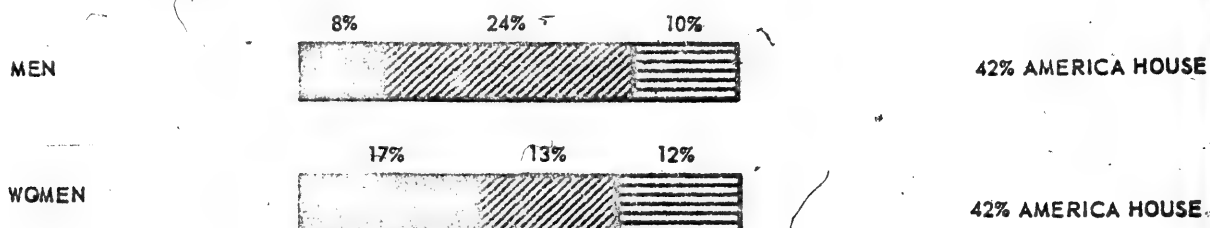
05066

# AMERICA HOUSE SHOW OF POPULATION IN SERVICE AREAS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND SEX

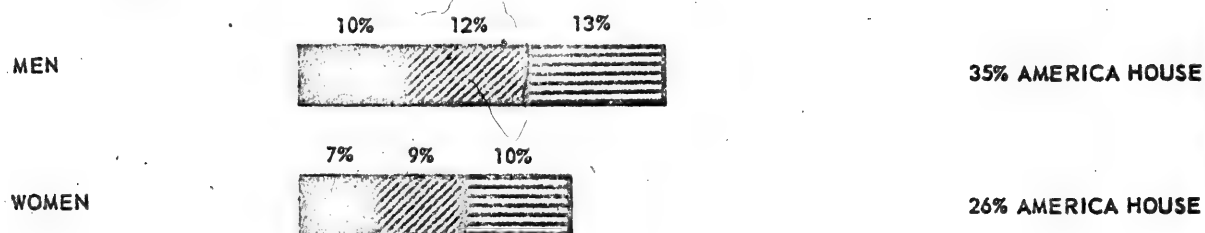
## FROM UNIVERSITY TRAINED:



## FROM THOSE WITH DIPLOMA OR ABITUR:



## FROM THOSE WITH SECONDARY EDUCATION:



## FROM THOSE WITH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLING:



HOUSE

HOUSE

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## USE

## USE

Table I

Distribution of Total Audience  
by Educational Level and Sex

Of Total America  
House Audiences:

	Men	Women
13% come from the top educational level - University trained	17%	8%
8% come from the upper educational level - Diploma or Abitur	7	9
36% come from the above average educational level - secondary schooling	32	40
43% come from the average educational level - elementary schooling	44	43
<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Table II

Distribution of Frequent Audience  
by Educational Level and Sex

Of People Visiting  
America House, 7 or  
More Times a Year:

	Men	Women
21% are university trained	30%	9%
10% have a Diploma or Abitur	5	16
41% have secondary education	37	47
<u>28%</u> have elementary education	<u>28</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



## R E S T R I C T E D

## MORE MEN THAN WOMEN ARE IN THE AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE ...

As already suggested in the tables on educational distribution of the America House audience, relatively fewer women than men are visitors - even in the highest educational division, the University trained. The following charts and tables show the proportions of both men and women who are in the America House audience. To the extent that more men than women are reached, it can be said that it is further evidence that the Information Centers reach the leadership segments in the cities served, since public leadership continues in West Germany to be largely a masculine attribute. At the same time, it would seem both feasible and possible to make additional efforts to reach more of the women, especially those in the upper educational levels. (Chart III, Tables III, IV.)

## HIGHER OCCUPATIONAL, INCOME AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS STRONGLY REPRESENTED IN THE AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE ...

Occupation, income and social status are closely related to education. Thus, as would be expected, the upper ranks in these categories, as in education, are strongly represented in the America House audiences. Especially noteworthy in this regard is that over half (55%) of professional people visit the Centers, with a fifth going frequently. (Charts IV-VI.)

As in the case of the educational groups, however, figures on distribution within the audience show that the America Houses serve large numbers of the less well-to-do and the lower socio-economic levels generally. (Tables V-X.)

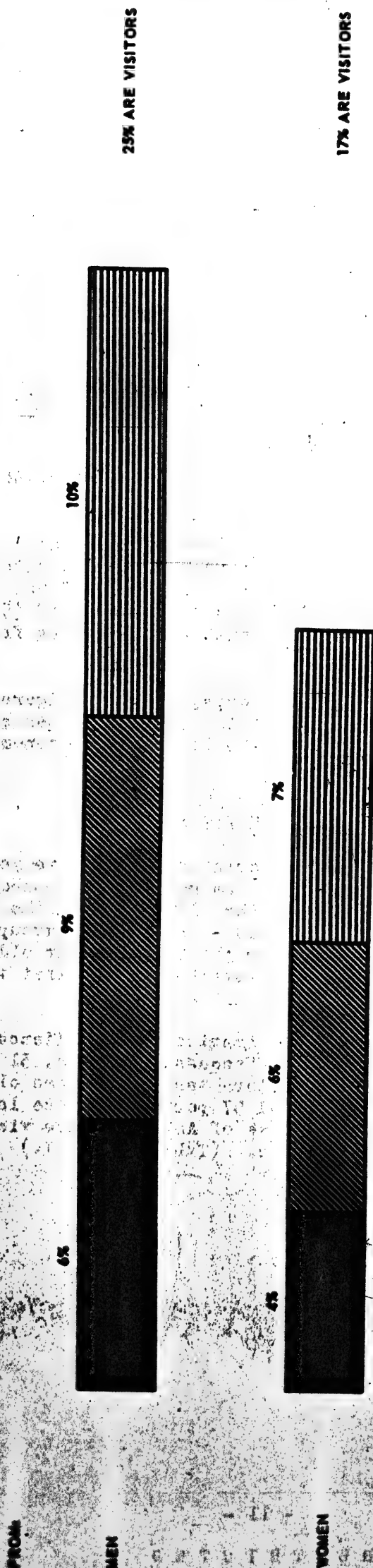
## THE AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE HAS MANY YOUNG PEOPLE ...

Another important target of the Information Centers is young people. Here also they appear to be hitting the mark. As the charts show, larger slices of the young than of the old patronize the Centers. (An inconsistency appears with the 19 - 24 year old group, relatively fewer of them than the teen-agers or the 25 - 29 year olds are in the audience. (But see page for age distribution of first time visitors.)<sup>35</sup> (Charts VII, VIII.)

As to the composition of the total America House audience, 44 per cent are under 30 years old. Among the Frequent audience, 51 per cent are under thirty. Frequent women visitors tend to be some older than the men, 44 per cent of the former, and 57 per cent of the latter are under thirty. These figures are exclusive of America House visitors under 15, who were not included in the sample. (Tables XI, XII.)

CHART III

AMERICA HOUSE SHARE OF POPULATION  
IN SERVICE AREAS BY SEX



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RESTRICTED

Table III

## Distribution of Total America House Audience by Sex

Of Total America  
House Audience:

56% are men  
44% are women

Table IV

## Distribution of Frequent America House Audience by Sex

Of People Visiting  
America House, 7 or  
More Times a Year:

57% are men  
43% are women

(In the area served by the America Houses, women constitute 55% of the population 15 years of age and older, men 45%)

RESTRICTED

CHART IV

# AMERICA HOUSE SHARE OF POPULATION IN SERVICE AREAS BY OCCUPATION

FROM OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS:



PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE



BUSINESSMEN



CLERICAL WORKERS



LABORERS



HOUSEWIVES



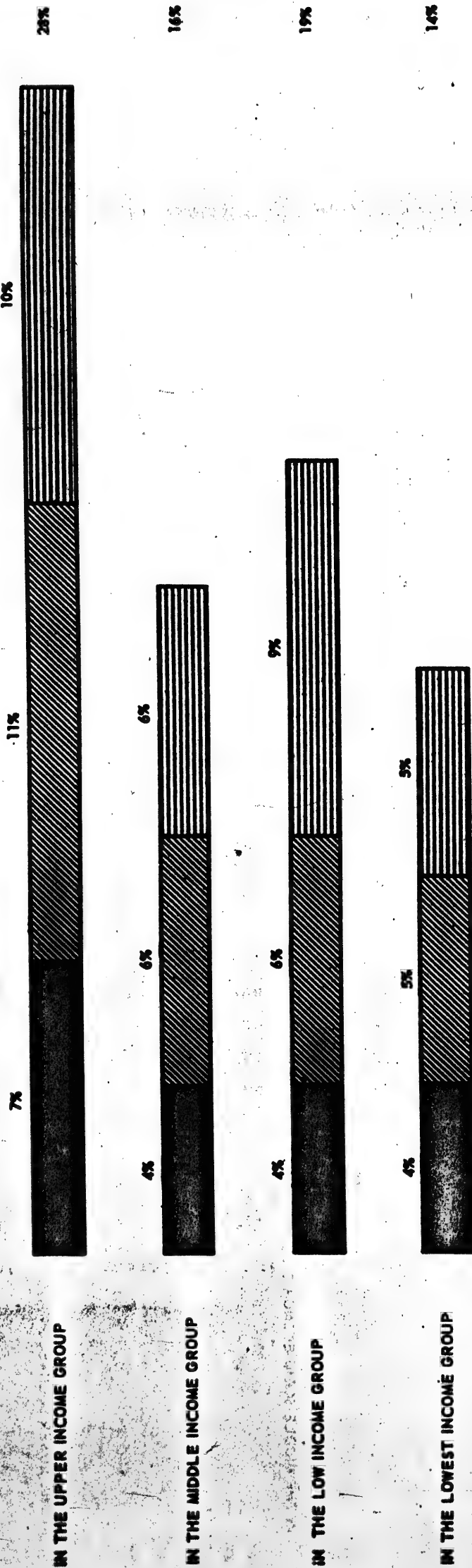
STUDENTS, RETIRED, ETC.

05073

CHART V

# AMERICA HOUSE SHARE OF POPULATION IN SERVICE AREAS BY INCOME

FROM INCOME GROUPS:



# THE AMERICA HOUSE SHARE OF SERVICE AREA POPULATION BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL

FROM WEST GERMANS:

IN THE UPPER SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELS:



IN THE MIDDLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELS:



IN THE LOWER SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELS:



## R E S T R I C T E D

Table V

## Distribution of Total America House Audience by Occupation

Of Total America  
House Audience:

13%	are professional people
8%	are businessmen
23%	are white-collar workers
19%	are laborers
13%	are housewives
17%	are students, retired, etc.
4%	are apprentices
<u>3%</u>	are unemployed
100%	

Table VI

## Distribution of Frequent America House Audience by Occupation

Of People Visiting  
America House, 7 or  
More Times a Year:

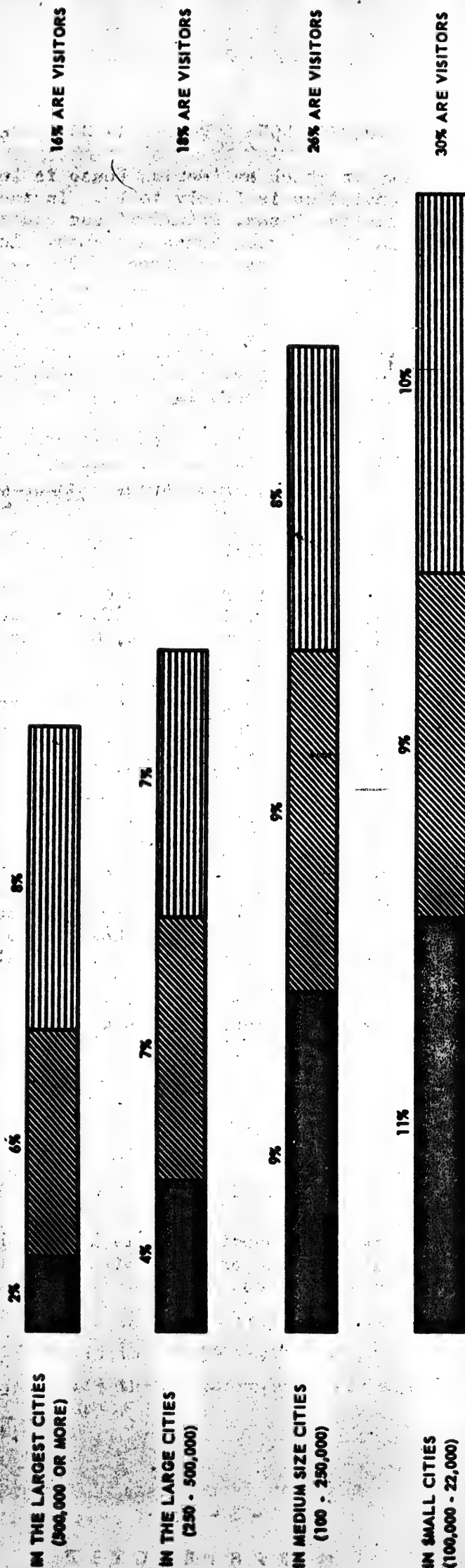
21%	are professional people
6%	are businessmen
22%	are white-collar workers
10%	are laborers
15%	are housewives
22%	are students, retired, etc.
2%	are apprentices
<u>2%</u>	are unemployed
100%	

(Occupational figures for the America House service areas are: professional, 5%; business, 8%; clerical, 19%; laborers, including skilled, semi-skilled, 26%; housewives, 23%; not employed: students, pensioners, etc. 13%; unemployed, 2%; apprentices, 3%)



CHART IX

AMERICA HOUSE SHARE OF POPULATION  
IN SERVICE AREAS BY CITY SIZE



## R E S T R I C T E D

Table XIII

## Distribution of Total America House Audience by City Size

Of Total America  
House Audience:

39% live in the largest cities  
18% live in large cities  
20% live in medium size cities  
23% live in small cities

Table XIV

## Distribution of Frequent America House Audience by City Size

Of People Visiting  
America House, 7 or  
More Times a Year:

23% live in the largest cities  
16% live in large cities  
27% live in medium size cities  
34% live in small cities

(The population distribution for the West German America House service area is: cities over 500,000, 48%; 250,000 - 499,999, 20%; 100,000 - 249,999, 16%; 99,999 and under, 16%.)

# AMERICA HOUSE SHARE OF SERVICE AREA POPULATION BY RELIGION AND CHURCH ATTENDANCE

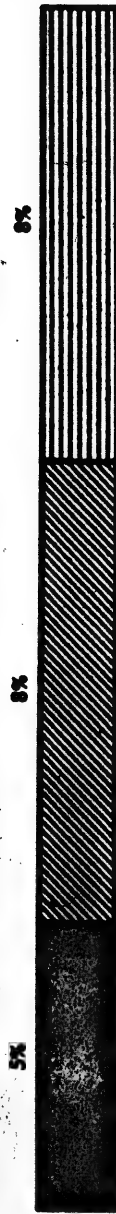
FROM WEST GERMAN

CATHOLICS



21% ARE VISITORS

PROTESTANTS



21% ARE VISITORS

OTHER FAITHS



19% ARE VISITORS

THOSE WITHOUT CHURCH AFFILIATION



18% ARE VISITORS

FROM REGULAR CHURCH GOERS  
(USUALLY IN CHURCH EACH SUNDAY)



25% ARE VISITORS

NOT REGULAR CHURCH GOERS



19% ARE VISITORS



## R E S T R I C T E D

Table XV

Distribution of Total America House Audience  
by Religious Affiliation and Church Attendance, and Sex

Of Total America House Audience:		Men	Women
34%	are Catholics	35%	33%
60%	are Protestants	57	62
2%	are of other faiths	2	3
<u>4%</u>	have no affiliation	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>
100%		100%	100%
33%	usually attend church or Sunday school every Sunday	30%	40%
<u>67%</u>	usually do other things	<u>70%</u>	<u>60%</u>
100%		100%	100%

Table XVI

Distribution of Frequent Audience by  
Religious Affiliation and Church Attendance

Of People Visiting  
America House, 7 or  
More Times a Year:

35%	are Catholics
59%	are Protestants
2%	are of other faiths
<u>4%</u>	have no affiliation
100%	
45%	usually attend church or Sunday school every Sunday
<u>55%</u>	usually do other things
100%	

(Figures for all adults in America House cities are: Catholic, 33%; Protestant, 60%; other, 3%; none, 4%. Regular church-goers, 29%.)

# AMERICA HOUSE SHARE OF POPULATION IN SERVICE AREAS BY POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE

FROM THOSE WHOSE PREFERENCE IS FOR:

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS  
(SPD)

4%

6%

7%

7% ARE VISITORS

THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS  
(CDU/CSU)

9%

9%

8%

26% ARE VISITORS

THE FREE DEMOCRATS AND GERMAN PARTY  
(FDP AND DP)

7%

11%

11%

29% ARE VISITORS

OTHER (SPLINTER) PARTIES

7%

3%

8%

18% ARE VISITORS

NONE

4%

8%

9%

21% ARE VISITORS

UNDECIDED

4%

6%

7%

17% ARE VISITORS

Table XVII

Distribution of Total America House Audience  
by Political Party Preferences

Of Total America  
House Audience:

19%	prefer SPD
20%	prefer CDU/CSU
13%	prefer FDP or DP
3%	prefer other (splinter) parties
29%	prefer none of these parties
<u>16%</u> 100%	are undecided

Table XVIII

Distribution of Frequent America House Audience  
by Political Party Preferences

Of People Visiting  
America House, 7 or  
More Times a Year:

18%	prefer SPD
27%	prefer CDU/CSU
14%	prefer FDP or DP
5%	prefer other (splinter) parties
20%	prefer none of these parties
<u>16%</u> 100%	are undecided

(Preferences as expressed by the total population over 15 years in the America House cities are: SPD, 23%; CDU/CSU, 16%; FDP/DP, 8%; others, 4%; none, 28%; undecided, 20%.)

## R E S T R I C T E D

## AMERICA HOUSES DRAW THEIR AUDIENCES FROM PEOPLE WITH ACTIVE CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS ...

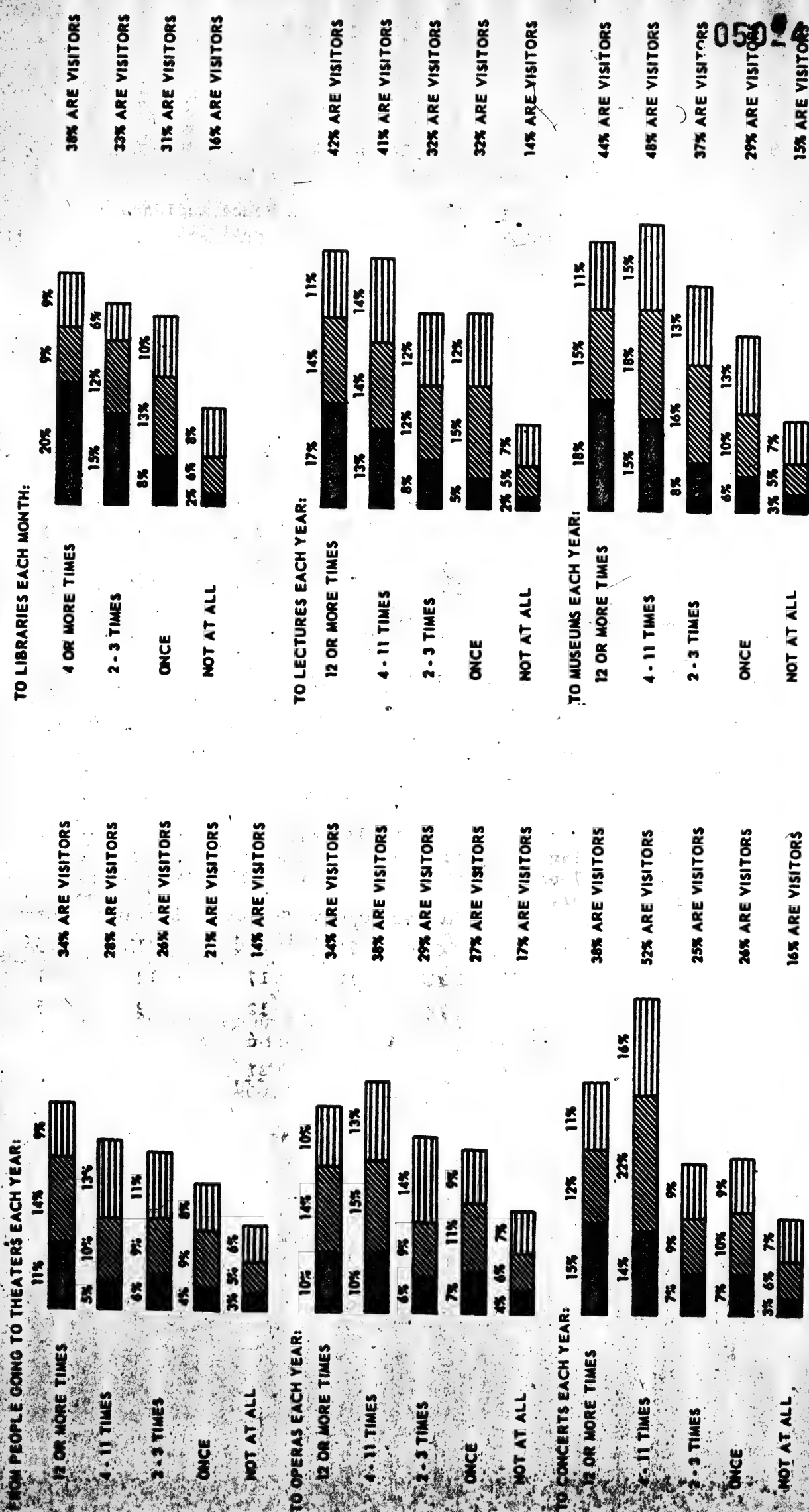
Clearly, the America House audience does not patronize the Centers for lack of any other place to go.

Bearing out the findings on the high level of the America House audience as to education and other socio-economic qualities is that America House visitors are people with many and varied cultural and intellectual interests. Regular theater and concert goers, patrons of libraries, the regular lecture audiences and so on are much more likely to visit the America Houses than are those who do not participate in such activities. (Chart XII.)

Precisely how lively the cultural and intellectual interests of the America House audience are is seen in even sharper focus when the composition of the audience is analyzed in terms of participation in such activities. This is particularly marked among the frequent America House audience. As the table reveals, over a third of them patronize libraries (other than the America House) weekly, four in 10 go to the theater about every month during the year, as many attend lectures with equal frequency, a quarter go to concerts. (Tables XIX, XX.)

CHART XII

## AMERICA HOUSE SHARE OF POPULATION IN SERVICE AREAS BY PARTICIPANTS IN VARIOUS CULTURAL ACTIVITIES





## R E S T R I C T E D

Table XIX

Distribution of Total America House Audience  
by Participation in Cultural ActivitiesOf Total America  
House Audience, These  
Go During a Year to:

	Theater	Opera	Concerts	Lectures	Museums
Regularly (12 or more times)	30%	17%	15%	26%	8%
Frequently (4-11 times)	13	10	15	11	8
Occasionally (2-3 times)	15	11	11	9	14
Seldom (once)	6	7	6	3	11
Not at all	<u>36</u> 100%	<u>55</u> 100%	<u>53</u> 100%	<u>51</u> 100%	<u>59</u> 100%

## Libraries

Regularly (4 times or more, monthly)	16%
Frequently (2-3 times)	11
Occasionally (once)	12
Not at all	<u>61</u> 100%

Table XX

Of People Visiting  
America House, 7 or  
More Times a Year, These  
Go to:

	Theater	Opera	Concerts	Lectures	Museums
Regularly	40%	21%	24%	43%	13%
Frequently	11	11	17	14	11
Occasionally	14	9	12	9	13
Seldom	5	7	6	2	9
Not at all	<u>30</u> 100%	<u>52</u> 100%	<u>41</u> 100%	<u>32</u> 100%	<u>54</u> 100%

## Libraries

Regularly (monthly)	34%
Frequently	21
Occasionally	13
Not at all	<u>32</u> 100%

### III. RENEWAL OF THE AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE

It is clear from the foregoing that the current America House audience is of generally excellent quality. This is particularly the case among frequent visitors who, as already described, are drawn heavily from the best educated, upper level, leadership elements in West Germany.

There is, of course, turnover in any audience. Former visitors drop out for a variety of reasons and new people take their places. Thus to maintain audience standards, replacements have at least to equal in quality those who have dropped out. Is there any evidence that this is occurring in the America House audience?

The answer to this question is more than Yes - not only are the Centers maintaining audience quality but apparently are improving it. The present first time visitors appear well above the average members of the America House audience and compare favorably with the best of them, that is with the frequent visitors.

Judging by the prospective renewals, therefore, the suggestion is that the present quality of the America House audience will not only be maintained but may well be raised.

#### HOW MANY ARE NEWCOMERS? ...

Initial evidence that new blood filters into the America House audience is the finding that on an average day in one of the Centers, 15 per cent of the people in attendance are there for the first time. This was ascertained in the visitors' sampling with this question:

"Is this the first time you've been here in the America House or have you been here more often?" (Probe if "first time": "Have you never before been in the America House?")\*

For first time	15%
More often	85
	<u>100%</u>

This many newcomers among America House visitors in itself speaks well for the Centers. And while all of these people may not return, many of them can be expected to do so. That these recruits will add to audience quality is apparent from the description of their characteristics.

\* It should be borne in mind that this 15% is based on visitors to the Centers, and not on the Service area population.

R E S T R I C T E D

## WHO ARE THE FIRST TIME VISITORS? ...

Of primary importance is the finding that the newcomers to the America House audience tend to be young people with better than average education. Six in ten of them are under 30 years of age, as compared with less than half (44%) of the present total audience and 51 per cent of the present Frequent audience. In educational attainment they are very similar to the Frequent audience though fewer of them are University trained, as is to be expected because of their relative youthfulness. That many of them will join the ranks of the upper educated in the future is apparent in the fact that 22 per cent of them are now in school as compared with 17 per cent of the frequent visitors and 10 per cent of the total audience. All in all as the bar charts graphically describe, the America Houses appear to be strengthening their present audience by younger blood of better quality; that is, with a relatively larger share of the potential or actual leadership elements in West Germany than is now the case.

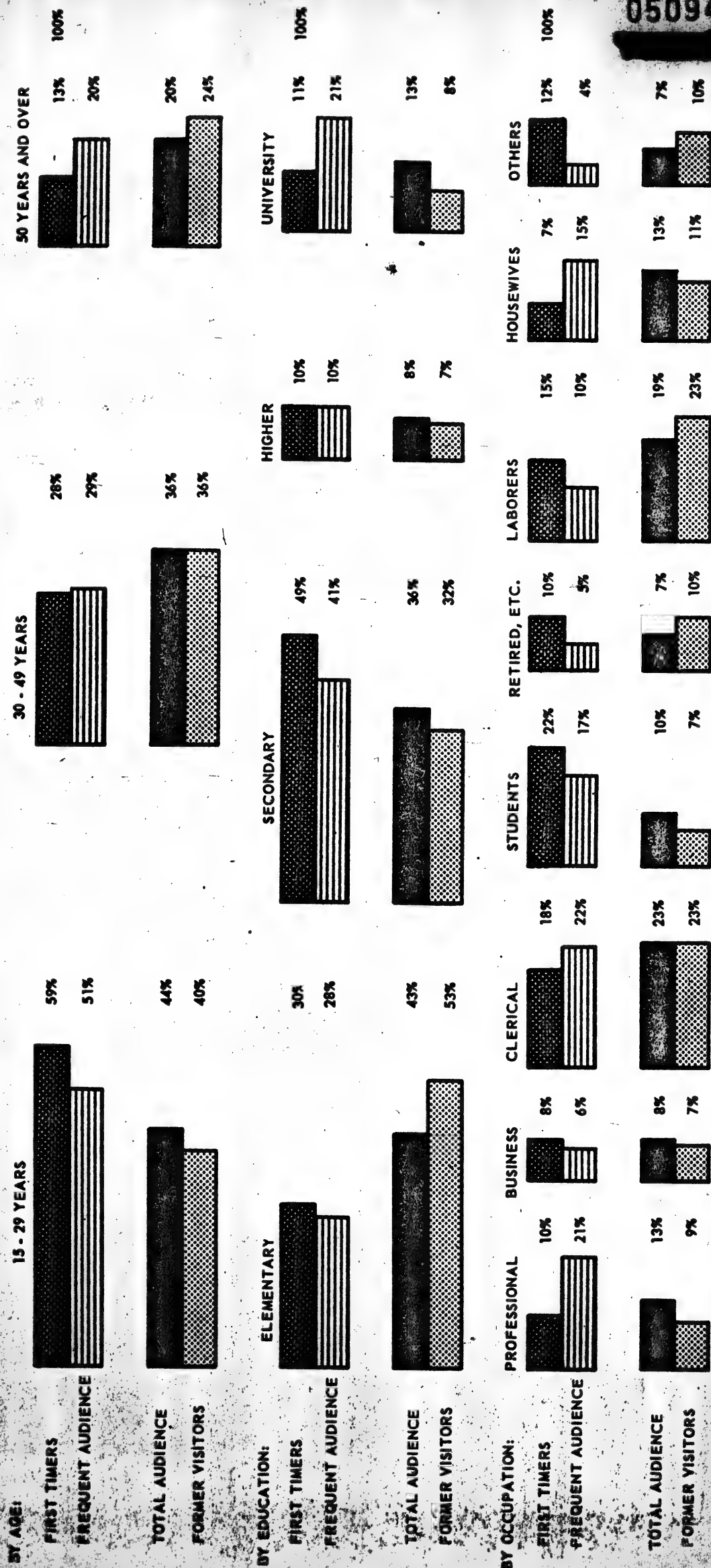
In order to picture graphically the foregoing interpretation of the probable future America House audience, the charts below present a four-way comparison: key characteristics of the "first-timers" balanced against current Frequent audience, the current total America House audience, and those who formerly visited but no longer do so, that is of those who have dropped out. It is to be noted that the latter tend to be older than the "first-timers," and considerable lower in educational and professional attainments, which lends further credence to the progressive improvement of audience quality now apparently under way.

(Chart XIII)

CHART XIII

R E S T R I C T E D

# COMPARISONS AMONG "FIRST-TIME" VISITORS, FREQUENT AUDIENCE, TOTAL AUDIENCE AND FORMER VISITORS





R E S T R I C T E D

## IV. POSSIBILITIES OF AUDIENCE EXPANSION WITHIN SERVICE AREAS

In considering any great expansion of the America House audience, a fact to be kept in mind is that the physical capacities of the Centers are already, in some instances at least, overtaxed.\*

But there are additional indications that most of the America House reservoir within present Service areas has already been tapped. The people labelled as a "potential" audience - the 51 per cent of the Service area population expressing an interest in visiting the Centers - do not appear very promising on analysis.

Aside from their verbal interest and the good will they express regarding the Centers, this 51 per cent does not appear to consist of the kind of people the America House can easily expect to attract even if they desire to do so. By education and other population characteristics, by cultural interests and every index used they tend to differ markedly from the typical America House visitor and even more so from members of the Frequent audience.

Thus, any great expansion of the America House audience - physical capacities and geographical limitations aside - would seem to necessitate a change in the audience objectives and in policies. The unreached people are largely the lesser educated, lower socio-economic groups, older people, those without much or any skill in English, and tending to be non-participants in cultural and intellectual activities - people who by and large are less desired in the America House audience. The America Houses geared as they are to a presentation of American intellectual and cultural life are already reaching just about as large a proportion of West Germans who share these interests as probably can be expected from any foreign institution of the kind.

Constant replacement and selection of a high quality audience would seem to be the future task, rather than expansion for facilities already in some instances overcrowded.

For the record, the characteristics of the so-called "potential" audience are described in the following pages. First their stated reasons for wanting to visit are presented. This is followed by charts in which comparisons are made among four groups: the frequent America House audience, the total audience, the so-called "potentials," and the non-interested.

\* This discussion is limited to Service area population, without reference to any possibility of additions to the present Service areas.

R E S T R I C T E D



R E S T R I C T E D

## MANY "POTENTIAL" VISITORS ARE CURIOUS TO SEE THE AMERICA HOUSE ...

A direct approach to assessing how "potential" the 51 per cent as yet not reached by America Houses are, is to ask them their reasons for wanting to visit. As may be seen in their comments which follow, most of these people speak in very general terms, with almost half of them frankly stating that curiosity - "to see what it is really like" - is what would lead them to go. Less than one in ten specifically refer to America House offerings as the point of attraction, though even here such qualifications as "if I had the time" enter in. On the whole, however, the reasons advanced are valid though general, and indicative of interest in American things.

"Why would you like to go to the America House?"

Out of a desire for knowledge, curiosity, for orientation, to seek entertainment:

Out of curiosity; to see what's offered there; because I've never been there, if you have a chance to see something new, you should take it; to find out what's going on there; to see for myself what services are offered there; yes, because the program offered is very varied; to find out whether everything that glitters is gold, I would notice immediately if something was done just for propaganda purposes; to learn for what purpose the America House was established; because people enjoy themselves there; because there are lots of most interesting things to occupy oneself with; etc.

23%

I'm attracted by the facilities and the program offered:

I'd go there in order to borrow books and to see films; I'd go to the library to have a look at technical publications which are useful to me in my particular field; I'm interested in exchanging ideas, I would like to discuss things with people; if I could find the time, I would like to read American periodicals; because I like to hear good lectures and music; I would be interested in lectures about public health services in the States; to hear some interesting lectures; I would be interested in seeing films about foreign countries; etc.

8

I take an interest in foreign countries, above all in America:

To learn a lot of things about foreign countries; to find out what working methods are used in the States and to learn something about American culture; because I'm interested in American politics and culture, though unfortunately I'm very pressed for time; to get a deep insight into the life in America, in the fields of government, business and research; I would like to get an accurate idea about the American way of life; because I'm interested in learning about American manners and customs, I have a brother who lives in the States; you have a chance to learn more about America than through press and radio; etc.

8

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

I want to broaden my horizon, to expand my information:

Im interested in everything that forms the mind; because it's instructive and it expands a person's information; to develop my faculties; because you can broaden your horizon through visiting the Center; because I think there is a lot to learn for me yet, I only attended elementary school and that's often a bad handicap; to improve my over-all education, to keep up with developments in the fields of economics and technical sciences; because I'm interested in the program offered there, I'm interested in politics and economics; etc.

7%

I want to learn English:

Chiefly to attend language classes; to brush up my English; I think I would like to study English; etc.

1

Because admission is free:

Because all services offered there are free; etc.

1

Other reasons:

Because the information center "Bruecke" that was operated up till now in this place, will be closed down, I found out that the Bruecke was all right; because I spent three years in the States; etc.

1

No specific reasons:

I guess I would have visited the Center if it wouldn't mean such a long trip for me; if I had more time to spare I would go there, no doubt; I have no specific reason; etc.

2

No opinion / No answer:

3  
54%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR NOT WANTING TO VISIT HAVE LITTLE TO DO WITH THE CENTERS SPECIFICALLY ...

Also worthy of note in evaluating the possibilities of expanding the America House audience are the reasons why the "non-interested" group - 28% in all cities - do not care to visit the Centers. Only 3 per cent of them speak in terms that may be considered unfriendly to the American purpose. For the most part they merely say they lack interest in such institution, have no time, are too old, lack money for carfare, and the like.

"Why would you not like to go to the America House?"

I'm not interested (general answers):

I'm not interested in a thing like that; I'm not interested in going there; I'm neither interested in books nor in languages; I'm not interested, I'm busy looking after my household; I don't see why I should go there, my work is in my home, that takes up most of my time; I don't like to go out in the evening, that's all, I have no specific reason for not wanting to go to the America House, my wife often goes there; etc.

8%

I have no time to spare:

We are too pressed for time; because I have no time at all for that; lack of time, that's all; no time to spare; I have no time for that, the activities usually take place in the evening, and I'm always occupied in the evening; I have two children to look after, and therefore I can't spare the time to go there; etc.

7

I'm too old, sick, etc.:

I have to be careful of my health, I can hardly do what I have to do; that's not for me, I'm an old man, old people should stay home at night; walking is hard for me nowadays, I think it's the young people who should go there; I'm not strong enough to go out; I'm sick and rather old; at 77 your life centers mostly around the home; because I'm getting on in years and my work takes up all my time; etc.

3

Distances are too great - no money to spend on fares:

It's too far away for me; it's rather a long way to get there; that would mean too long a trip for us; that's much too far off for me; I haven't got the money to pay the fare to Essen; etc.

2

I dislike anything American - I take no interest in America:

I have no interest whatever, ever since 1945 I have been completely indifferent towards Americans, because of the way the soldiers behaved; I'm not too keen to learn things about America; as I said already, I don't see any point in going there; I don't feel drawn towards Americans; Americanism disgusts me; I don't think the America House has any ethical value; I take no interest in America, they smashed all my property in bombing raids and that's why I don't want to have anything to do with them; etc.

2

I disapprove of America Houses generally:

There's too much ballyhoo connected with it for my taste; because I don't like their way of doing things; because I don't want to hear anything about it; because nothing of it pleases me, I just don't like it; etc.

1

I don't understand it:

I can't understand it; because that's beyond me; I don't speak English and I guess they talk about politics there all the time and that doesn't interest me; etc.

\*

Other reasons:

I'm more interested in France and Spain, America means technical developments, and I'm not interested in that field, it wouldn't be worthwhile for me to go there for the little I could find out; etc.

1

No opinion / No answer:

7  
315\*\*

## R E S T R I C T E D

## EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF "POTENTIAL" VISITORS IS LOW ...

A look at the educational attainment of "potential" visitors suggests that they are unlikely to become in fact part of the America House audience, though they might visit once or twice out of curiosity. Higher education is one of the marked characteristics of the present audience. But among the "potential" audience, only 2 per cent are University trained, another 4 per cent have other higher education, and a quarter more than average schooling. Seven in ten of them have only been to grade school. Indeed, as the comparative graphs show, the "potential" audience is somewhat below the population as a whole in education attainment, whereas the present America House audience is well above it. (Chart XIV)

## "POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE IS LIKELY TO BE ON THE LOWER STATUS OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL ...

Among occupational groups, it will be noted that the "potential" audience is found more frequently in the groups that at present are somewhat under represented in the America House audience, particularly laboring groups, and housewives. The proportions of clerical workers and businessmen who say they would like to come do not depart from the norm. But among professional people who currently are strongly represented in the audience, there is little scope for expansion. Though it may be of some interest that relatively many laborers and housewives express interest in visiting, the fact that they are also more likely than not in the lower educated group probably cancels them out as a permanent factor in any expansion of the audience. (Chart XV)

## "POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE OLDER THAN PRESENT AUDIENCE ...

As to age, the "potential" audience tends on the average to be considerably older than the present audience, and particularly so than the Frequent audience. (Chart XVI)

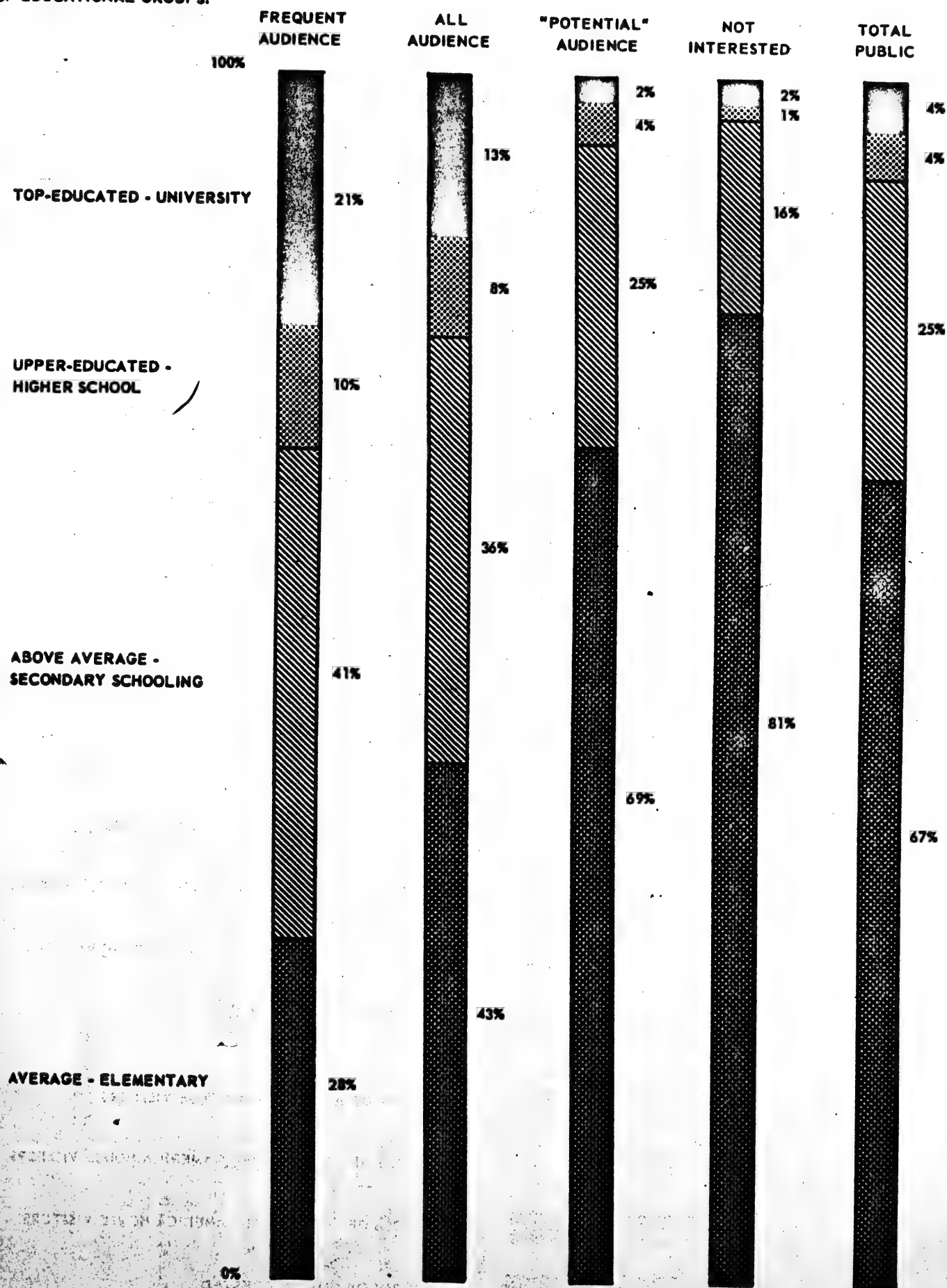
## A COMPARISON OF PRESENT AND "POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE AMONG THE YOUTH ...

And though a third of the people under 30 express an interest in visiting America Houses, further study makes it somewhat doubtful that they would come in any number. This is suggested by a glance at the population characteristics of the youthful prospects as compared with the present youthful audience and the non-interested. As the detailed table shows, they are even lower on the educational and socio-economic scales than is the "potential" audience as a whole. The table also reveals that from the standpoint of education, the America House youth are quite superior. (Table XXI)



# AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE COMPARED WITH "POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE AND OTHERS BY EDUCATION

OF EDUCATIONAL GROUPS:





# AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE COMPARED WITH "POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE AND OTHERS BY OCCUPATION

OF PEOPLE WHO ARE:

**PROFESSIONAL**

13% OF ALL AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



21% OF ALL FREQUENT AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



3% OF "POTENTIAL" AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



2% OF NOT INTERESTED

**BUSINESSMEN**

8% OF ALL AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



6% OF FREQUENT AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



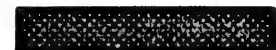
7% OF "POTENTIAL" AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



10% OF NOT INTERESTED

**WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS**

23% OF ALL AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



22% OF ALL FREQUENT AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



21% OF "POTENTIAL" AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



14% OF NOT INTERESTED

**LABORERS**

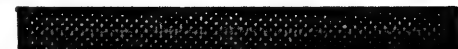
19% OF ALL AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



10% OF ALL FREQUENT AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



27% OF "POTENTIAL" AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



38% OF NOT INTERESTED

**HOUSEWIVES**

13% OF ALL AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



15% OF ALL FREQUENT AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



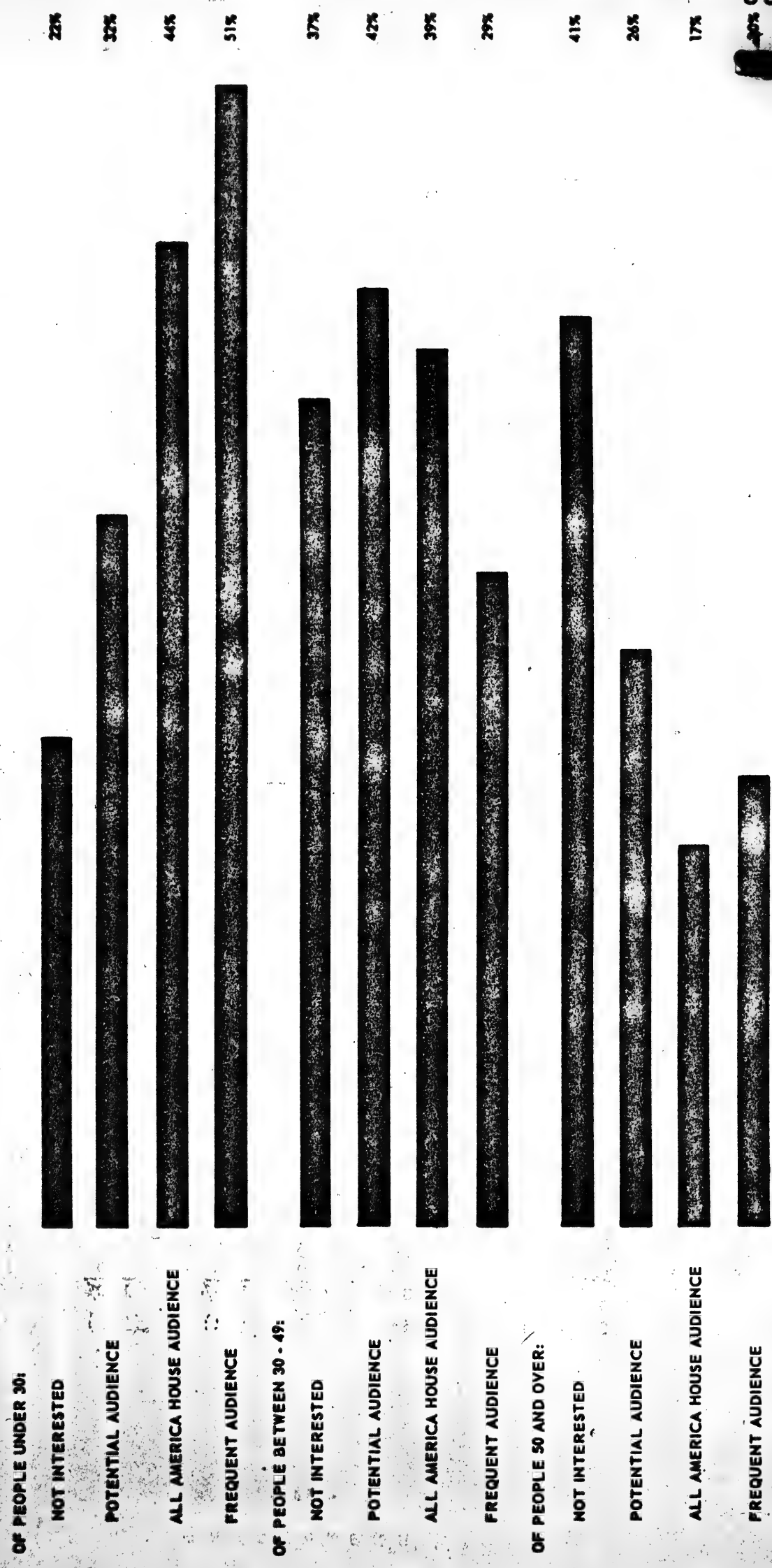
26% OF "POTENTIAL" AMERICA HOUSE VISITORS



27% OF NOT INTERESTED

CHART XVI

AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE COMPARED WITH "POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE AND OTHERS BY AGE



## R E S T R I C T E D

Table XXI

Youth In America House Audience Compared  
With "Potential" Audience And Others

	America House Audience			(15-24 years) Non-visitors	
	Fre- quent	Occa- sional	Infre- quent	Poten- tial	Not in- terested
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	59%	59%	48%	41%	36%
Women	41	41	52	59	64
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	29%	41%	69%	72%	78%
Secondary or High school					
without Abitur	50	39	27	24	21
Abitur (Diploma)	6	8	2	3	-
University	15	12	2	1	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<b>Income (per month):</b>					
0 - 149 DM	15%	18%	5%	17%	18%
150 - 299 DM	21	18	37	27	34
300 - 399 DM	26	23	13	24	24
400 DM and more	35	39	43	29	20
No answer	3	2	2	3	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<b>Occupations:</b>					
Professionals	3%	2%	5%	1%	2%
Businessmen	3	2	-	1	2
White-collar workers	23	25	14	21	23
Skilled laborers	6	12	16	15	22
Semi-skilled laborers	9	4	7	10	10
Dom. & Prot. Service	3	6	-	16	11
Farmers	-	-	-	*	1
Housewives	-	-	-	6	10
Unemployed	3	2	9	2	1
Not employed: students	44	33	36	14	8
Apprentices	6	14	13	14	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	32%	18%	25%	27%	20%
CDU/CSU	20	18	9	16	7
FDP/DP	15	14	5	6	2
Other parties	3	4	7	3	2
No party	9	23	25	18	31
No opinion	21	23	29	30	38
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<b>City Size:</b>					
500 000 and more	29%	41%	55%	53%	45%
250 000 - 499 999	9	14	13	26	23
100 000 - 249 999	30	25	16	12	14
99 999 and less	32	20	16	9	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<b>No. of cases:</b>	(34)	(49)	(44)	(231)	(83)

R E S T R I C T E D

**CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS OF "POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE NOT EXTENSIVE ...**

It is apparent from the foregoing that any considerable expansion of the Information Centers audience must come from the bulk of the lesser educated, generally lower socio-economic levels, or from older people. But that expansion among these groups would probably necessitate a radical change in the aims and offerings of the America House is strongly suggested by the results presented here in which the cultural and intellectual interests and abilities of the "potential" audience are compared with those of the present audiences.

**FEW "POTENTIAL" VISITORS KNOW ENGLISH ...**

Some knowledge of English can be considered a basic requirement for patronage - at least with any frequency - of the America Houses. The bulk of the books and periodicals in the libraries are in the English language as are many of the lectures and discussions.

Majorities among the present America House audience appear to meet the requirement fairly adequately. (It is a common human trait to exaggerate linguistic abilities, so there may well be some inflation in the figures as presented here.) This is not the case with the "potential" audience and even less so among the non-interested group. Only about one in 20 among the people who would like to visit a Center has any fluency in English. Over half of them claim to be able to read "only a few words." (Charts XVII, XVIII)

**"POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE INFREQUENTLY TAKES PART IN OTHER CULTURAL AFFAIRS ...**

Participation in cultural and intellectual activities on the part of the "potential" audience is very limited, especially in contrast to that of frequent visitors to the Centers. For example, frequent visitors are three times as likely to be fairly steady library patrons, almost four times as likely to attend lectures, eight times to visit museums, six times as likely to attend concerts, three times as likely to go to the opera, and twice as likely to go to the theater, with any frequency at all. The overall comparisons are graphically shown below, followed by a table summarizing patronage of all of these activities among all America House visitors as well as non-visitors. (Chart XIX)

R E S T R I C T E D



CLAIMED KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH AMONG  
AUDIENCES AND NON-AUDIENCES OF AMERICA HOUSES

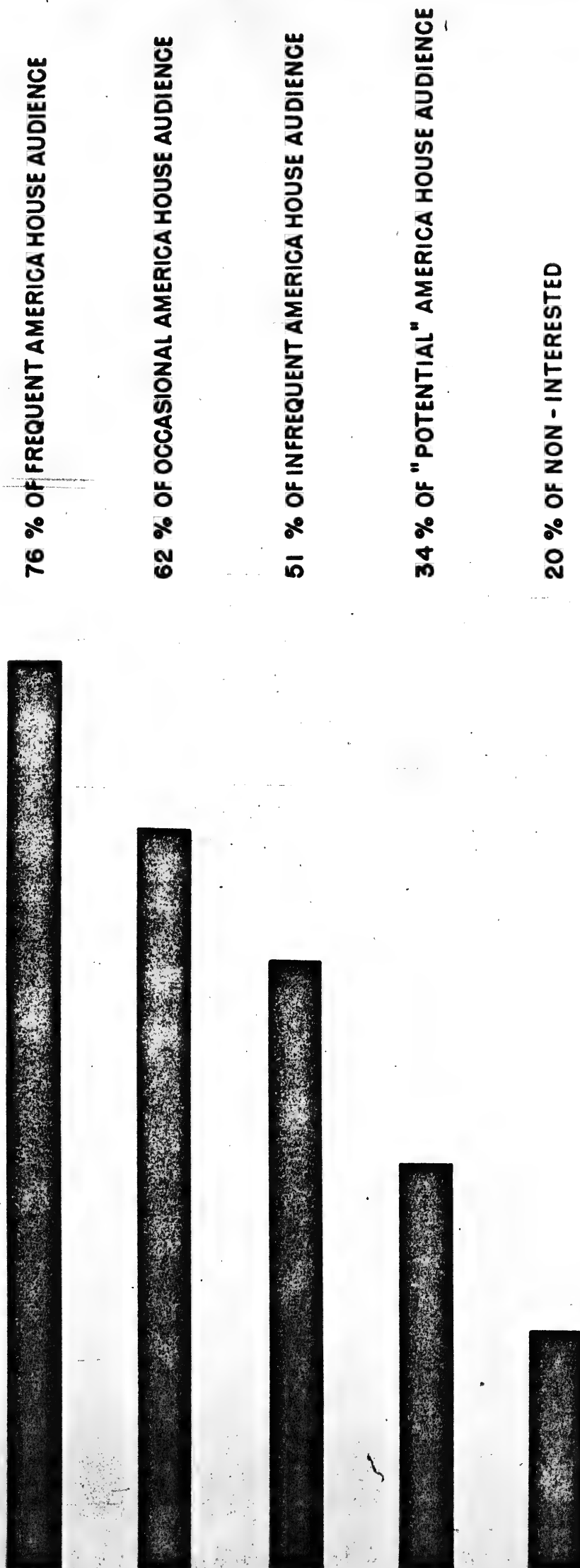
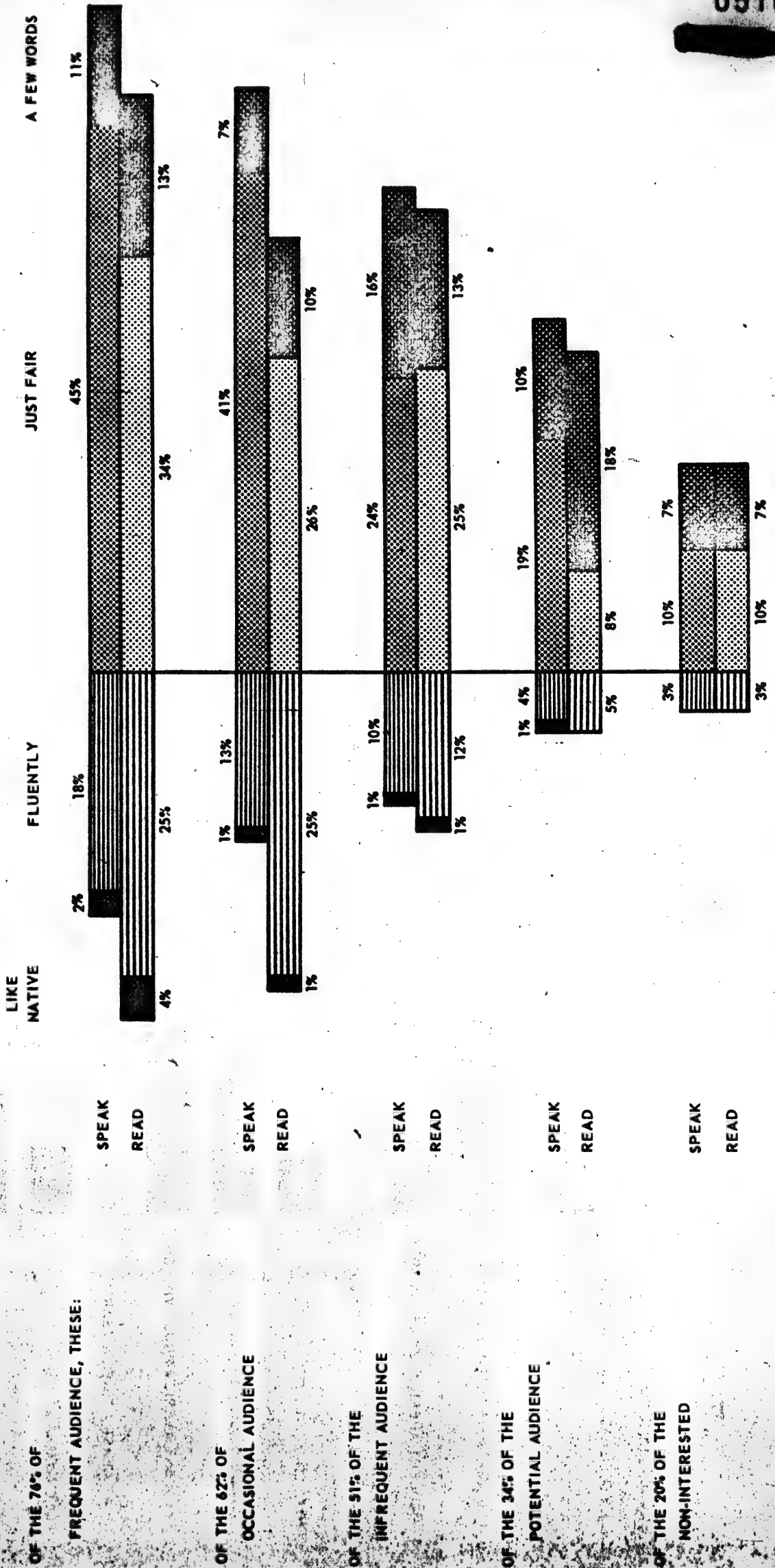


CHART XVIII

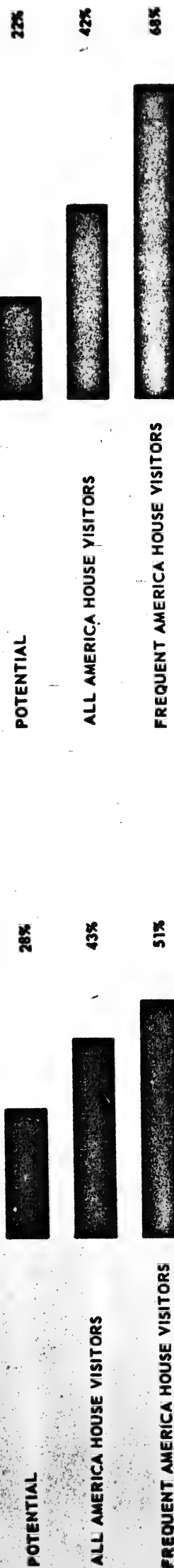
CLAIMED DEGREE OF ABILITY IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE



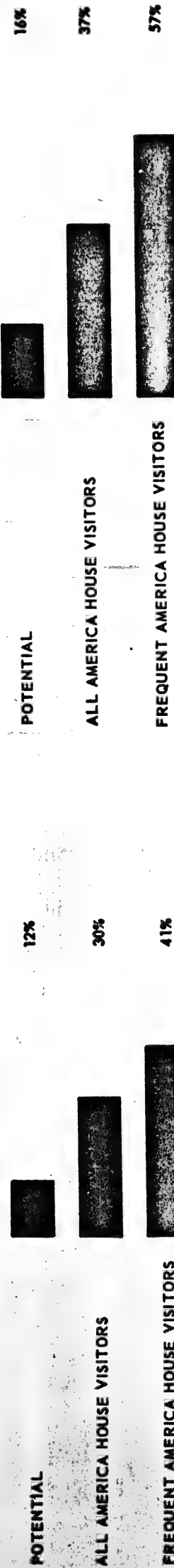
# COMPERATIVE PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AMONG ACTUAL AND "POTENTIAL" AMERICA HOUSE AUDIENCE

OF PEOPLE WHO GO TO:

THEATER (AT LEAST 4 TIMES A YEAR)



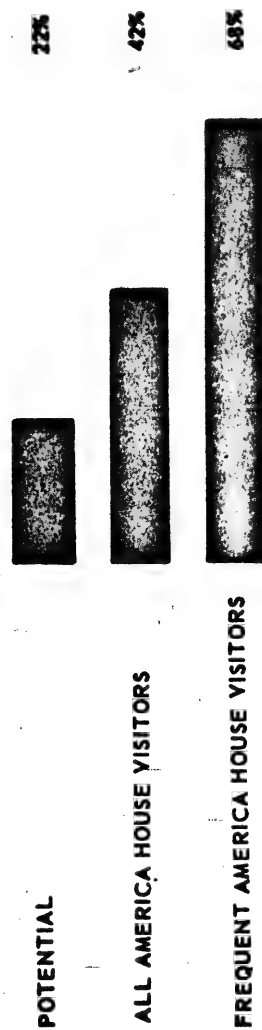
CONCERTS (AT LEAST 4 TIMES A YEAR)



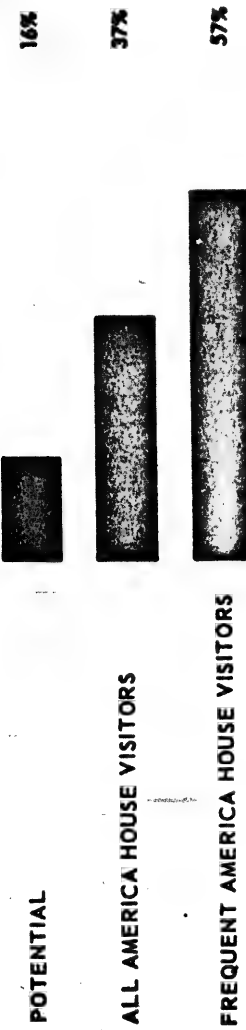
OPERA (AT LEAST 4 TIMES A YEAR)



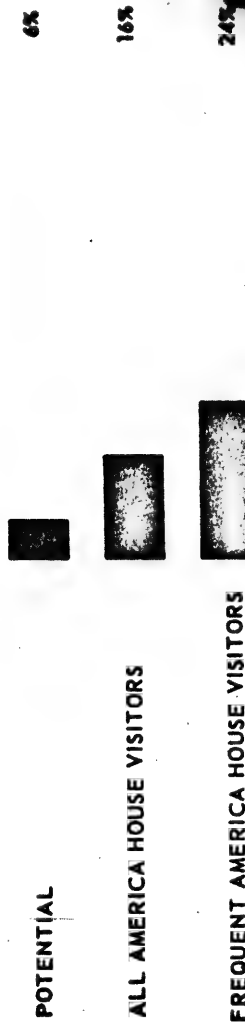
LIBRARIES (AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH)



LECTURES (AT LEAST 4 TIMES A YEAR)



MUSEUMS (AT LEAST 4 TIMES A YEAR)



"POTENTIAL" AUDIENCE HAS FEWER INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS ...

On another measure of activities, the "potential" audience does not on the whole give much indication that America House offerings would be within their scope of interest. Asked to name their particular spheres of interest, they again show considerable divergence particularly from frequent America House visitors. Aside from sports, "potential" visitors are likely to find their interests in domestic affairs and earning a living. Such matters as the arts and literature, philosophy, etc. are more frequently within the scope of interest of the visitors to the Center. The list of interests of various groups in the America House audience as well as of those of the "potential" and non-interested groups is summarized below.

	<u>America House Audience</u>			<u>Non-visitors</u>	
	Frequent (7 times or more)	Occa- sional (2 - 6 times)	In- frequent (1 or formerly)	"Poten- tial"	Not inter- ested
"Could you please tell me what your main sphere of interest is?"*					
Arts, literature	34%	26%	30%	17%	12%
Sports, trips	26	19	20	21	16
Philosophy, law (sciences)	16	12	9	6	2
Social security, career	12	10	8	13	14
Travel	8	7	4	3	2
Home, domestic affairs	5	4	5	15	15
Technics	5	11	6	4	2
Politics	4	7	2	2	4
Social activities	3	4	5	5	6
Religion	2	2	1	1	2
Needlework, sewing, knitting	2	6	8	13	14
Gardening, farming	2	3	6	9	9
No sphere of interest	2	8	7	6	15
Others	1	3	3	3	2
	122%**	122%**	114%**	118%**	115%**

\* This question was asked in the initial stages of the interview, prior to any queries on the Centers.

\*\* Some respondents mentioned more than one sphere of interest.



ACCESSIBILITY IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN AMERICA HOUSE ATTENDANCE ...

Shifting from the factors of background and interest, as they apply to the possibilities of expanding the America House audience, to the factor of accessibility, the pattern remains similar. Accessibility - that is travel time to the Center - is closely related to audience participation, as may be seen in Chart XX. The great bulk of the Frequent audience lives less than half an hour's travel time from the America House. Less frequent visitors tend to live farther away. "Potential" visitors are at the bottom of the scale. As will be seen in the table below, over half of the Frequent audience is not more than 20 minutes away from a Center; only 14 per cent of the "potential" audience is this near to a Center. Chart XX; Table XXII)

Table XXII

Accessibility of America Houses  
Among Audience and Non-Audience

	Frequent audience (7 times or more	Occa- sional audience (2 - 6 times)	In- frequent audience (1 or formerly)	"Poten- tial audience	Not inter- ested
"How much time, on the average, would you need to get from your dwelling to the America House (with your usual means of transportation)?"					
30 minutes and more	16%	34%	39%	46%	41%
20 - 29 minutes	28	20	23	24	25
15 - 19 minutes	21	14	19	15	15
10 - 14 minutes	20	23	12	8	11
0 - 9 minutes	15	9	7	6	6
No opinion	-	-	-	1	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

CHART XX

RELATIVE ACCESSIBILITY OF AMERICA HOUSE FOR  
AUDIENCES AND NON-AUDIENCES

LESS THAN HALF HOUR TRAVEL TIME TO AMERICA HOUSE



## R E S T R I C T E D

## V. AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION IN AMERICA HOUSE OFFERINGS

Eight offerings, common to most but not all, America Houses are the measures used for audience participation. They are: the library, film showings, lectures, discussion groups, concerts, theater performances, exhibits and English language classes. In addition, people were queried on their use of the reading room as distinct from the library.

## LIBRARY AND FILMS GET LARGEST SHARE OF AUDIENCE ...

Among the Frequent audience, 75 per cent use the library, often rather than occasionally; 73 per cent attend film showings; 62 per cent attend lectures; 56 per cent attend concerts; 52 per cent exhibits; 24 per cent theater performances; 11 per cent English language classes; 11 per cent discussion groups.

Among the Occasional audience, 45 per cent use the library; 49 per cent attend films; 47 per cent lectures; 33 per cent concerts; 37 per cent exhibits; 6 per cent English language classes; 5 per cent theater performances; 2 per cent discussion groups.

Among the Infrequent audience, 13 per cent use the library; 29 per cent attend films; 18 per cent lectures; 9 per cent concerts; 13 per cent exhibits; 3 per cent language courses; 5 per cent theater performances; 2 per cent discussion groups. (Chart XXI)

## AVERAGE AMERICA HOUSE VISITOR GOES TO ABOUT ONE OFFERING ...

Many of the Infrequent audience apparently just come to look around. This is seen in the chart describing the extent of multiple attendance of the eight offerings. Forty per cent of the infrequent visitors (18% of the total audience) have attended none of the eight offerings. The very few Frequent and Occasional audience groups who have participated in none of the offerings probably spend their time reading newspapers but do not consider themselves library patrons, or they may be the people who are reported to come to the Centers to keep warm. In any case they are very few. (Chart XXII)

As is suggested by the participation figures among members of the Frequent audience, many of them take part in several Center activities. On the average, analysis reveals, these regular visitors participate in about three different offerings. Occasional and infrequent visitors are less likely to have attended more than one or two America House activities. The median average number of offerings visited is 1.2 for the America House audience as a whole, 3.2 for the Frequent audience, 1.0 for the Occasional audience, and 0.8 for the Infrequent audience.

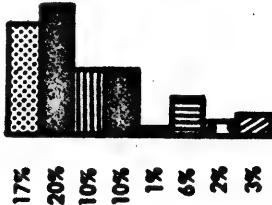
CHART XXI

# USE OF AMERICA HOUSE OFFERINGS BY FREQUENCY OF VISITING GROUPS

FREQUENT AUDIENCE USE OF OFFERINGS  
(VISIT 7 TIMES OR MORE A YEAR)



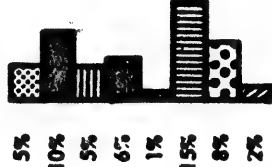
FREQUENT  
(5 - 6 TIMES)



OCCASIONAL  
(2 - 4 TIMES)



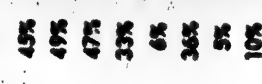
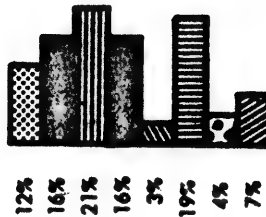
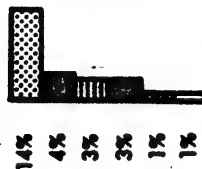
SELDOM  
(ONCE)



TOTAL



OCCASIONAL AUDIENCE USE OF OFFERINGS  
(VISIT 2 - 6 TIMES A YEAR)



INFREQUENT AUDIENCE USE OF OFFERINGS  
(VISIT ONCE IN PAST YEAR OR PREVIOUSLY)

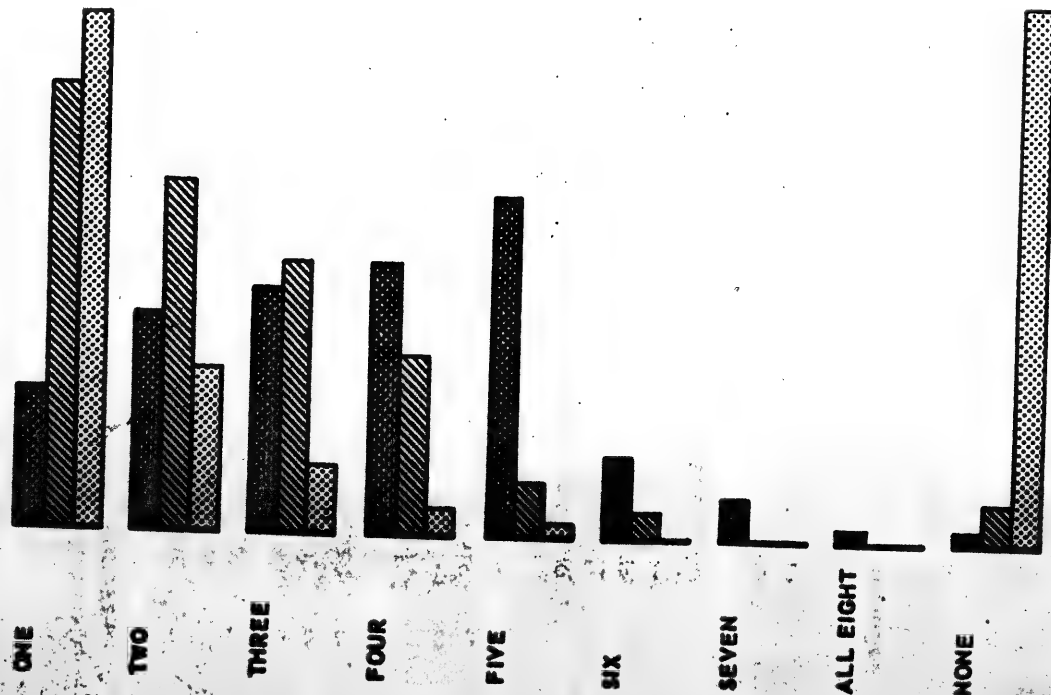


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# SCALE OF ATTENDANCE AT AMERICA HOUSE OFFERINGS

OF 8 SELECTED OFFERINGS, THE PROPORTIONS ATTENDING:



10% OF FREQUENT AUDIENCE  
32% OF OCCASIONAL AUDIENCE  
38% OF INFREQUENT AUDIENCE

16% OF FREQUENT AUDIENCE  
26% OF OCCASIONAL AUDIENCE  
12% OF INFREQUENT AUDIENCE

18% OF FREQUENT AUDIENCE  
20% OF OCCASIONAL AUDIENCE  
5% OF INFREQUENT AUDIENCE

20% OF FREQUENT AUDIENCE  
13% OF OCCASIONAL AUDIENCE  
2% OF INFREQUENT AUDIENCE

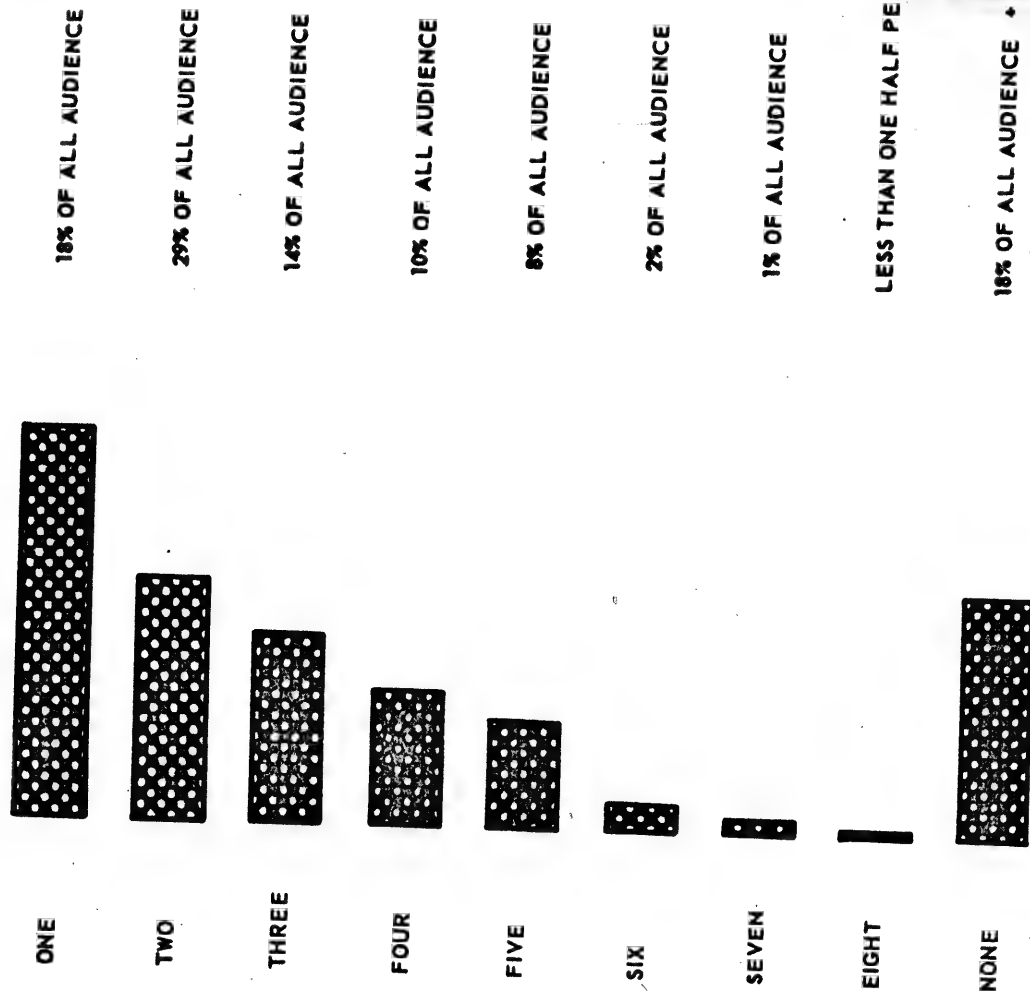
25% OF FREQUENT AUDIENCE  
4% OF OCCASIONAL AUDIENCE  
1% OF INFREQUENT AUDIENCE

6% OF FREQUENT AUDIENCE  
2% OF OCCASIONAL AUDIENCE

3% OF FREQUENT AUDIENCE

1% OF FREQUENT AUDIENCE

1% OF FREQUENT AUDIENCE  
3% OF OCCASIONAL AUDIENCE  
40% OF INFREQUENT AUDIENCE



18% OF ALL AUDIENCE

29% OF ALL AUDIENCE

14% OF ALL AUDIENCE

10% OF ALL AUDIENCE

8% OF ALL AUDIENCE

2% OF ALL AUDIENCE

1% OF ALL AUDIENCE

LESS THAN ONE HALF PER CENT

18% OF ALL AUDIENCE

THREE IN TEN GO TO THE AMERICA HOUSE TO READ ...

In addition to the eight offerings, the America House audience was also queried on patronage of the reading room. Three in ten of the total audience say they go to the Centers at least once a month to read books, periodicals, pamphlets, etc. Again, patronage is of course heaviest among the Frequent audience.

America House Patrons by Frequency of Visits During the Past Year

	7 or more times	2 - 6 times	1 or formerly
"Do you sometimes go to the America House in order to read there? (About how often in a month? On the average, about how long at each visit?)"			
Yes, at least once a month	54%	31%	13%
No	<u>46</u> 100%	<u>69</u> 100%	<u>87</u> 100%

"What do you read there - newspapers, periodicals, booklets, pamphlets or books?"

Newspapers	37%	21%	38%
Periodicals, pamphlets, journals	72	70	72
Booklets, pamphlets and the like	13	13	-
Books	<u>63</u> 185%*	<u>58</u> 162%*	<u>38</u> 148%*

\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## R E S T R I C T E D

## MANY BORROW BOOKS FROM THE LIBRARY ...

Evidence of the importance of the library is the finding that about four in ten of all America House visitors have borrowed books from it during the past year. Seven in ten of the Frequent audience have taken out books as have almost a half of the Occasional audience and three in ten of the Infrequent audience.

America House Patrons by Frequency  
of Visits During the Past Year

7 or more times	2 - 6 times	1 or formerly
-----------------------	----------------	------------------

"Do you borrow books from the library of the America House in order to read them at home?"

Yes	68%	45%	29%
No	32%	55%	71%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

As to the number of America House books read during the course of a year (both at the Centers and taken out) each member of the Frequent audience reads ten on the average. A voracious 9 per cent claim to read more than 60 America House books during the year. The average number of America House books read during the year by the audience as a whole is less than five.

"Could you tell me how many books from the America House you read in the course of one year?"

1 - 5	35%	57%	67%
6 - 10	13	13	-
11 - 20	16	4	-
21 - 30	9	4	-
31 - 40	3	-	-
41 - 50	6	4	-
51 - 60	-	-	-
61 - 70	3	-	-
71 - 80	-	-	-
81 - 100	3	-	-
101 and more -	3	-	-
No opinion	9	18	33
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

From the kinds of books read it is apparent that the America House library is used to obtain information or satisfy interests which could not be easily obtained in comparable German libraries. The three leading types are: 1) scientific and technical books, 2) fiction - particularly modern American fiction, and 3) historical and socio-political literature, presumably related to the United States.

America House Patrons by Frequency of Visits During the Past Year

7 or more times	2-6 times	1 or formerly
-----------------	-----------	---------------

Books on special branches of study, physics, atomic research, technics:

Special books on music and pedagogy; scientific books on psychology, medicine, zoology; modern books on atomic research; mainly scientific books; technical books; special books on town-planning; modern books on physics and chemistry; books on arts and architecture; medical books; technical and psychological books; special books on scientific management; encyclopadia; I think it was a book called "Arboriculture"; special books on photography and arts; technical books and books on navigation; technical books on planes; only scientific books on occupational therapy; special books on philosophy; special law books; modern books on physics and atomic research; modern books on chemistry; on electro-physics, atomic research, traffic problems; books on geography, botany; books on interior decorations; etc.

35%	17%	2%
-----	-----	----

Fiction:

Modern literature (Wilder, Orwell); modern American authors, Hemingway, Mitchell; good novels; fictions and travel reports; belles lettres; mostly books by modern authors; short stories; travel and landscape; novels, for example "The Adventurer"; reports on countries and life abroad and about life in the States; modern American literature; love stories; fiction on scientific subjects; etc.

28	9	6
----	---	---

Biographies, history, sociology, political books:

Biographies; Washington, the first president; history of the country; socio-political and historical books; social and economic problems; political and economic problems; literature on political economy; books on American home policy; books on cultural problems; economics, cultural books; books on historical subjects; books on American living conditions; etc.

13	8	1
----	---	---

Detective stories, Westerners:

Detective stories; cowboy books; books on natural phenomena; books about elephants, tigers, cowboys; etc.

4	*	1
---	---	---

Other subjects:

It doesn't matter what books there are, I glance through all of them; varying subjects; quite different subjects; about Denmark; humorous books; books on films and sports; there are books for every taste; etc.

7	5	2
---	---	---

No opinion / No answer:

87%	39%	14%
-----	-----	-----

\*Less than one half of one per cent. - 57 -



## R E S T R I C T E D

## VI. REACTIONS TO SPECIFIC OFFERINGS

Audience appraisal of the various America House offerings is generally quite favorable, as may be seen in the overall rating accorded each by the Frequent audience.

## OFFERINGS RATED HIGHLY IN GENERAL ...

The tendency of America House patrons to be favorably disposed toward all of the facilities offered at the Centers is apparent in the evaluations of specific offerings made by the Frequent audience.

As may be seen in Chart XXIII, their ratings of specific America House facilities registered on a scalometer ranging from plus to minus 5, give first place to films with a plus 4.3 with discussions rated lowest at plus 3.4. The overall average is plus 3.9, which is close to the possible top of plus 5.0.

## BUT LIBRARIES AND BOOKS ARE CHIEF MAGNET ...

Though documentary film showings appear to edge out slightly the libraries and other offerings in audience approval, there is little doubt that the libraries and reading rooms are a chief attraction of the America Houses especially for regular visitors. This has already been suggested by the participation figures which show the library as receiving the most steady patronage of any of the offerings. It is further revealed in the findings which follow on reasons for visiting the Information Centers, and in comments pro and con the libraries.

For this reason and also because there is greater variation from Center to Center in the other offerings, the emphasis is given here to audience reactions to the library. Their comments on other offerings may be found in the appendix.

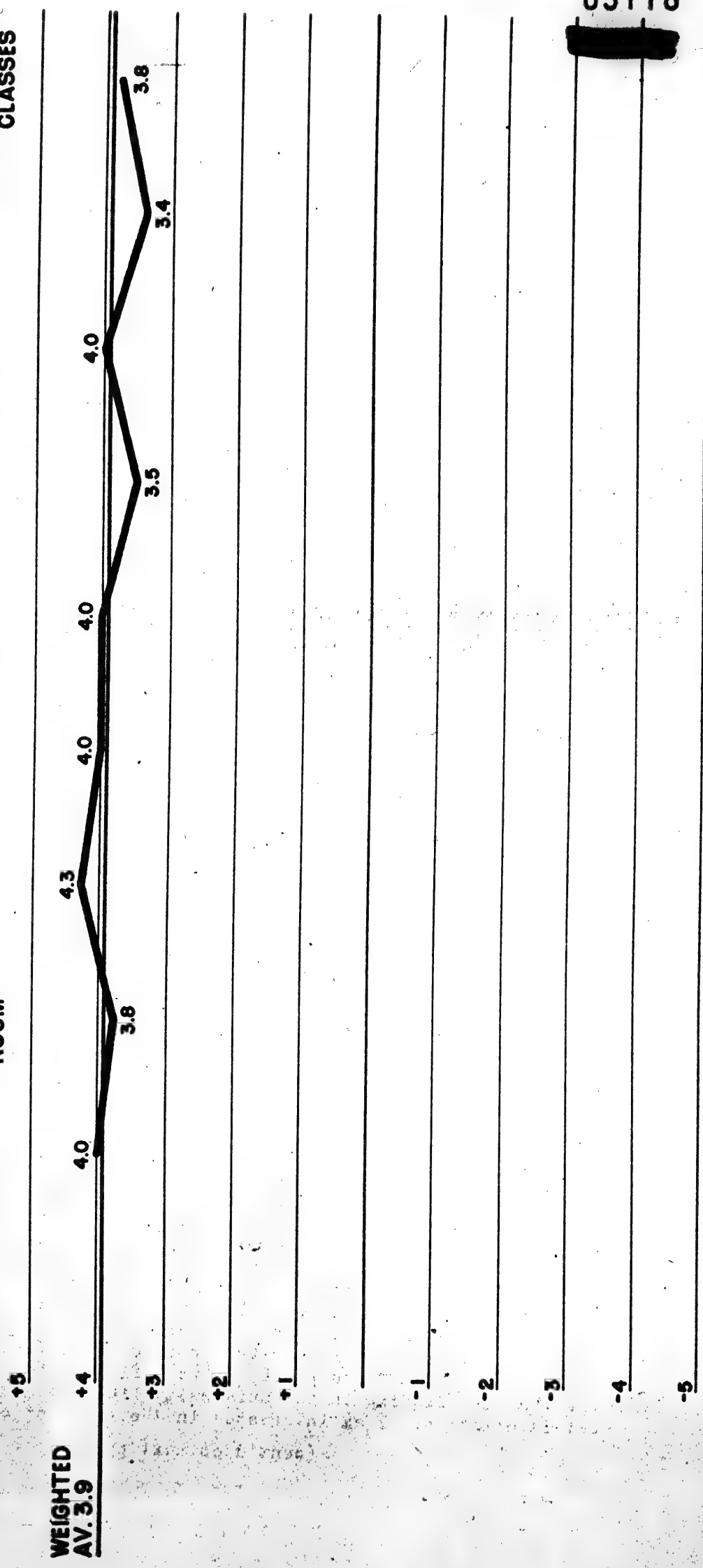
CHART XXIII

CHART XXIII

FREQUENT AUDIENCE RATING OF VARIOUS AMERICA HOUSE OFFERINGS.

"WOULD YOU, PLEASE, POINT TO THE SQUARE THAT SHOWS APPROXIMATELY HOW MUCH YOU LIKE OR DISLIKE THE LIBRARY IN THE AMERICA HOUSE ?"

LIBRARY      READING ROOM      FILMS      CONCERTS      THEATER      EXHIBITS      LECTURES      DISCUSSIONS      LANGUAGE CLASSES



05118

## R E S T R I C T E D

## FREQUENT AUDIENCE STRESSES LIBRARY FACILITIES AS A REASON FOR COMING ...

The value the regular America House patrons place on library facilities is seen in their stated reasons for visiting the Centers. Half of them specifically refer to the library, and an additional three in ten mention periodicals, newspapers and books as the main attraction of the Centers for them.

"For what reasons do you personally visit the America House?"

Frequent  
audience

To read books (go to the library):

48%

To read English books; here you find so many books to read; I am interested in books; I come here because of the library; I borrow books; I am taking my choice from the books here; I am interested in English literature; to inform myself on new books; I chiefly come here to read English literature; the library is so comprehensive; you find a lot on American literature; to get acquainted with American authors; reading is very instructive, it is one of my hobbies; I read books by modern American authors; to expand my information on foreign authors; here you find modern American literature; etc.

To see films (attend lectures, discussions, visit exhibitions):

28

I go here to see films; films are always interesting; to see films about America; I come here to attend lectures; the lectures which are given here are outstanding; I am interested in all these offerings; etc.

To read newspapers, periodicals (go to the reading room):

18

To read German newspapers and periodicals; I am interested in periodicals; through periodicals I get the latest information on technical developments; here I learn about new periodicals; I read magazines; to read American periodicals; because you can read foreign newspapers here; I read the "Tuere" (a German periodical); I am interested in political periodicals; etc.

To expand my knowledge (in general):

16

To increase my knowledge; to expand my information; to learn something in addition to what I learned in school and to find some more fields of interest; to increase my knowledge of foreign languages; I am unemployed at the moment and would like to learn, and here I have the best opportunity; to broaden my horizon; the information I get on literature I can always use in school; one can learn a lot; to stimulate my mind; you can always learn; etc.

To find material on special branches of science:

15

Here I find the special books I need for my vocational training; I am interested in scientific books; I need an encyclopedia and books for my studies; to get new ideas in the field of architecture; in my profession a lot of information material is required; here I find information on economics; to read books on physics and technics; here I find literature on special branches of science; scientific literature on petroleum, ores and geology; books on political-sociological themes; I want to get my doctor's degree and here I find the books I need for my studies; I am interested in fine arts, I like to read books on the art of sculpture; here I find all the books on law that are missing in the university library; to get political information; I am interested in the field of culture; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
audienceTo learn about conditions in the United States and in other English speaking countries:

12%

I want to know what's going on in America; I like to hear about America; I am interested in America; I would like to learn something about American politics; I am interested in America and would like to learn about the mentality of our "first" occupiers; to inform myself about American conditions; I would like to know about American economics and fine arts, and to get some information about the country and the people; I would like to find out about their housing situation; I would like to see how people live in other countries; etc.

I like the atmosphere (it is quiet, warm, comfortable):

11

Here you feel at ease; you can read without being bothered; it's warm and comfortable; I like the pleasant atmosphere; I like the America House; there isn't anything that can be compared to the America House; here I feel very much at home; the staff is very polite and friendly; being here is entertaining; I am unemployed at the moment and so can make use of the time I got on my hands; you can come and go as you please; usually my train departs very late so I spend some time here; when I am bored I come here to find some entertainment; because here you find peace and order; I come here to relax; the America House is a fine institution for the public; etc.

To improve my English:

11

To improve my knowledge of English; I intend to take part in an English language course soon; I like to talk to English-speaking people to improve my knowledge in this field; I attend English classes; etc.

To attend musical performances:

9

I chiefly come here to hear something about music; I am interested in concerts; the main reason I come here is to listen to music; I chiefly visit the America House because of the concerts and other musical performances; one can listen to very good records; often the performers are very good; etc.

Because services are free:

6

Because admission is free; you won't have to pay for information; all services are free; I find many books in the America House which I had to buy otherwise; etc.

Other reasons:

2

I am interested in the European Union, I would like to know what the US aims at, whether there will be a European Union one day or not, what people in other countries think; in Fulda the America House is the only place where you can while away an hour or so; I am interested in democratic principles, which they illustrate here; I like the Americans; I am a journalist and want to interest the public in the America House; I am a journalist and write about the various presentations; etc.

No opinion / No answer:1  
177%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D



## R E S T R I C T E D

## ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON THE LIBRARY AND READING-ROOM BY THE FREQUENT USERS ...

Asked for criticisms pro and con on the library and reading-rooms, the regular users had a great deal to say, particularly in a favorable direction. Again the catholic choice of books and periodicals came in for praise as did the open-shelf and free lending system. Their detailed comments follow.

"What do you consider to be good about the library here in the America House?"

Frequent  
audience

## COMMENTS ON THE BOOKS

It is comprehensive and varied:

49%

A wide selection in all fields, for the most part I found what I was looking for; very comprehensive, the latest books, I'm very grateful for this institution, it's excellent; the idea of it, the fact that you can read English books and it won't cost you anything; a very great variety, they don't have only English books, that's very nice; they have books covering all fields; it's very extensive, there's something for every sphere of interest; a wide choice of English books; a wide selection, something for every individual taste; all this material they have from classical themes to Shakespeare; translations of English and American authors; all this American and English literature, I mean the great variety; that all the best books, I might say the master-pieces, are available; it's very comprehensive and very varied, you get the publications in the original language; the variety and high standard; that you find literature of an international character; that they don't have so much about American history and that they also have German books, no propaganda stuff; that they also have books in German, a great variety and free of charge; the wide selection of foreign literature; very comprehensive in both, foreign and German language works; that they have a rather wide selection, the periodicals and newspapers; I found some authors here whom I liked specially well; that there is something in every field - I was especially glad to find also German and Norwegian authors; there are books for every sphere of interest which you won't find anywhere else in Ulm; etc.

The large assortment of scientific and technical literature:

16

That there are books for all branches of science; generally that the books are arranged in sections according to the different branches of science and you find something on every field; literature on the history of art and sociology; that the individual branches of science are outlined so clearly; the books on electricity, about English and American as a language and the books about life in America in general; that they have many technical books and all of them are new; technical literature for my profession; a rich assortment in scientific and history-books, technical literature; I find the books on politics, electrical engineering and atomic science most interesting, as

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
audience

far as my knowledge of these fields goes; you find many books in foreign languages for instance about sportsmen, in the America House; they also offer some works which are interesting to us, about hospitals, anatomy, also letters from Tschaikovsky, other scientific works, microbe hunting etc.; they have many books on fine arts here; that they have books of high scientific value, for instance about mathematics, sciences, many books on history; publications about the history of social sciences (sociology), English and history books; being a painter I can't afford to buy news books, here I have the possibility to read literature on fine arts, religion, biographies etc. free of charge; books about medicine, natural sciences, a great variety of political publications; many good text-books and the large assortment on hand; it's a good thing that I can find a wide choice of works about the American constitution, international law etc., it's easy for me to find the books I'm looking for; the scientific books, American authors write about interesting facts in all fields of knowledge; the relatively large assortment of technical literature; etc.

That many modern and contemporary works are available:

8%

Because I find American books of a political character, I mean the modern ones; modern American novels I won't find anywhere but in the America House; the large assortment of modern literature; I like the selection of books, there are American authors of a high level, novels, scientific books, well, it's modern and up-to-date; I find many of the latest editions; the great variety of books, that the latest editions are always at hand; I find what I'm looking for, for instance I found books by the author Bromfield; that they always purchase the latest books; that you get a comprehensive view of the works of modern American authors; large assortment of contemporary literature - you get to know what today's life is like in America and in other countries and not what it used to be, very up-to-date; the arrangement, for example that books are arranged according to the fields of knowledge they deal with, valuable books are being offered, not old and outdated ones; they have books on all fields and they always get the latest publications; modern American authors; the large assortment of American literature which you won't find anywhere else; there are millions of translations of the best American books; that books of good American authors are available; etc.

Provides an insight into American life:

5

I get an insight into the American way of thinking and also into life over there; the rather well-assorted material about the US, everything; that they have books which explain the structure of America and American life; a survey of American culture, you get to know the American mentality very well; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
audience

4%

Variety of other works:

The English books, the reference books, the Swiss lexicon; great variety of illustrated books; the manuals and dictionaries - very good reference books; first of all biographies; that they have books for young girls and youth literature; especially children's literature, that's unique for Hamburg; technical literature, big reference books, great variety; they have some very realistic books which describe life as it really is; etc.

## COMMENTS ON SYSTEM AND ATMOSPHERE

The arrangement and order:

29

The latest books are available, ready to be taken out, it doesn't take much time to get what I want; that the books are ready to be taken out at any time, that they have the open-shelf system - the library is very well arranged and very clean, the lending-system saves time, the cards are good; the inter-lending system between the individual America Houses - the very obliging way of dealing with special requests; the index-system; that you can move about and look at everything without being checked; very clear arrangement, all the books can easily be found; I think it's well organized, I get what I want very quickly; latest publications, everything can be had very quickly; it's a good system that you can get at the shelves and take out what you want instead of selecting the books from a catalogue; it's spacious, you are quickly served, they notify you when a book you have booked in advance is available; you can take out a book you are interested in; that it is well arranged, special shelves for youth literature so that anything can be found at once; the rich assortment, the excellent service, the obliging way of the staff to meet special demands; you can get everything yourself, you have free access to the shelves, it doesn't cost anything, there's a rich assortment, you can make your choice; that you have access to the books and that the conditions of admittance are not so complicated as in German libraries; that you can choose yourself what you want to read, by this method they show that they trust their visitors; you can take the books out yourself, the library employs modern methods; it's a great advantage; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
audience

20%

Comfortable and pleasant (rooms, staff):

You can sit down comfortably, have a look at everything, the furniture is nice and of modern design, everything is very handy; I like the furniture, the room has a friendly atmosphere, the staff is nice and obliging; furniture and decoration of the library are beautiful, you feel like being in a salon, it's warm; it's well furnished, the room is nicely decorated, the staff is friendly; the nice and comfortable atmosphere; it's nice and quiet to work in here, the staff is friendly; the room, the possibility to sit at small tables, it's quiet; that you sit comfortably, that everything is clean and that there is a pleasant atmosphere; above all the books, the staff is very obliging, the ladies advise you readily and are friendly; it's so comfortable to read in a well-heated room; that you can move about as you please, that's very generous; the staff is especially nice, they always answer your questions; I like the present furniture and situation of the rooms better, it's more quiet at this place, the shelves are not so crammed, that's good; last but not least: it's comfortable here, so that you can feel at home and won't be disturbed; soothing quiet; that you can make yourself comfortable - the staff of the America House has a more personal and friendly attitude as, for instance, the staff in "Die Bruecke"; etc.

That it doesn't cost anything:

7

It doesn't cost anything and it's a lot what's being offered; that books are lent free of charge, that they have all the new works offered on the book-market; that the library can be used free of charge; that you don't have to pay for borrowing books; it doesn't cost anything and there's a rich assortment; etc.

Other answers:

1

That all the books of authors suspected of Nazi tendencies were rigorously eliminated; you got information about the Hitler era and things like that but whether all that is quite true?; whether laborer or professor, they all are admitted; the opening hours, you can come whenever you like; everything, I can't give an opinion; first of all the set up of the books is very good; nothing; that it stays open till late in the evenings; promotes mutual understanding between nations; the book-exhibitions; that they send you, together with the program, a notification of all new books which have been acquired; etc.

No opinion / No answer:3  
142%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D



## R E S T R I C T E D

"And what do you consider to be good about the reading-room here in the America House?"

Frequent  
audience

45%

Its comprehensiveness:

It offers a large selection of all kinds of periodicals and newspapers, there are some good German language newspapers, such as the "Zuericher" and "Baseler Zeitung"; its large assortment; the large selection, the periodicals displayed here cover nearly every field of interest; its comprehensiveness, it offers literature about all fields modern people are interested in; its large selection of periodicals, the weekly and monthly papers make it a more interesting place than the library; I don't know a better one, it offers a huge selection of publications; the many American periodicals that give you an insight into American life; its large selection of periodicals, the fact that also foreign periodicals are available; that the "Neue Zeitung" and well known American magazines are displayed there; that one finds all kinds of papers there, papers which one can't find any where else; the selection of American papers is very wide; the large assortment, they even offer periodicals which take opposite stands such as "Time" and "Newsweek"; the big papers of different countries are available here; you can read the "Neue Zeitung," the "Zuericher Zeitung" and other papers there; it offers all kinds of papers, it's a very interesting place; the fact that one gets information from different sources; etc.

It's a cozy and tastefully arranged place:

18

That it is a nice place where to stay; that you can work there peacefully, its modern equipment; that you can sit there comfortably and read in peace, that the lighting is good, its tasteful furniture, that everything is clean, the toilets, too; its quiet distinguished atmosphere; its furniture and decorations are nice, it's an agreeable temperature; it is a very nice room and nobody bothers you there; etc.

The wide selection of technical publications:

14

There are also many fashion papers etc.; I like to go through periodicals discussing furniture, and I find a lot of this kind here in the reading-room; periodicals that cover all fields are available, that's most useful for me as a pedagogue; that I can read periodicals for dentists here, that everybody can do what he pleases, there are no strict regulations; above all, I'm interested in architecture and there are many periodicals about this field; that a lot of periodicals from all over the world and on nearly all economic branches are on hand here, I also like the fashion papers and the "Textile World"; the variety of pictorials, the periodicals on fashions, photography, ballet; I especially like the philatelic periodical; the selection of various technical periodicals which you can't find at any other place; the rich assortment of technical periodicals which are difficult to get or only at a high price; that not only periodicals of low standards with trashy articles and pictures are displayed but also scientific periodicals;

(cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
audienceThe clear arrangement and the practical lending system:

10%

The periodicals are clearly arranged; it's a good thing to divide publications into different sections i.e. periodicals dealing with the same subject are put together; the arrangement of the periodicals is good; periodicals are divided into the different branches of knowledge; the arrangement, that everybody can help himself; the clever arrangement, I mean putting the papers in clearly marked boxes; etc.

That the latest issues are available all the time:

4

The latest issues of the newspapers are available; the periodicals on hand aren't old; the relatively recent issues of the periodicals that are displayed here; that the periodicals come in punctually; etc.

One can move around freely and take ones choice:

3

The fact that one needn't ask for the papers one wants to read but can get them oneself; that one can go around and take the desired paper; in order to get a paper one only needs to ask for it; that one can take any paper one likes and that they can be taken along; etc.

Everything:

1

Other answers:

4

That literature of such a high standard is openly displayed; the way it is arranged makes the visitors show a good behavior; I don't think that anything is good about it; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{3}{102\%}^{**}$$

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**LACK OF GERMAN BOOKS CRITICIZED ...**

A paucity of books in German is the leading criticism made by America House library users. As to the reading-rooms, overcrowding is fairly frequently mentioned.

"What do you have to criticize about the library here in the America Houses?"

Frequent audience

Nothing to be criticized:

30%

There is nothing to be criticized; there is nothing lacking; I did not notice anything to be criticized up to now; I am positively impressed and talked to all my friends about it; nothing, I always found the books I looked for; everything is well arranged; no criticisms, just in the contrary, they are very generous in prolonging the lending periods; no, I don't know anything; nothing at all; etc.

There are too few books in German:

25

I think there are too few books in the German language; all books are written in English; not every visitor can read English fluently; too few German translations are available and also too few copies; I wish they had more books in German, too many American books compared to the German literature, the selection is one-sided; books in German on various scientific branches are missing, e.g. books on biology; once I looked for German translations on English philosophers but they were not on display and a perfect knowledge of the English language is required to understand their philosophy - I am thinking of Emerson; more German books on scientific subjects; e.g. on natural sciences; too few German books on technical developments and economic problems are on hand, they are all written in English; in my opinion it is superfluous to translate books by non-American authors into English; I want to read books by today's German authors, e.g. Theodor Storm and H. Hesse, nothing else; the selection on German books is not wide enough; something else I miss are German historical books on Europe and Germany; books by German classical authors are not available; authors often write with an anti-German tendency; etc.

Some types of literature are lacking:

13

There are too few books for young people aged from 16 to 17 years; I don't know, I would like to read Italian or French books and there are none on display; I don't understand modern painting and would like to read books explaining it; I miss Spanish books; no encyclopedia on medicine, no literature on music, etc.; I still miss many books which have been banned before 1945, books that explain the German point of view on the years 1933 - 1945; scientific books aren't displayed in great numbers; no literature on fine arts; no books on technical developments; no modern theater plays; they have too many books on medicine on display and no books on photography; some modern American authors are not available (Henry Miller "Tropic of Capricorn"); they should acquire more new books; there are not enough modern books on hand; I am especially interested on books on scientific subjects but they are not displayed here, and I get them from the America House in Nuernberg; the assortment is not rich enough, there is a real demand for scientific books; good and rare scientific books are available only in English; they have only a few really good novels on display; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
audienceThat there is no index of the books and no clear arrangement:

7%

The arrangement of the books is not easy to understand, or they rearrange the books so often that it is impossible to find them; books which are most often requested are placed just above the ground, this is very inconvenient, they shouldn't place books that low; they keep re-arranging the library, and the books you look for are always placed in different shelves; there are too many books in one shelf; my eyes are not too good and so I can't read the titles of books placed in the shelves on top, there should be a ladder; one should find a way to arrange the books more clearly; one should display the books according to a systematic index; it is so difficult to find the book you want; German and English books should not be placed together; etc.

Criticisms on space and furniture:

4

The rooms could be larger; more comfortable chairs; sometimes you can't find the light-switch, they are well hidden behind bookshelves, cloak-rooms are too small; you never find any ashtrays; they should make some more intimate rooms available, or at least keep people from passing through all the time; not enough chairs; no adequate seating accommodations; etc.

Criticisms about the book-lending system:

3

The lending periods are too short, one should be allowed to keep the books at least 4 weeks instead of 2 weeks; I would like to keep the books four weeks, the ones I read are often very voluminous and I am hardly able to give them back in time; you are not allowed to keep books longer than 14 days; I wish they would prolong the lending periods, sometimes I need three weeks to finish a book; they should have a professional librarian; etc.

Many books are in bad shape:

2

The German books are dirty, tattered, it is disgusting to see what shape they are in; the copies I've read have been very old; some books are in such a bad shape that even pages are missing; some books are completely tattered; etc.

Other answers:

5

I don't like the atmosphere; books should be discussed more frequently; some books have a political tinge and are too much influenced by democratic ideas; I wish they would employ only men; the staff is not very friendly; etc.

No opinion / No answer:4  
93%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



"What do you have to criticize about the reading-room here in the America House?"

Frequent  
audience

Nothing to criticize about:

26%

There is nothing to criticize about; I honestly know nothing that could be done better; etc.

There should be more German (German language) newspapers and periodicals:

12

There are not enough German language papers available; I suggest an increase in the assortment of German newspapers, more local papers, I also miss German periodicals; too few German newspapers, the number of German periodicals could be increased, too; there were more German newspapers and periodicals formerly; German pictorials are missing; there are no German language periodicals; it would be a good thing to display German periodicals of a high standard such as "Kosmos"; I miss the big German newspapers; too few German language periodicals, "Heim und Welt", the weekly from Hannover, for instance is never on hand; more daily papers, I miss Swiss papers, the "Frankfurter Allgemeine", the "Gegenwart", the "Rundschau"; more German language papers, technical literature translated into German should be on hand, too; that there are no German pictorials available, they should display more copies of the individual papers; that the number of German papers has been reduced; etc.

The room and equipment is inadequate:

11

The reading-room is a bit too narrow; that there is only one table for all those people, it's nearly impossible to get a seat during evening hours, and very often the whole table is occupied by children; it is too narrow; the room is not large enough; its atmosphere lacks intimacy, it is a bit dull; I miss tables to put books and periodicals on; the lighting is bad; there is a draught sometimes; it's stuffy there, you get tired very soon; the reading-room is not comfortable, it looks like a waiting-room, it should be equipped with comfortable seats; it should be divided into different sections so that one can isolate oneself in order to read undisturbed; the whole thing is a bit uncomfortable; etc.

The selection could be larger:

7

I often miss some copies, a complete set is only very seldom available; it is a bit poor; the copies they display are sometimes a bit old; I miss topical periodicals; newspapers are lacking; the selection of periodicals has been reduced; the latest issues are usually lent out; it is very difficult to get the latest issues of the big pictorials such as "Life" and "Collier's" because they don't offer enough copies of them; etc.

There should be more specialized periodicals:

4

Periodicals dealing with women's problems and fashions aren't displayed any longer, that's all I've to criticize about the reading-room; I miss the school programs of the German broadcasting stations; more sporting news should be on hand; a periodical covering all fields of arts is missing; they don't offer the "Deutsche Wirtschafts-Zeitung" (commercial paper); that the "Zahnaerztliche Mitteilungen" (periodical for dentists) isn't on hand any longer; they don't display publications on navigation; they might offer some more German language periodicals for housewives; they should offer more periodicals on radio technics; pamphlets dealing with political and economic questions should be re-introduced; I miss scientific periodicals on cultural matters; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
audienceThere should be more foreign periodicals:

3/

There are too few foreign periodicals, above all, I miss foreign fashion papers; that American periodicals are given preference, I would appreciate it if more papers from other countries were available, too; there are, in my opinion, too many unimportant journals and newspapers, I miss a French paper; I miss some daily papers, American dailies should be procured, too, otherwise one can't learn much about the political opinion in America; periodicals such as "Reader's Digest," "Coronet" and "Ebony" are lacking; etc.

Negative commentaries on the make up of (American) periodicals:

3

There are too many ads in the periodicals; I don't like the way the magazines are made up, ads seem to be the most important thing in them; I don't like the style of most of the periodicals; the loud colors of some magazines don't suit German taste; the magazines are not in my line, the way they are made up is too much businesslike, besides that they don't show a definite trend; the cover pictures of some magazines are trashy, it seems that they can't do without a woman on the first page, furthermore, they carry too many ads and besides that we are not used to the big size of American periodicals; there are too many ads in the magazines; etc.

Criticisms about the behavior of some visitors:

2

Behavior of the visitors deserves blame; it is a pity that some visitors handle the reading-material very roughly; the scholars are a nuisance sometimes, they use the reading-room as a place to do their homework; grownups and children should have separate rooms because the children are too noisy; what I don't like so much is the everlasting talking, a poster should be fixed asking the visitors to keep quiet; the noisy children disturb the readers; that some readers take several papers at once, and that it takes too long a time to find the publication one wants to read; the visitors don't suit me, too many of them want nothing but to get warm; etc.

The recent periodicals should be lent out:

1

It's a pity that one can't take the periodicals along (on loan naturally) which one desires to read, I, at least, was not allowed to do so; that the latest issues aren't lent out; that one can't take periodicals along; that one can't take a complete set along; etc.

Other answers:

8

I notice rather often that pictures or ads are cut out, above all, pictorials with genuine photos are damaged; many periodicals are tattered, I doubt whether the copies are new when they arrive here; that the house is closed on Sundays; they close it too early; that it is in the first place meant as a source of information about technical matters; that the weeklies don't come in punctually; the wireless set should be placed in another room; that not all copies of individual periodicals are available, copies of one year should be bound together; that the periodicals are usually in bad shape; smoking shouldn't be allowed in the reading-room; etc.

No opinion / No answer:4  
81%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

## R E S T R I C T E D

America House Patrons by Frequency  
of Visits During the Past year

	7 or more times	2-6 times	1 or formerly
To spread American ideas (American culture), to educate, teach, Americanize, indoctrinate, democratize			
Approve	19%	24%	17%
Disapprove	2	2	4
Don't know	1	3	4
To provide information especially to the younger generation, to form their minds, educate them, win them over			
Approve	11%	4%	9%
Disapprove	-	1	-
Don't know	-	-	-
To provide entertainment; it's a place where people can pursue their hobbies, and where (above all underprivileged) people can expand their knowledge as all services are free			
Approve	9%	11%	7%
Disapprove	-	-	-
Don't know	-	-	-
To carry on propaganda, to win friends for the United States (for the West)			
Approve	6%	13%	7%
Disapprove	-	1	1
Don't know	1	2	1
To further the exchange of ideas and views between Americans and Germans			
Approve	5%	4%	9%
Disapprove	-	-	*
Don't know	-	-	-
To provide facilities for Germans to learn English, to read American periodicals and books			
Approve	4%	2%	7%
Disapprove	-	-	-
Don't know	-	-	-

(cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

## VII. AUDIENCE EVALUATION OF THE AMERICA HOUSES

Various approaches were used to obtain audience evaluations of the Information Centers as institutions designed to present the American viewpoint. For the most part, the inquiries used were indirect rather than direct on the assumption that a more valid appraisal might be obtained thereby. As will be seen, the Houses are generally very favorably evaluated.

## PURPOSES OF THE AMERICA HOUSES WIDELY APPROVED ...

Among the best indications of favorable evaluations of America Houses is an indirect one, arrived at in a query on the purpose of the Centers and the extent of approval-disapproval with such purposes. By far the most frequently advanced view (60% of the total audience) is that the U.S. through the America Houses seeks to serve the cause of peace and international understanding, to consolidate friendly relations between Americans and Germans and erase the wounds of the last war. Approval of this purpose is almost exceptionless. Next (about 40%) in frequency of mention - also winning general approval - is that the Centers' purpose is to spread information about the U.S., thus to create interest and further mutual understanding. Indoctrination or education is third (about a fifth) on the aims as advanced by the audience, and most who consider this as an aim also voice approval, though there are a very few dissenters. Other purposes as submitted by the audience tend to be variations on these themes, and are also generally approved. An odd entry in the lists of aims as given by the audience is that the Centers seek to promote emigration to the U.S. This wins universal approval among the few who believe this is among the Centers' purposes.

America House Patrons by Frequency  
of Visits During the Past Year

7 or more times	2-6 times	1 or formerly
-----------------------	--------------	------------------

"What, in your opinion, is the purpose of the America House? (What do the Americans want to achieve through the America Houses? What do they expect from it? - IF "Propaganda" - propaganda for what?) Do you approve or disapprove of that?"

To serve the cause of peace, friendship between nations; to establish and consolidate friendly relations between Americans and Germans, to make people forget the hatreds of the last war, reconcile them

Approve	56%	65%	56%
Disapprove	-	-	-
Don't know	2	1	2

To disseminate information on the United States (the country and its people, their culture, etc.), to arouse people's interest and to further mutual understanding

Approve	38	43	37
Disapprove	-	-	-
Don't know	2	1	1

(cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

America House Patrons by Frequency  
of Visits During the Past Year

	7 or more times	2-6 times	1 or formerly
To stimulate emigration			
Approve	2%	1%	1%
Disapprove	-	-	-
Don't know	-	-	-
To consolidate the American position in Germany			
Approve	-	-	-
Disapprove	1	-	-
Don't know	-	-	-
Other answers			
Approve	4%	2%	4%
Disapprove	-	-	-
Don't know	-	1	*
<u>No opinion/Not asked:</u>	<u>3%</u> 167%**	<u>1%</u> 182%**	<u>3%</u> 170%**

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



RESTRICTED

MOST "REGULARS" HAVE RECOMMENDED CENTERS TO FRIENDS ...

Another indication of approval of the America Houses is found in the fact that eight in 10 of the people who are best acquainted with them - members of the Frequent audience - say they have talked about the Centers to friends and recommended they also visit them.

"Have you ever had the chance to talk about the America House with other people? Do you remember about what you said about the America House?"

Yes	82%
No	18
	<u>100%</u>

"And do you remember whether you at that time recommended to your friends and acquaintances that they visit the America House?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to preceding question.)

Yes, recommended it	78%
No, did not recommend it	3
No opinion	1
	<u>82%</u>

REASONS FOR RECOMMENDING ... the America Houses to friends and acquaintances are generally of two kinds: 1) the recommender likes the Centers himself, and 2) he feels his acquaintances can benefit by the offerings.

"For what reasons did you recommend to your friends and acquaintances that they visit the America House?"

Frequent Audience

Because I like it:

Because I like it very well and go there too; because I like many things that are offered here; because I want my friends to enjoy the valuable offerings of the America House too; because I am pleased by the variety of the offerings; because I like it very well in general; I like it very much and I think other people want to see it as well; I liked everything that was offered; because I enjoy being here too; because I like the interior of the place; I want my friends to enjoy the amenities of the center too; I enjoy it here very much; here everybody will find something he can make use of; you find so many interesting things here; I want to give them pleasure; etc.

36%

To expand one's knowledge:

Because I am convinced many people could expand their knowledge here; so they can improve their English; because everything they offer here is very instructive; to broaden their knowledge; because I have a very positive opinion of the America House; because here one can broaden one's horizon; because this is a good opportunity to improve one's education; etc.

25

## R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
AudienceBecause of the library, the reading room:

Because of the library and the books; because they have very valuable translations of American authors; because you can borrow books here; to read the books; because you find very good books in the library; because of the books, I think they can make use of what they read; so they can borrow books here; the books they have here are very good; because they should visit the library; etc.

19%

Because of the activities conducted here:

Because of the film-showings; to see the films; because of the fine presentations here; so that they can attend lectures and activities; to give them a chance to get them acquainted with the activities conducted here; to see whether the films shown to children are really suitable for them; because activities are instructive; etc.

14

Because it is free:

Because there is no charge for anything; you don't have to pay any charge; they don't ask a fee for lending books; because admission to the various activities is free; you would never find anybody who would give you English lessons free of charge; etc.

8

Because here they can get information about America:

Because here you find a wonderful selection of scientific or geographical books about the United States; because here they can expand their knowledge on America, they can get an impression of the American mentality; so that Germans who have only a slight idea about the way Americans live, can broaden their knowledge on this subject; to inform themselves about the American way of life; etc.

7

Visiting the America House means furthering democratic ideas and the contact between nations:

To bring about contact with the free world; they further the understanding between nations; because people still admire Hitler, they should come here to see for themselves and maybe be convinced; so people from the East Zone can form a judgment of their own and may overcome their foolish prejudices so that they get away from their one-sidedness; because here you find no one who would attack a person with a different opinion; because they should overcome their narrow-mindedness; etc.

2

Other reasons:

Because more people should go to the America House - so they become friends with the children you find here; I tried to interest other people so that the America House will go on operating; because they did not know how to spend their time; because there are too few people who go to the America House; people sometimes come to Frankfurt and don't know where to go; etc.

 $\frac{1}{112\%}$ 

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## R E S T R I C T E D

THE FEW WHO HAVE NOT RECOMMENDED THE CENTERS ... say either that their friends already know the America House or they are against recommending anything.

"Did you have any reasons for not recommending to your friends and acquaintances that they visit the America House? What were the reasons?"

Frequent  
Audience

Was not necessary, they knew it already:

Because my son with whom I talked about the America House was the one who recommended to me that I visit it; my friends are already eager visitors; etc.

2%

Other reasons:

Because it's not much use to my acquaintances in Muenster if I recommend they visit the America House in Essen, with this distance - that's impossible; I didn't recommend it to persons who cannot form an opinion or judgment of their own because such people get too easily impressed by the outward appearance - however, I advised people who are competent to form an opinion to take a look at the methods used by the Americans to make propaganda for themselves; it didn't occur to me, as it offers so much it recommends itself; I know that my friends have no time; no, as a German I didn't want to make downright propaganda for it; I had not come across anyone to whom I could have recommended it; I won't be influenced by anything; I didn't have any special reasons for it; as I'm alone I don't see many people; I have made it a principle, I never recommend anything; I would never do that, no; I never talked about it with acquaintances of mine so I couldn't recommend the America House; I didn't have an opportunity yet to talk to other people about the America House; etc.

$\frac{1\%}{3\%}$

## R E S T R I C T E D

## FEW ECHO SUGGESTED CRITICISMS OF AMERICA HOUSE ...

To encourage as much disclosure as possible of any shreds of adverse attitudes toward the America Houses, use was made of a technique that has proved illuminating in other RAS evaluation studies. Respondents were presented with a number of conceivable criticisms of a kind that would be very important if they were widely acceded to, and asked to indicate in each case whether they thought the criticism applied - entirely, partly or not at all.

The most striking fact about the returns to this inquiry (see page following) is the predominant rejection of the criticisms posed. Among frequent visitors - whose judgment is perhaps the most important - majorities of 72 to 84 per cent reject the criticisms in their entirety. This result is of no small importance when it is appreciated that (1) such a mode of inquiry is in part suggestive and hence is likely to represent a maximum rather than a conservative estimate of adverse feeling; and (2) that the criticisms cover such possibly vulnerable points as: America Houses stress the wealth and riches of America; they offer political propaganda under the guise of culture; they ignore the fact that German culture is older and superior to the American; they encourage youth to underrate their fatherland and ape American ways; they stress cultural matters and forget their most important political task - enlightenment on the East-West conflict; and they do not offer anything for the "little man."

Further indicated below, in an inquiry cast in a more usual form, is that only a minority among America House visitors express the belief that the centers present too favorable a picture of America. Moreover most who voice such a criticism feel that such a failing is present to only a small rather than to a large degree.

America House Patrons by Frequency  
of Visits During the Past Year

7 or more times	2-6 times	1 or formerly
-----------------------	--------------	------------------

"Do you have the impression that the America House shows America as it really is or do you have the impression that the America House tries to give too favorable a picture of America? (IF "too favorable a picture": Does it try to do this to a great degree or only to a small degree?)"

As it really is	58%	51%	43%
Tries to a great degree to give too favorable a picture	6	6	6
Tries to a small degree to give too favorable a picture	24	28	17
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>34</u>
	100%	100%	100%

## R E S T R I C T E D

America House Patrons by Frequency  
of Visits During the Past Year

7 or more times	2-6 times	1 or formerly
-----------------------	--------------	------------------

"Occasionally you hear unfavorable remarks about the America House. Do you agree to these opinions entirely, partly or not at all?"

What I don't like about the America House is that:

"They boast there about the wealth and prosperity of America. That's no help to us Germans."

Entirely	3%	5%	3%
Partly	11	14	17
Not at all	83	74	56
No opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>24</u>
	100%	100%	100%

"They sell politics there under the disguise of culture."

Entirely	-	2%	2%
Partly	9	9	9
Not at all	84	72	57
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>32</u>
	100%	100%	100%

"They boast there about American culture and don't realize that Germany has an older and superior culture."

Entirely	6%	10%	12%
Partly	16	21	18
Not at all	72	54	45
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>25</u>
	100%	100%	100%

"It induces young Germans to rate their fatherland rather low and to imitate the American way of life."

Entirely	3%	5%	4%
Partly	8	18	19
Not at all	81	68	54
No opinion	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>23</u>
	100%	100%	100%

"It wastes its time on cultural non-essentials and thus ignores political enlightenments as its most important task in the East/West conflict."

Entirely	3%	4%	2%
Partly	7	10	7
Not at all	80	63	56
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>35</u>
	100%	100%	100%

"What's offered there is beyond the man in the street and not sufficiently popular."

Entirely	4%	4%	10%
Partly	17	13	11
Not at all	73	76	54
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>25</u>
	100%	100%	100%



**OPERATION AND FACILITIES GENERALLY PRAISED ...**

Reactions to the operation and physical features of the America Houses are also generally favorable. It is to be noted in this connection that infrequent visitors are less critical than the Frequent and Occasional audiences.

The staff of the America House is generally considered qualified, the opening hours are satisfactory, as are the furniture and equipment. Quite a few seem reluctant to comment on the staff, and the type of people who visit.

Notwithstanding the general lack of criticisms, some visitors do have suggestions especially on the hours - they want the Centers open later for the most part.

**America House Patrons by Frequency of Visits During the Past Year**

"Now, if you are asked what you don't like so much about the America House and its offerings, or what could be done differently, what would you then say with regard to: The opening hours of the America House?"

	7 or more times	2-6 times	1 or formerly
Opening hours all right	62%	51%	27%
Later closing hours	7	11	5
Open Sundays	8	5	2
Stay open until 9 o'clock	2	1	2
Open longer on Saturdays	1	1	-
Programs begin earlier	7	1	-
Children's program should begin earlier	-	1	-
Other answers	1	3	4
No opinion/No answer	16	26	60
	104%**	100%	100%

**The furniture and equipment of the America House:**

The interior is nicely decorated	74%	68%	53%
Rooms are too small, reading capacity insufficient	7	5	3
Library could be improved	3	1	1
Film showings technically faulty	2	-	-
Criticisms regarding the planning of the building	7	5	3
Other answers	1	5	3
No opinion/No answer	7	17	37
	101%**	101%**	100%

**The Staff of the America House:**

Qualified	71%	65%	40%
Could be better	7	-	3
Other comments	2	3	2
No comments	14	31	39
No opinion/No answer	6	2	16
	100%	100%	100%

**The visitors to the America House:**

No criticism	42%	34%	25%
Everyone can visit	7	2	2
Too many people go to the America House to warm up	6	2	1
Children are a nuisance	-	1	3
Bad behavior	2	1	1
Other comments	13	9	7
No opinion/No answer	30	51	61
	100%	100%	100%

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## R E S T R I C T E D

## AUDIENCE COMMENTS ON OPENING HOURS OF THE AMERICA HOUSE ...

Total  
AudienceOpening hours are good as they are:

I think they are all right, you can't consider everybody's particular wishes; it's opened early and they keep it open long enough; I think that's O.K.; nothing to criticize; etc.

44%

The America Houses should be closed later in the evening:

It should be kept open longer in the evening; closes too early; should be kept open until later in the evening because the working people haven't time to go there during the day; should keep it open some time longer; etc.

8

America Houses should be open on Sundays:

Should be open on Sundays for the working people; should be open on Sundays also, I would then visit it more often because I have much more time on Sundays; it's closed on Sundays, just on Sundays plenty of people have time to visit the America House; etc.

4

They should be open until 9 p.m.:

They should keep it open until, perhaps, 2100 hrs.; it would be better to keep it open until 2100 hrs., because workers and pupils have more time in the evening; should be open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.; etc.

2

Programs should begin at an earlier hour:

They should begin at an earlier hour so that one could get home in good time; etc.

2

Should be kept open longer on Saturdays:

It's not so good that they close so early on Saturdays because people surely have more time then; etc.

1

Children's programs should begin at an earlier hour:

That children's programs should take place in the afternoon and not in the evening; young people shouldn't be admitted so late in the evening; etc.

\*

Other answers:

Not convenient for small people - almost no programs were brought in the evening, most of all during daytime and just those the little man wanted to profit from; sometimes I have the impression that the America House is meant for a certain group of people: the more educated; I don't know the opening hours, the only time I was there was in the morning and as a musician I have no time anyway to visit it, you should better ask people who visit it more often; etc.

3

No opinion/No answer:

37  
101%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## R E S T R I C T E D

## AUDIENCE COMMENTS ON THE FURNITURE AND EQUIPMENT OF THE AMERICA HOUSE ...

Total  
AudienceThe interior is nicely decorated:

I think it's a very nice place; it's beautiful and pleasing to the eye; it's very lavishly fitted up; it's wonderful, it's almost a bit extravagant in the eyes of Germans; it's modern; etc.

63%

The rooms are too small, the seating capacity insufficient:

Everything is so narrow, the building as such should be larger, especially the reading room and the lecture rooms are too small; there aren't enough seats available; the auditorium is too small; etc.

5

Criticisms regarding the planning of the building:

It would be a good thing if the ventilation system would be improved, whenever the house is packed, the air is simply abominable; it's not cozy in here, you feel like in a waiting room; it's too pompous; there could well be one more toilet in the building ;etc.

5

The library should be improved:

There should be a wider choice of books for adults, most of the books are scientific publications, there should be more books for light reading; the library could be even more improved, take, for instance, the selection of books on music; there aren't enough good American books in German versions available; etc.

1

The film showings are technically faulty:

The film showings are rather primitive, they just project the pictures on a screen, there should be a well-equipped projection room; sometimes I feel like smashing the projection machine, it functions very badly and that's often quite a nuisance during film showings; etc.

\*

Other answers:

There never are any exhibitions on sports; things should be arranged more like social events, more personal, there shouldn't be such a hotel-like atmosphere; etc.

3

No opinion/No answer:

23  
100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## R E S T R I C T E D

## AUDIENCE COMMENTS ON THE STAFF OF THE AMERICA HOUSE ...

Total  
AudienceThe staff is qualified, polite, friendly, obliging:

I had a very good impression; they are very helpful; the staff is excellent; as to the staff, that was quite all right; the young ladies who work there are very friendly; the personnel is very good; they are obliging; they are courteous; I was attended to in a very polite and obliging manner, when I picked up some sheet music; they are always obliging; good; excellent; they are O.K.; yes, the staff is good; all I can say is that they are very friendly; they are very civil; as far as I can remember, the staff was competent and polite, I wasn't displeased with anything; I can't think of anything that made an unfavorable impression on me; they are nice; noting to criticize, they are very amicable; there's nothing I found fault with; they are very accommodating; the staff is friendly, it's all right if they go on like that; it's O.K.; I didn't meet anyone who wasn't polite and obliging; any criticisms is undeserved; they are up to their task; the staff is all right, too; they are nice and helpful; it's good, too; they are quite competent; they are qualified people; they are civil and accommodating; they are very presentable; they are O.K.; no criticism; they are quite nice, too; nothing to find fault with; no criticism, they are very accommodating; they are quite on the ball, they are helpful; the staff is very polite and obliging; I didn't observe anything that displeased me; etc.

56%

The staff could be better:

They could be a little friendlier; they could be better trained; one of the checkgirls gets on my nerves; etc.

3

Other comments:

Maybe they are understaffed; they could employ some nice young people, not only such elegant ladies; up till now all of them have been very friendly (they should see to it that the kids behave themselves, however); etc.

2

No opinion/No answer:

$$\frac{39}{100\%}$$

R E S T R I C T E D

## AUDIENCE COMMENTS ON THE VISITORS OF THE AMERICA HOUSE ...

Total  
AudienceNo criticism, good class type of visitors:

The visitors seem to be respectable people; they are all civil and friendly; the visiting public is all right, too; the visitors are of quite a decent type; I'm quite pleased with the type of visitors you find there; most of them are pleasant and decent people; as far as I can tell, the visitors are all right, too; good class people; they are O.K.; no criticism in this case, either; there was nothing that displeased me about them; I have no criticisms to make; no complaint; I didn't notice anything in particular; they are decent people, too; good class visitors; there was nothing to complain about; I have no criticism to make, the people you meet at the center are quite agreeable; as the number of visitors is limited, the atmosphere is very congenial; there's nothing wrong with them, they are pleasant people; etc.

32%

Everybody can visit the America House:

They can't pick their visitors, the center is open to all; you can't bar anybody from the America House just because you have taken a personal dislike to him, after all, as long as he behaves properly; anybody, old and young, can go there; etc.

3

Too many people go to the America House to warm up:

There shouldn't be so many people who go there just to warm up; well, it varies, in winter time, when it's cold, many people just go there because the rooms are heated, they divert serious visitors as they often chat rather loudly; in winter many people go there just to get warm; etc.

3

The children are a nuisance:

When young children don't understand what's going on during some program, they are just noisy, therefore they shouldn't be admitted; during the lectures the audience is disciplined, while in the library you find young people who just pass the time there; there are too many children in the evening performances; etc.

2

Bad behavior:

They should display better manners; many visitors are quite impolite, they don't offer their seats to old people, for instance; etc.

1

Other comments:

Arrangements at film showings are quite different, very many seats are reserved; my advice to everybody is: go and see the center for yourself; attendance is very low, they should arouse people's interest and always offer the right program for any field people are interested in; I'm sure only people interested in the various programs will attend; etc.

9

No opinion/No answer:50  
100%

R E S T R I C T E D



R E S T R I C T E D

## MANY SEE PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT IN OFFERINGS ...

The view that America House offerings have improved over the course of time has considerable currency among the America House audience - particularly among more frequent visitors. The contrary view - that offerings have deteriorated is expressed by very few, though an appreciable proportion see quality unchanged or express no opinion.

## America House Patrons by Frequency of Visits During the Past Year

	7 or more times	2-6 times	1 or formerly
"Do you have the impression that the offerings of the America House have deteriorated in the course of time or that they have improved?"			
Deteriorated	5%	1%	2%
Improved	50	31	23
Partly-partly	3	1	1
Unchanged	31	26	12
No opinion	<u>11</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>62</u>
	100%	100%	100%

Among the improvements noted are better choice of books in the library, and the program in general, as well as in the management and physical arrangement. Comments are listed in order of frequency of mention from the audience as a whole.

"Is there anything, in your opinion, that has improved?"  
 "(What is it, in your opinion, that has improved?)"  
 (Asked of everyone regardless of reply to the foregoing query.)

Total Audience

Choice of books in the library:

The reading material has improved; there are more and better books, the archives have been improved; the library has been improved, there is a wider choice of books now; the mobile library, the library is well assorted now; the choice of books in the library is more comprehensive now; they acquired a lot of new books for the library; etc.

9%

Interior decoration and equipment, rooms, staff, organization, etc.:

In every respect things have been improved, its facilities as well as the staff; the way the center was decorated and arranged after they moved, I can't think of anything else; the center was enlarged; things have improved generally until the center is running smoothly now; I consider it an improvement that the center is more spacious now after its move; the America House is constantly improved and enlarged, regulations have been relaxed, formerly quite a number of things were forbidden to you if you weren't in a certain age group; etc.

8%

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Total  
AudienceOver-all program:

The topics are more interesting and varied now; the choice of topics; the program is more comprehensive now, it's not one-sided any more, formerly mostly educational and political problems were discussed; all activities; the offerings in general; the scope of lectures and other activities has become much broader, formerly it was rather limited; etc.

7%

Level of lectures and lecturers:

Lectures and discussions are held more frequently and in my opinion they are more interesting, too; the lectures held are much better, and the American speakers have friendlier feelings towards the Germans; they succeeded in enlisting the services of more competent lecturers; the lectures held are more topical now, and the speakers often are outstanding personalities, that wasn't so in the past; nowadays the level of lectures is sometimes surprisingly high; etc.

7

Standard of films:

Better films are shown today, they are more interesting, too; the films shown here are of a higher standard now; they are showing more interesting films; etc.

5

Standard of musical performances:

There are quite a few things, in the field of music, for instance, that are new to us Germans, and I'm sure they are included in the program of the America House; the concerts; etc.

2

Other improvements:

The exhibitions; etc.

4

No opinion/No answer:

68  
110%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

# VIII. IMPACT OF THE AMERICA HOUSES

The America House program has thus far in the present analysis passed a series of important tests of effectiveness. It has come through with flying colors on the score of audience size, frequency, composition and reactions. These are necessary but not entirely sufficient conditions of effectiveness. In the last analysis the success of the US Information Centers will be gauged against the extent to which they create among the German people more favorable attitudes and viewpoints towards the United States. In a program as avowedly long range as that of the America Houses such a test must in good part await the passage of time, and is admittedly more conclusively based upon actions than words. But notwithstanding, it is possible in a study of the present kind to apply in a limited way this ultimate test of effectiveness.

## EVIDENCE OF EFFECTIVENESS ...

All frequent visitors to the America Houses were asked the following question successively about: American politics; culture; business and industry; and finally family life and living conditions.

"Did you ever find that any of your views or ideas have been changed or influenced through visiting the America House?"  
IF "Yes": "What view or idea was changed or influenced?"

The returns are revealing and would seem to go far toward demonstrating that the America Houses are achieving the kind of impact to which they aspire. Questioned in the manner indicated, half among frequent visitors attested to changed views about one or more aspects of American life as a consequence of their America House experiences.\* Such a finding derives additional significance when it is appreciated that (1) respondents are disposed to be reserved about acknowledging changes on questions of this kind because of a feeling that it reflects upon one to admit to changes of mind, or to being influenced. And (2) respondents are often not aware of the fact that they have been influenced in their opinions or attitudes.

\* Only a marginal two per cent indicated by their accompanying comments that the changed views to which they referred were in a direction unfavorable to the U.S. The tabulated figures shown are exclusive of these negative changes.

## R E S T R I C T E D

The 50 per cent figure alluded to, for the incidence of changed attitudes, is the average from two surveys - the service area sampling and the visitors' sampling (see Appendix I for detailed description). The precise figures varied somewhat in the two samplings - the only important instance - and are both tabulated below.

By visiting America House changed ideas and views	Frequent Audience from service area sampling	Frequent Audience from visitors' sampling
In one or more areas queried	43%	57%
In American politics	13%	17%
In American culture	20	34
In American business and industry	17	21
In American family life, living conditions	19	28
	<u>69%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The service area returns above have a greater claim to representativeness than the visitors' figures, (see Appendix I), but a considerably lesser claim to reliability since the former are based upon a very limited number of cases. Considering these competing considerations the fairest estimate would seem to be an average of the two sets of returns. It will remain for future study to focus more intensively in this area of impact and thus to specify more precisely and in more detail the extent and kind of influences America Houses exert on the attitudes and views of their visitors. It is to be noted, too, that the present analysis is limited only to the most important group, the frequent visitors; in further study possible impacts on less frequent visitors might also be studied.

## ILLUSTRATIONS OF IMPACT ...

More informative than the bare figures are the accompanying comments, which in view of their importance are illustrated in considerable detail below. Even granting that many of the indicated changes are acquisitions of information or enlightenment rather than fundamental modifications of attitude, they are impressive indications of effectiveness. And more than a few suggest really basic changes in viewpoint - of the nature of almost "conversions" to pro-American orientations by virtue of America House influences.

© Adds to more than 43% and 57%, respectively, because some respondents spoke of changes in more than one area.

## R E S T R I C T E D

Changed Views on American Politics

"Before I visited the America House, I didn't believe that democratic ideals could be realized, now the way the America House is run - that everybody can express his opinion freely, that people can do what they please and can move about freely - has convinced me differently."

"My views on democracy have been changed, in the past, say about three years ago, I was of the opinion that America was misguided regarding the course it had taken, now I know that they follow the right course."

"I didn't believe that democratic principles could be realized and could actually be made to work."

"I have come round to see that a country may benefit from a democratic form of government, too, not only from a totalitarian regime, I came to realize that the Americans lead a free life and that they can speak up whenever they please."

"I've got a different outlook on American democracy, after I read some books on Abraham Lincoln I came to see things in a different light."

"Formerly I had thought that the EDC-treaty wouldn't be a good thing for us, but I've changed my opinion."

"I had been of the opinion that it would be best for Germany to remain neutral, I came to realize that this isn't such a good idea, after all."

"I had held the view that Americans tend to let purely selfish considerations lead them in mapping out their economic policies, I've corrected this view since."

"I had been thinking all along that all the Americans were interested in was to make money, now I know that they also cherish ideals."

"I found out that the Americans don't live in such grand style as I had believed they do, and I realize now that America strives to raise the standard of living in Europe."

"I found out that the Americans aren't so superficial and materialistic in their political conceptions as I had thought they were."

"Above all, I found out that it's not true that the Americans are prejudiced against the European nations, I came to change my views on some economic, some political and other matters, it's my impression that the Americans try hard to become well acquainted with other nations, above all, with Germany."

"Formerly I had believed that mostly economic reasons had led America to wage war against Nazi Germany, as it saw in Germany a competitor. I found that this isn't true."

"The Americans aren't self-centered in their politics, they want all nations in the world to fare well."



R E S T R I C T E D

"I consider the America Houses to be a very positive institution, because of this unobtrusive friendly gesture and cultural contacts with America, I came to change my views on America, I think positively about it now."

"The America House proved to me that the Americans want to offer us a chance to expand our information."

"I was surprised about the candid way in which the Negro problem is discussed, I like their frankness."

"The Americans are very freedom-loving, American policy is based on democratic principles, they want to realize world peace."

"I came to realize that a democracy means to follow the right course."

"I've got a deeper insight into American policy and think more favorably of it now."

"That the American outlook on things is more sensible than I had imagined."

"I had had a less positive attitude towards the trade unions."

"I came to realize that there is a nobler aim than that to engage in petty nationalist politics, namely, to consider things from a point of view that includes the whole world."

"I know now that they actually have a democratic government over there, they've got the two party system."

"I came to see the Jewish problem in a different light, the democratic and tolerant attitude as expressed in books was new to me, I had been a member of the Waffen-SS (military branch of the SS), it became clear to me that every individual has the right to live."

"That America tries to raise Europe to its own level."

"I changed my views on their attitude towards Germany, they sincerely want to be on friendly terms with us."

"I found out that the Americans don't hate us, after all, during the war it looked like they did."

"It really looks now as if Eisenhower didn't hate the Germans, after all."

"Up till now I had believed that the Americans didn't like the Germans too well."

"I don't have any hostile feelings towards the Americans any more."

"Formerly I believed the Americans were ruffians."

R E S T R I C T E D

Changed Views on American Culture

"Today I think more highly of American culture than in the past, formerly I believed that the Americans' single purpose in life was to make money."

"Formerly I had believed that the Americans are a nation without a culture, I found that I was wrong."

"I have a more favorable opinion of the Americans now, I had been thinking all along that the Americans were an uncultured horde."

"I found that the Americans are interested in spiritual matters as well as in material things."

"I thought the Americans were much more superficial and that they were too absorbed in technical matters."

"During the Nazi regime I had had rather unfavorable views on America's culture and sciences, I've come round, however, and see things in a favorable light now."

"I have a more favorable opinion of American culture now, I realize that it's more profound than I had believed."

"I had thought the Americans were less interested in intellectual matters."

"I had imagined the Yanks were wilder, I found out, however, that they are well-mannered, educated and polite."

"I found that American culture is more profound and extensive than I had believed before."

"I found out that in spite of the fact that the Americans are a young nation, their cultural level is high."

"I learned that though American culture isn't as old as ours, it's just as highly developed."

"I came to realize that not everything that's German is best."

"That American culture is more highly developed than I had imagined."

"I had believed that the Americans were very arrogant and materialistic, I've found out in the meantime that they are much more humane than I had imagined."

"In the past you had rather one-sided ideas about American culture, you thought the Americans were monopoly capitalists and rather uncultured."

"That in many respects the information we've got was wrong, I learned that Americans are more interested in acquiring a deep understanding for cultural matters than I had thought they have."

"During the Third Reich we were told that no nation had a culture except for the Germans, now my outlook on things is completely changed."

R E S T R I C T E D

"America has just as ancient a culture as we have, I learned that from books and now I'm so keenly interested in all this that I'm eager to hear more."

"I got a deeper insight into American culture, I hadn't known, for instance, that the works of Bach are played in the States."

"I hadn't believed that American literature had such a high level."

"Formerly I thought they liked only light music, hit tunes and things like that, now I've come to believe that many Americans cherish and appreciate classical music."

"The impression you got of American culture when after the war watching the troops of the occupation powers making their way through this country was fundamentally changed through visits to the America House."

"As a member of a defeated nation you were apt to be prejudiced against the Americans, you blamed them for losing your homeland, it's difficult to put such a thing into words, it's not that you experienced a complete change of mind, it's just that you have come to understand things generally better."

"Before I had thought that things in America are exactly as described in books about the Wild West."

"We had formed a false picture of American culture through lectures held during the war in a spirit of spitefulness."

"I came to realize that the propaganda the National Socialists made against the Americans in the past was untrue."

"I guess I'm pretty old-fashioned in my views and that many things appear to me to be rather strange, I found out that the churches are more vigorous and are more tuned to the people than is the case with the Bavarian state church with all its traditions."

"Formerly I had believed that the Americans' achievements in the field of sciences were pretty meager, but I've come to change my opinion on that."

"I got rid of those ideas that were hammered into us during the Third Reich."

"Before visiting the America House, I thought that the layer of people actively supporting cultural developments was thinner."

"I had had the notion that American culture doesn't go far beyond chewing-gum, I came to realize, however, that it's not just a reproduction of European trends, but that American culture shows definite characteristics of its own."

"I've changed my opinion about American culture, I had believed that it's much more shallow and less highly developed."

R E S T R I C T E D

"As to music, I had been thinking all along that the Americans didn't have any music except jazz, I had a pleasant surprise coming."

"Formerly I believed that people in the States have little regard for classical music, I don't believe that any more, they don't only take new things as a basis to build on."

"Today I think more of American culture than I did before, there isn't only wealth in the States, formerly I didn't know a thing about all that."

"I think more favorably on American educational methods now."

"I came to have more favorable views on the American theater and American literature."

"I hadn't imagined that there were so many outstanding American authors."

"I learned that the Americans are freer and not so behind the times as we are, we cling too much to old traditions."

"My views on American literature have been changed, now I really like reading American books."

"Formerly I had the idea that besides sky-scrapers there were only shacks made of corrugated iron, now I've learned that there are beautiful cities and buildings in the States as well."

"I have more respect for and take a keener interest in American culture now."

"I learned about the brilliant town planning that's done over there, that towns and cities are developed according to specific lay-outs, and I became familiar with their traffic regulation systems."

"I was very much surprised that in the US people are so concerned about social problems."

"I've come to be much more tolerant in racial questions, I think the differences between individual races should be bridged."

"I found out that not slum dwellers or millionaires are characteristic of the US but that a progressive middle class is the most important element over there."

"People are more concerned about the interests of the community in the States than I had thought they were."

"Formerly I was of the opinion that America is a country that's ruled by capitalists, I used to be a member of the HJ (Hitler Youth) and honestly believed in the cause."

"I've corrected my notion that there were only two classes of people in the States, the rich and the poor, I don't believe any more that America is the country where the sky's the limit and that the Americans are narrow-minded in political matters."

R E S T R I C T E D

Changed Views About American Business and Industry

"I had been of the opinion that there are only either rich or poor people in the States, but now it seems to me there is a prosperous middle class, too."

"Formerly I held the view that the individual counts for little in the machinery of American industry, I came to change my opinion."

"My views on American industry have been changed, I had been thinking all along that everything was mass produced over there, now I learned that they produce quality goods, too."

"'Money making' is not the sole purpose in life for the Americans, and it is not true that colored people have no chance to make a career in the field of business as we were told all the time."

"My ideas on American economy have been changed, it became clear to me that by introducing simplified working methods the standard of living was improved, I've got a different outlook, too, on modernization processes, especially in the field of agriculture I learned of very interesting new developments which I hadn't known anything about up till now."

"I think differently now on the position of American workers, I realize that they get higher wages in exchange for their output than do German workers, for instance."

"I had underrated the Americans' talent for organization and their efficiency, I had had no accurate idea of the economic potential of America."

"I have a more positive opinion now of the capacity and the importance of American industry."

"Up till the present time I had never believed that such efficient working methods have been adopted throughout American industry and business."

"I now judge American working methods more favorably."

"The employer-employee relationship in the States is different from the one over here, is more natural."

"Mechanization and the overall progress over there made a deep impression on me."

"I know now that machines do a lot of work over there, that people needn't work so hard as we do, nevertheless, they are very industrious."

"I learned about the intensive exploitation of natural resources in the States, about progressive construction methods, the advanced mechanization of working processes, they are far ahead of us."

"I learned that the Americans have found better solutions for social problems than we did, employees share in the profits, I'm thinking of the Ford plants, unfortunately, this practice isn't used everywhere."

R E S T R I C T E D



R E S T R I C T E D

"I changed my views about the social security system in the States."

"I changed my views on the mechanization of agricultural processes."

"I heard for the first time of progressive methods in the field of employee psychology."

"I know that they are far ahead of us, in the scientific field, too."

"I learned that in the States democratic principles are reflected in labor relations."

"I'm now convinced that the American economic potential is a factor that can influence world policy."

"I didn't think that American industry makes up such a powerful factor."

"I had believed that capitalism was the predominant power in the States, but I've changed my opinion since."

"I hadn't realized before the huge economic potential of America."

"I didn't know before that America was so great and powerful."

"I didn't consider it a good thing to liberalize trade till recently, I now plead for doing it."

"I learned how high a standard the Americans have achieved in the technical field, I think for example of plane construction."

"I picked up information on agriculture matters, I learned that there are institutions in the States which are devoted to studying improved methods of soil cultivation, I hadn't known anything about things like that in the past."

"I wouldn't have believed before that America's got such outstanding architects and engineers."

"I didn't know before that it was possible to construct such huge power dams."

"There are no fetters, no limits for efficient people in America."

"They've got immense raw material resources, I don't think any more that in the fields of technics and applied sciences the Germans are leading."

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Changed Views About Life in America  
(Family Life, Living Conditions)

"I found out that a happy family life is considered an important factor over there and that people aren't mammon-worshippers."

"I've expanded my information, the impression I've had about the position the women occupy was quite false, I had no idea that they play such a prominent part in everyday life."

"I found that most of our views were wrong or missed the point, I learned that realizing the principle of respecting a child's personality in the field of education does not have any negative effects and that it does not loosen family ties either."

"My views on the upbringing of children have been changed, I had known that more freedom is given to children over there, now I've found out that the Americans are very progressive, another thing they do a lot for their health and their looks, they have a start on us in that field, on all this I had had only rather vague notions before."

"I came to realize that Americans are an industrious people, in many cases all family members are working, conditions in the educational field are more favorable, they don't demand blind obedience of children."

"Formerly I believed that there is an upper crust in America who live in grand style and that a large section of the people were living in poverty, now I know that in reality the standard of living of the average citizen is very high."

"My views on family life have been changed, people are much more open-minded and liberal than I had believed, the same is true for the relations between boss and employees."

"Conditions in the educational field are more favorable, they don't demand blind obedience of children."

"I learned that relations between parents and children are easy, they aren't patriarchal."

"I learned about the relationship between men and women, what role women play in public life, and that they get full credit for their work."

"Everything is more progressive."

"Formerly I thought that the Americans were merely out to gain material advantages but I have to admit they also lead a good family life."

"People in America aren't so self-centered, for instance, they are more ready to help others than we are."

"As a rule American marriages are based to a greater extent on companionship than I had imagined."

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

"I got a deeper insight, I didn't know that the average American is so strongly attached to his family."

"Up till now the Germans had the idea that Americans were either cowboys or pin-up girls."

"The average American is strongly attached to his family and is interested in keeping his family together, I didn't know they feel so strongly about this."

"Each member of a family in USA is independent and yet they are on good terms with each other."

"They don't have so many prejudices as we have."

"That social contrasts aren't so sharp, I mean the relations between boss and employees."

"That they have a social relief system in America, formerly I didn't know about that."

"I always thought that they didn't have a social security system in USA but I found that they also have some sort of compensation."

"The American living standard is higher, workers get higher shares of the national income."

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

**"CARRY-OVER" IS ALSO EXTENSIVE ...**

Another way of assessing impact is to measure "carry-over" or dissemination of experiences and information gained from any medium. In this respect, the America Houses also score high - three quarters of the Frequent audience report having made use of information gained in the America House. Since this figure is based upon recall, it is probably to be interpreted as on the conservative side. Others may have utilized America House experiences or information, but have forgotten about it, or are unaware of the origin of their information.

"Did you ever have an opportunity to make use of something which you have seen, heard or read about in the America House? (On what occasion, in conversation, in daily life, in your job?)"

## Frequent Audience

Yes, conversation	44%
Yes, daily life	17
Yes, job	31
Yes, other occasions	12
No	22
	126%**

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"What was it you were able to make use of? (Could you give me some examples?)"

## Frequent Audience

General stimulation, expansion of knowledge:

I told my boss about articles of special interest for us; I also found many themes for private conversations; information, data, I go here to collect information; I broadened my outlook, have done away with various prejudices; everything is useful for the future because I want to go to America; I am continually making use of the things I learn there, I'm fighting against prejudices; I increased my knowledge; correspondence and book-keeping; I expanded my knowledge of geography, up till now I didn't know anything about the Western countries of America; technical knowledge; I broadened my outlook; well, of course, it influences my ideas and my way of thinking; the studies I've made for certain themes; way of living; I could make use of various things for speeches I had to make in school; exchange of experiences; I'm a book-keeper and have learned something new here; I talked about reviews I had read in newspapers; etc.

14%

Certain programs or activities:

What I gathered from reading; attending of film-showings; a film: "What a farmer's wife longs for" (Wunschtraum einer Bauernin), I told people a lot about that; periodicals, newspapers; the impressions I got through films and books; essays in periodicals; new information through lectures; to talk about the lectures; what I learn from the papers; all sorts of information which I gathered from American technical literature; reference books; literature in general;

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

**Frequent  
Audience**

the content of lectures and films; biographies; I talked in the youth group about youth literature and films; the educational lectures for parents; stimulation through Fleurop, exchangee-student of horticulture; etc.

12%

Culture: music, theater, art, etc.:

I talked with friends about the nice concerts and piano recitals and told them that there are very good artists in America; yes, the series of lectures about journalism by Janson, I wrote articles on that myself; the lectures helped me to expand my knowledge; lectures on literature and musical performances, all that is stimulating; series of lectures on Hemingway, lecture on André Gide; something about American painting; I received creative impulses by utilizing the material; literary impulses; many things I had read; I could often make use of my knowledge of literature; by borrowing the relevant literature I was able to present some very good theater performances with a cast of students; books by Thomas Mann; radio program about Thomas Mann; I am an advertising artist and I got new ideas for my work by visiting the America House; I received creative impulses; etc.

11

Expanding information about America, the country and its people:

You know better now how to get along with Americans; you are in a better position to talk over a lot of things with Americans; you learn how the Americans go about certain things; you get familiar, for instance, with trends in housing construction in the States; the Americans' politeness and their direct approach in settling problems; I expanded my information about the country and its people; its majestic scenery, its impressing department stores and about the Americans' progressive way of thinking; there was an exhibition dealing with the negro problem; I could use the knowledge I acquired about American history in school; I found I can now talk things over with the Americans more naturally, it's easier to establish contact with them; you've come to have a thorough understanding of America now; I always champion the democratic freedom you find in America that sharply contrasts with conditions in Russia; you get a very good over-all impression of America, now that I know more about this country I feel encouraged to intensify my business relations with America; the present state of affairs regarding racial questions in the States, the negro problem; etc.

10

Reports on industrial developments, technics, working methods:

For me patent descriptions and technical publications are instructive; I could make use of information on rationalization and standardization processes in architecture in my special field; I could pass on a lot of information on petroleum; reading technical and scientific publications was useful to me; I wrote my dissertation on American business methods; I received new ideas in the field of graphic arts, architecture and industry, I learned of advertising and sales techniques which I may be able to apply later on; I am a journalist and my special

(cont'd on next page)

- 99 -



R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
Audience

field is economics, I could use some material on fluctuations on the market for some articles; expert knowledge about the field of building; books about political economy; reading matter about shipping and aviation, I need that in my special field; I learned that the Americans have more modern and more efficient machines in industry as well as in the household; I found data I needed for treatises on sociological and economic subjects; I found technical publications for covering my special field; I learned how to apply radio-active elements in the field of micro-photography; about the beginnings of movies; etc.

10%

Knowledge of languages:

When I am with my children who also learn English and then because we want to emigrate; my knowledge of technical English; I expanded my knowledge of English; the knowledge of English I gained here; I held a lecture in school about the Panama canal in English; my English was improved; etc.

10

Reports on science and research:

Medical periodicals; I could make use of my knowledge of geography which I gained from reports; comparative constitutional law; it enabled me to include educational problems, science, the latest findings in my publications; economic geography; knowledge of historical subjects; criminal law; about Indian philosophy; knowledge of chemistry; something about medicine; in the field of depth-psychology and sociology; books on mathematics; reports on politico-economic literature; statistical material, I needed literature about the Schuman-plan for an examination; knowledge of biology gathered from documentary films; books on constitutional law; original research for scientific studies, psychological themes in lectures; etc.

7

Information about politics and topical issues:

Certain political themes; economic policy; special political knowledge gained by reading the relevant literature; my knowledge of politics; I am better informed now about the emigration problem; I like to hear what happens in the world and to be kept well informed; political information, especially about the American elections at that time; the political conversations; I gained information about democracy here and was able to comment on that subject; the situation of American Trade Unions; the American electoral system; I was able to make use of the knowledge I got about the Marshall-plan in conversation; information on the American constitution and the history of World War II; the idea of international understanding; special details of America's policy toward Europe; etc.

6

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
Audience

Reports on agriculture and agricultural working methods:

I read about viticulture, my son also profited from it for his studies; agriculture, seed-breeding, etc., all these advances; agricultural reports; something about farmers' life over there; rationalization methods in agriculture; recovery of arable ground choked up with sand; I was able to utilize an article about American agriculture for a lecture in the "Hanseatic Youth Association;" scientific books on agriculture; etc.

Other answers:

I laid aside the useless formality I had been taught and assimilated spiritual freedom and tolerance; I was able to correct other people's errors; it's interesting to see how cleverly and with utmost disregard to the costs involved America tries to win Germany over to its side; nobody does anything without expecting something in return for it and the Americans who are so over-keen on business would be the last to do that; inspirations about fashions; to know that you can be on easy terms with a superior - I saw that I did very well by it, your boss will treat you according to the way you handle him - the natural and informal way of working relations is something I credit the American House with; about the American attitude toward Hitler; etc.

4

No opinion/No answer:

4  
88%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## R E S T R I C T E D

II. Visitors' Study

The proportion of America House visitors in a service area sampling is of course likely to be limited if for no other reason than the finite capacity of the America Houses to provide for them. Accordingly it was deemed advisable, as a second leg of the present study, to supplement the service area sampling by specifically a visitors' sampling, in order to augment the number of cases of America House visitors - particularly frequent visitors - and thus permit detailed and reliable description of the characteristics and reactions of this key group. This visitors' sampling was accomplished by going to particular America Houses (between April 7th and 24th) and randomly selecting visitors on the premises (every nth leavetaker), who were then interviewed in the Centers, or when this was not feasible, appointments were made for subsequent home interviews.

The original purpose of this augmented visitors' sampling was to examine the differences in audience reactions and evaluations of the various kinds of America Houses. For this reason sampling embraced 200 cases at each of the selected centers.\* However, examination of the comparative returns - to be reported upon separately - disclosed an absence of important differences. This situation immediately pointed up the possibility of capitalizing upon the eight house returns in a more extended way, i.e. as in effect a representative sampling of America House visitors. Such is possible since with no important differences it is proper to combine the cases from the various centers; and secondly it is reasonable to suppose that those obtained from the diverse houses chosen, in not varying importantly among themselves are not likely to vary significantly from the 46 houses as a whole.

Additional assurance of the propriety of this assumption was the almost exceptionless correspondence of comparable figures on frequent visitors from the service area and the visitors' samplings. There was only one instance of important deviation which is considered in the text (see page 88).

It will already have occurred to some readers that an America House sampling of visitors as described will overrepresent the more frequent visitors, since at any given time these are more likely to be present at an America House. This factor was corrected for by a process of weighting in all visitor sample figures cited in the report. The four highest attendance groups - who together comprise the Frequent audience (which alone is discussed) - averaged approximately 8, 12, 30 and 52 visits a year. This means that members of the highest group had 6.5 times the chance to find their way into the visitors' sample as members of the lowest frequency group. This was corrected by multiplying the cases for the first group by 6.5 and the cases for the other group by analogous weighting factors in coming to the correct composite figures for Frequent audience taken as a group.

* Hamburg	Fulda
Essen	Heidelberg
Koblenz	Hof
Frankfurt/Main	Ulm

## R E S T R I C T E D

## APPENDIX I: A NOTE ON STUDY DESIGN

I. Service Area Study

Earlier studies of the America House program in West Germany have already provided a picture of awareness and reactions on the part of the West German population taken as a whole. It was thought desirable in the present more intensive scrutiny of the status of America Houses in West Germany to sample not the entire population, but only those segments which are within areas of convenient access to the 46 America Houses available, and who hence can be considered in any realistic sense part of the potential audience of America Houses proper - i.e. exclusive of reading rooms, bookmobiles, and other extension activities of the America House premises.

Accordingly sampling in the initial study was confined to the approximately 6,830,000 West Germans 15 years of age and over, residing within the official city limits surrounding America House installations. A sample of 2,000 cases was allotted to the 46 America House cities\* in proportion to their population size. Sampling was, as usual in RAS operations, of a representative probability type based upon names drawn in random fashion from police registers.

Interviewing was conducted in the service area study between February 12th and March 15th, 1953, by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract for Evaluation Staff, formerly the Reactions Analysis Staff.

\* These are as follows:

Hamburg	Freiburg	Giessen
Munich	Heidelberg	Schweinfurt
Essen	Bremerhaven	Landshut
Frankfurt	Darmstadt	Coburg
Stuttgart	Wuerzburg	Fulda
Hannover	Bamberg	Ingolstadt
Bremen	Ulm	Marburg
Nuernberg	Koblenz	Weiden
Kiel	Kaiserslautern	Tuebingen
Mannheim	Heilbronn	Straubing
Wiesbaden	Bayreuth	Hanau
Karlsruhe	Hof	Passau
Augsburg	Ludwigsburg	Schwaebisch Gmuend
Kassel	Pforzheim	Rosenheim
Regensburg	Erlangen	Eschwege
Bad Hersfeld		

In the interest of program economy some of the above centers have since been discontinued.

APPENDIX II: COMMENTS BY THE FREQUENT AUDIENCE ON FILM SHOWINGS,  
LECTURES, CONCERTS, EXHIBITIONS AND THEATER PERFORMANCES \*

Film Showings

"What do you consider to be good about the film showings here in the America House?"

Frequent  
Audience

Generally appreciative comments:

I like everything about the film showings; they help to improve one's over-all knowledge; I liked everything they offered up till now; it's a good thing to give people a chance to see documentary films and other features dealing with interesting subjects; the many-sidedness, the films are of special value to my students; the interesting subjects of the film program, they sometimes even offer a program for entertainment; everybody can find a film of special interest to him or something that pleases him, they offer films dealing with all kinds of subjects; no other cinema offers the films they show here, besides they are topical; they offer entertaining short films and a large selection, the program on the whole is good; the subjects of the films are interesting and instructive; they often change the program but it's always topical and usually very instructive; the plots of the films reflect life as it really is; by and large the films are nice though those which deal with some economic matters aren't too interesting for us older people; I liked the films I saw up till now, I can't think of anything particular; the fact that the films help to improve one's knowledge about the world and its peoples; if one can't afford to make large trips it's quite nice to see foreign countries on the screen; etc.

27%

Documentary films:

The documentary films are especially good; the documentary films are very good; that they offer films to enlighten people on various subjects; I consider the documentary films for young people to be very good and instructive; I liked the films on biology and life in America; the films about different countries, films on expeditions; I like the films on expeditions; the films dealing with trips and voyages, films for children, too; the documentary films, on South America for instance; that they don't offer only light films but also instructive films on technical matters and arts; the wonderful films showing American landscape and scenery and the habits and customs of other people; the films give you an insight into the production of documentary films in other countries; that they are very instructive, I saw films on painting in America which I liked very much; the documentary films especially those about countries unknown to me, they broaden one's horizon; that they present documentary films that aren't offered at any other place; they help you to see political and other problems more clearly; that American documentary films are offered with German texts; etc.

23

(cont'd on next page)

\* These comments were obtained in the Visitors' sampling, whereas the participation figures in the text of the report are based on the Service area sampling.



Frequent  
AudienceThe technical side of the films, the presentation:

That they are not too long; sound track and projection are satisfactory; projection and acoustics are good; the Americans know how to make films, the way a program is arranged is especially good; the films are excellent and they don't offer the same program for too long a period; the projection room is nice, the seats convenient; I like the room where the film shows are presented; I like the films as such but also the lectures which go with them, another thing I like about the film showings here is that they show some films in technicolor; synchronization is good; performance hours are convenient; the smallness of the projection room causes a more intimate atmosphere than is found in other public cinemas; the man who conducts the shows is all right; the manager is very witty; that the manager gives some introductory comments on the film; that the films are offered in a nice room where one can sit comfortably and peacefully and, last but not least, that they are free of charge; the sound track is good; it's a good thing that nobody is let in after the show starts; that an extra program is offered to children; that the movies start as early as 6 p.m.; the loud-speaker is good; that in case it's crowded adults are given preference to children; etc.

12%

Films about America:

That the films give you an idea of the American way of life; films about the individual states of the US show the high living standard of the American people, the free life over there, the tempo of city life, in short: the chief American characteristics; the films offer a cross section of American life and of the country's economy; the films give you a more accurate idea of American life, conditions and scenery than books do; the films are easy to understand, they give an insight into technical developments in America; they show life in America and deal with topical world problems; they show the American way of life and American institutions that might be adopted by the Germans; that they give you an idea of conditions in America, especially of family life; that they show what's done in America to get a fertile soil, the documentary films are excellent; that the films show the Germans that not only one right outlook upon life exists; that the films presented in the America House help to understand other peoples' doings; that they present instructive films about America which can't be seen at any other place; they make you change your ideas about America; above all, that I can learn something about America and its peoples through these films; they show films on American life, about life in war-damaged countries such as Japan, there isn't anything more instructive and interesting, I must not forget the films on the Ford oil plants, etc.

11

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
AudienceFree of charge:

That everybody is admitted free of charge; that it doesn't cost anything; the free admission, that's all I can say about it; it's an unexpensive pleasure, even free of charge; etc.

5%

Other answers:

That the films are synchronized; I like best the film showings that are accompanied by lectures; the man who conducts the showings is very nice, he is always willing to answer your questions; the German news-reels; the varied ten minutes news-reel program; etc.

3

No opinion/No answer: $\frac{3}{84\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

"And what could be changed about them?"

Frequent  
audience

Nothing:

I don't think there is anything that should be changed; I think things are o.k. the way there are now; nothing should be changed; etc.

15%

Suggestions for the selection of films:

They should show the latest news reels; they should show some older high-quality films for entertainment which you don't get to see elsewhere; they should show some longer films of a high level; they really should show some American A-grade pictures in the original version, if possible; films shouldn't aim so much at educating people as at entertaining them; one shouldn't feel as strongly that there is a moral meaning to the story; I think it would be a good idea to show films about life in the States covering the following fields: industry, medicine (control of epidemics, production of drugs), systems of government and so forth; they should show 3-D films on an experimental basis, America is the country where the sky is the limit; maybe they should show more of the dark sides of life in the States, the way America authors handle these problems, I'm thinking of Caldwell; now and then a historical film could be shown, too; maybe it would be an idea to show films about naval warfare and the war in Korea; more geographic and biological films should be shown; it might be a good idea to show phases of the life the different nations lead on all continents and to compare conditions in the individual countries, they should show new documentary films; the films should either be longer or more of them should be shown in one program; instead of showing these short ones only, they could now and then offer a longer picture for entertainment, they shouldn't, however, turn into a competitor for the regular movie-theaters; though not all films should be shown in German, I think half of them should be in German; etc.

16

Suggestions for improving film projection room and technical equipment:

There should be a larger room for film showings; they should check whether or not the ventilation system could be improved; maybe the back part of the film auditorium could be enlarged; the projection room should be separate from the auditorium; the sound track could be better, it was a bit indistinct; better projection machines; the screen should be larger, regular movie theater chairs should be provided; the back rows of the auditorium should be elevated; the ventilation system should be improved; etc.

12

Silence and order should be strictly enforced:

During the showings visitors should not be allowed either to come in or to leave; that the doors of the hall are closed once the showing has got under way; I think it's a nuisance that people are admitted after a film has started, they couldn't do that in a regular movie theater, either; etc.

2

(Cont'd on next page)

- VI -

R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
audience

Children shouldn't be admitted to film showings:

For children a separate film program presenting fairy tales and things like that should be arranged, they shouldn't be allowed to attend film showings, as it is now, most of them don't understand what's being shown; etc.

2%

Other suggestions:

Now and then they should rent a regular movie theater for one evening in Ulm to show to a large group of interested people American documentary films; maybe for some time in the afternoon, say 15:00 hrs., a film program could be scheduled, it seems to me 17:00 hrs and 19:00 is rather late; those activities announced in the program of the center should really take place; films about different topics should not be shown in one session, tickets for reserved seats should be issued at an earlier date, for people who live at quite a distance from Hamburg and who don't get there often it's rather difficult nowadays to get tickets; the film program should be changed more rapidly, it often runs for a whole week; the accompanying music shouldn't be so difficult to understand, we want nice melodies, no fugues; etc.

3

No opinion/No answer:

16  
66%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

Lectures

"What do you consider to be good about the lectures here in the America House?"

Frequent  
audience

Themes are well selected, topical:

That they offer something in so many fields; that they offer themes about America and others as well; themes are well selected and topical; that they always deal with interesting subjects; the selection of topics and that every lecture is complete in itself; they present themes which won't be dealt with anywhere else; always topical; the lectures do not deal with abstract themes but are often of great topical interest and are instructive; a great variety of themes; great variety of fields; lectures on American modern literature were very good and of a high standard; everything was very good, I like scientific lectures or travel accounts; literary themes were very good; the Negro problem was very clearly and thoroughly explained; that they give a picture of American life; about habits and customs in USA; etc.

21%

Lectures are instructive, lively and interesting:

I considered the theme and its execution to be very good; I improve my education and broaden my horizon; lectures were very good, I was very interested; I get a lot of information out of them; some of it was very good; very interesting; their general value is very great; great variety of themes, interesting; you get much new information, they are instructive and interesting; that you can learn from them; rather nice; I appreciate them as a means to improve my general knowledge; they are given in a nice manner; clear and of a high standard; the subject is carefully studied, I never went home dissatisfied; that they are supplemented by slides so that they are easier to understand; they provided a lot of information; they are comprehensible; I learned many things about America; lectures about other countries were very instructive; provide an insight into public life in America; everybody can understand them; I was informed about things of which I would not have heard anywhere else; comprehensible, even for non-experts; they are on a very high level; etc.

20

The speakers are experts in their particular field:

The speakers are very good; that the lectures are presented by people who know their job; I was very interested in the lectures of Dr. Irmgard Rexrot-Kern; that some of them are very well-known personalities; the woman-lecturer spoke very well; they were always presented by men of great importance; that they are presented by experts or by outstanding people; good and convincing speakers; because the speaker really knew his job; some speakers have a way of making their audience feel cheered up; the speakers were always highly qualified; etc.

14

(Cont'd on next page)

- VIII -

R E S T R I C T E D



RESTRICTED

Frequent  
audienceLectures are followed by discussions:

I appreciate the brief discussion at the end of a lecture - it's good that the audience is relatively small; the way discussions are lead; that it is possible to discuss the subject of the lecture; the discussions which follow the lectures are very instructive; etc.

2%

Other answers:

That they can be attended by anybody; you are admitted free of charge; that they are presented at all; you need not pay an entrance fee; they find the right way of approaching the audience very quickly; there is no entrance fee there; etc.

1

No opinion: $\frac{4}{62\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

R E S T R I C T E D

"And what could be changed about them?"

Frequent  
audience

20%

Nothing:

Criticisms about the organization:

It would be good to hold lectures in the afternoon and on Sunday mornings; children shouldn't be admitted; they should be planned for an earlier hour; more themes which are suitable for young people; a loud-speaker system; more lecturers who are really qualified; there could be more pictures to supplement the lectures; lectures should be followed by discussions; they should be briefer; more lectures in English; the late hours for which lectures are set are unsuitable for pupils; a larger room should be made available for activities that draw large audiences; the lecturers should be carefully selected; after lectures and discussions the lecturers and the audience should have a little gathering to get to know each other; the slide projector should have a sharper lense; they should offer more lectures; that lectures should be held by American or British lecturers; etc.

10

More lectures about America should be given:

Lectures about daily life in America should be offered; more lectures which show the American way of life as compared to life in Germany; more travel accounts should be included in the program; they should start a series: a day in the life of an American citizen; I would appreciate lectures about the US Navy and would like to attend them; etc.

3

More lectures on political and economic subjects should be given:

More political lectures should be offered which draw a comparison between life in East and West to make people realize how well they are off here; that for a change some lectures about technics should be held; they should present lectures about women's problems; etc.

2

More lectures on cultural and scientific subjects should be given:

Lectures about literature should be offered more often; more scientific subjects; something like "authors read from their own works"; I would appreciate lectures on modern art; I am thinking of something special, perhaps lectures on photography; according to my taste they could give more lectures about international literature; etc.

2

Other answers:

I feel that they want to make some propaganda, they should rather give that up; a better type of visitors, young people shouldn't be admitted; sometimes they should offer something more outspoken, I mean something that's not tinged; etc.

3

No opinion - No answer:

9  
49%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- X -

R E S T R I C T E D

Concerts

"What do you consider to be good about the concerts here in the America House?"

Frequent  
Audience

Fine arrangement and selection of programs:

The program they offer is unique; they offer a good program; that they also offer music from foreign countries presented by foreign artists (Negro singers); it is a good thing to present modern music, too, thus one learns to comprehend it; the programs are good, they include fine classical music and also pieces from Stravinsky; that they offer German and American chamber music; the program is excellent and varied, I especially like the piano recitals; the programs consist of musical pieces of all kinds, best of all is chamber music and modern music; that you have a chance to hear musical pieces that are usually not included in concert programs; that they offer music by American, French, Spanish, Italian, German and Russian composers; that they pay special attention to modern music; that they play music on request; etc.

20%

Capable performers, especially foreign(American) artists:

The performers are very capable; the artists are first rate; the performances of the artists are of a high standard; they select only capable artists; the artists present fine performances; artists of a high standard are engaged by the America House; I once listened to a concert with an especially capable violinist playing the solo; the artists are very efficient; the performances of the artists never disappoint you; that also capable artists perform here; they sign on capable performers and give a chance to young artists; I like the Negro choir, they presented a fine performance; I once listened to Helen Parker, I liked her performance very much; etc.

19

Offerings are appreciated (general answers)

I always liked recitals best; the piano recitals; the concerts are always of a high level; I appreciate all musical offerings; I appreciate the way the performances are arranged; the standard of the musical performances is amazingly high; I like the concerts where the audience can put in requests; etc.

12

Lectures accompanied by records, and discussions:

The large selection of records; excellent music is offered from records, and discussed afterwards; lectures on music are interspersed with records; that they offer modern music from records; etc.

5

(cont'd on next page)

Frequent  
Audience

Performances are free:

That admission is free; it's a fine thing that the performances are free of charge; those people who can't afford to buy tickets for regular concerts highly appreciate the musical performances in the America House; that you can listen to concerts and records without having to pay for it; etc.

3%

Positive commentaries on the concert hall:

The acoustics are good; the piano is excellent; I like the concert hall, the way it's decorated, one gets struck with awe the moment you enter the hall; etc.

2

Introduction into the field of music through lectures (discussion of a musical work before performance):

The introduction given before a musical performance; the introductory lecture on music is a good thing, it makes you familiar with American composers you only knew by name; one gets to know many musical pieces and has a chance to listen to informative lectures on them; the clever introduction into the field of atonal music; the way the teacher interprets musical pieces; the musical performances are especially well arranged; etc.

1

Other answers:

Audience is appropriate; nothing at all; that you needn't dress up for musical performances; they go to great lengths to make the visitors feel at ease; that one can make reservations; they lent me music books for wind instruments last year; etc.

3

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{66\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

"And what could be changed about them?"

Frequent  
Audience

Nothing should be changed:

Nothing, everything they offer is good; I have no suggestions to make; nothing should be changed; nothing; etc.

13%

Suggestions for changes in the program:

They might present more ancient music; more music from India, Japan and China; more modern dance music; more jazz; more classical music; the record collection should be enlarged; they should offer nothing but genuine concerts no reproductions by phonographs; more serious music; more jazz; some piano recitals; they might schedule performances of American singers more often; they could present an operetta now and then; more music by American composers; folk music; etc.

13

More concerts, hours should be changed:

Concerts begin too early for working people; there should be more concerts; they should offer all-record programs in the evening, too; concerts should start on time; the artists never arrive punctually; more visitors would show up if concerts wouldn't take place at such a late hour; they should offer more musical performances; they should arrange matinees on Sundays; I would like to hear more music-on-request programs in the afternoon; performances should be repeated; the performances start at too late an hour; those performances that are overcrowded should be repeated; etc.

5

Auditorium and acoustics should be improved:

They should try to find a larger hall, this one is always overcrowded; in case the concert-hall is full up they should transmit the concert by means of loud speakers to another hall; the hall is not suited for record programs, it's too big for that; decorations of the hall could be nicer, they might put a palm-tree or something like that in it; I think they should install better loud-speakers; they should see to it that the hall gets a festive atmosphere; the arrangement of the hall should be changed in order to improve acoustics and clearness; they should use a tape recorder instead of discs when presenting music of high value; the pillar in the middle of the hall is disturbing; etc.

3

Reservation system should be improved:

Tickets should be easier to get; tickets should be distributed at a more convenient time, at a late hour perhaps so that also working people have the chance to get some; tickets are distributed at fixed hours, if you are late, they have all gone; they should hold tickets back for visitors who come regularly; etc.

\*

(cont'd on next page)



Frequent  
Audience

Only people interested in music should be admitted:

Only people who are really interested in music should be admitted; the bad behavior of some visitors irritates those who take music seriously; etc. \*

Other answers:

An introductory lecture before the performance should be given; explanations should be given to make music comprehensible to everybody; an introduction is advisable; the music offerings should be included in the printed all-round program; they should offer an extra program for musical performances; etc. 3

No opinion/No answer:

10  
47%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

Exhibitions

"What do you consider to be good about the exhibitions here in the America House?"

Frequent  
Audience

Exhibitions are varied, instructive, interesting:

A lot of material is exhibited, they cover as many fields as possible; the exhibitions are out of the ordinary, they are something new compared to ours; the varied material that is exhibited serves educational purposes; the quality, novelty and modernness of the exhibited material; I liked everything I saw in the exhibitions; very instructive; everything that was shown has been outstanding; everything was to my taste; very interesting, instructive; they cover all aspects of cultural, economic and social life; the selection of themes, the numerous paintings - the variety, the good taste and the excellent graphics at works took me by surprise; etc.

30%

Exhibitions are well arranged and organized (composition, display):

The tasteful disposition of exhibited objects which are generously spaced and carefully chosen, the rooms are not crammed; they are well organized - the rooms are perfectly suited for exhibitions; the arrangement was clear, the objects were displayed decoratively; they are well composed; they made good use of the space available; the objects are arranged in a pleasant manner; the exhibitions are very well planned; the exhibitions are well composed and easy to understand; the description they give are easy to understand; I liked the way they arranged the drawings and paintings; the objects are displayed in an unconventional manner, very cleverly arranged; I liked the exhibition rooms because they are so light; etc.

12

Through exhibitions visitors get an insight into life in the United States:

Through the variety of the exhibitions you get an insight into the life of the American people, into American business life; they give you an insight into the American world; they inform you on technical developments in the States; you get an impression of the American way of life; they give you information on the way Americans live and you learn about their industrial production; you get acquainted with the latest technical developments, through them you are able to draw comparisons between Europe and the United States; they show you how the Americans live; their modern functionalism, perfection in building construction and furniture design were most appealing to me; the frankness of the individual American shows his self-confidence; etc.

10

(cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

Frequent  
AudienceSpecific exhibitions:

I liked the machines designed to facilitate a housewife's work which were displayed in an exhibition on household goods; I was pleased by the exhibition on household goods; I liked the EDC-exhibition; I liked exhibitions on various themes, e.g. about the Negro problem, then I saw one on silver goods and also on needle work, particularly interesting to me was one exhibition on Steinberg, in whom I am personally interested; one exhibition called "Jewelry and Glass, Textiles" was outstanding; I also liked an exhibition on an American cartoonist; the exhibition on French art was very good; the children's drawings were excellent I found them interesting from a psychological point of view; I also liked the exhibition on fashions; etc.

5

I liked the photographs:

I saw one exhibition with photos on the American way of life; I felt very excited by a photo exhibition I saw; there are excellent photos; I wonder where they get that wonderful material; I liked the colored photos - I have never seen anything like that in Germany; I saw many artistic photos; I always liked the photos; photos on arts are always very interesting; etc.

4

I liked the modern paintings (abstract art):

You see a lot of modern art; I saw an exhibition of pictures by young Essen artists which was excellent; here you get acquainted with modern art; I am glad that they show modern and abstract pictures, paintings as well as photos; they show us modern art which you never find in conventional exhibitions; etc.

4

Other answers:

Admission is free of charge; I think it is good that they show one at all; it is a nice experiment, that is all; you can examine whatever you like and even touch everything; to further mutual understanding between the Germans and the Allied forces; I like them very much, only sometimes they are a little dull, pedantic; in general the graphics at work are very good; it helps young artists to become known; etc.

3

Nothing in particular:

I cannot remember any details; actually nothing; I don't think anything is good about the exhibitions; etc.

1

No opinion/No answer:

$$\frac{4}{73}^{**}$$

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"And what could be changed about them?"

Frequent  
Audience

Nothing:

They are changed very often; I wouldn't know to say anything; nothing to be changed about them, they please the eyes and are well organized; etc.

22%

About the arrangement of exhibitions:

One should write an explanation for each picture; it would be nice if the pictures were shown with subtitles or numbers; the exhibitions should be changed more often, and also a satisfactory explanation should be attached to each picture; a greater number of pictures would offer more chance for a better understanding of the average American art; more exhibitions should be shown; they should employ guides to help the visitors to a real understanding; a show should include very different types of pictures; etc.

11

About the themes of the exhibition:

I would prefer to see good old masters; it would mean an improvement to show reproductions of the great masters; perhaps modern art could be shown by itinerary exhibitions with works from museums and institutes; I'd like to see more contributions of works from European artists; too much children's painting; also it strikes me that the Jewish element is so strongly stressed (among Heidelberg population the view prevails that it is a Jewish institution); more exhibitions on art and painting which show the works of other nations; more paintings of well-known old masters (Winer, van Dyck); more exhibitions on foreign artists; don't show only such abstract painters, experts or artists should take over the supervision; etc.

7

About the exhibition room:

Nothing except an extra room for the pictures; perhaps improve the light; more space for the exhibitions; it is disturbing to have people walking through the exhibition room all the time; they should use a different room, a separate room for exhibitions; etc.

5

Other answers:

If one is interested, more publicity; etc.

1

No opinion/No answer:

13  
59%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Theater Performances

"What do you consider to be good about the theater performances here in the America House?"

Frequent  
Audience

Good artists, young actors and amateurs get a chance to demonstrate their talents:

The cast was good; the acting was quite good; I think those people are quite capable, it's quite a new form of presentation, the language, the expression, the gestures, everything is brilliant, the actors we saw were excellent; I think it's a good thing that young actors are given a chance to show what's in them; actors who haven't yet appeared on the stage are introduced to the public; I appreciate that the plays are presented by qualified actors; as far as acting is concerned, the performances are good; the young actors are given a chance, and recognized critics write reviews afterwards; well-known actors can be seen in the America-House; acting performances are excellent; the actors are capable; by and large, I was pleased with the artistic performance; if you take into consideration that the actors are amateurs, then the acting performance can be called good; that the amateur actors did their best; the actors have got a good theatrical training and were well suited for their roles; usually young artists were introduced, they make an experiment now and then; capable actors, though most of them are very young; I think it's good that parts are given to amateurs, thus they have a chance to get used to perform before a large audience; that through amateur dramatics young actors are furthered; the amateur actors did quite a good job; etc.

5%

With simple means quite a lot is achieved - direction and staging are good:

They are capably produced, the staging is pretty good considering the means that are at the disposal of the people who organize performances; the scenery is pleasant; I was very pleased with the decorations and the lighting; with simple means they've achieved something really brilliant; the scenery is quite simple, in a way it's quite original, this sort of thing was new to me; the tasteful way in which they staged plays; the staging was excellently done, I mean, I like it that the attention isn't concentrated on a fixed stage but that the actors perform right in the middle of the audience; decorations are very tasteful; I liked it that such good plays were produced though decorations were used sparingly; the means they employed in staging the plays were well chosen; that so much is achieved with such simple means; I appreciate it that they have the courage to present really good plays when they have only so few means at their disposal; the direction in all plays was excellent; I'm sure the director is a very capable person; the scenery was new and modern, but this didn't produce a disagreeable effect; the staging was done in a very natural manner, without much scenery; that plays are staged in an artistically very gratifying manner considering the possibilities; the interpretation of plays was good; I appreciated the good will they show in wanting to offer something to people, that's a good thing; the staging is well done, the director does a very good job; the clever way in which manuscripts are condensed, thus even if a play is presented in an abridged form, you get the most important points; etc.

4

(Cont'd on next page)

- XVIII -



RESTRICTED

Frequent  
AudienceExcellent selection of plays:

I liked the individual plays as such; the plays the America-House produced were well selected; the selection of themes is unsurpassed; they always selected the plays very cleverly; they've chosen excellent plays; the plays they've presented are excellent; the themes are very instructive; I like all about the theater performances; I like the themes; I was very pleased with the selection of plays; the plays they offered were very fine; etc.

3/4

I liked everything (general answers):

I liked them very much; I like all about the theater performances, it's a nice diversion; on the whole, they are pretty good; in my opinion the performances were quite good; I like the way they enact plays here, I can't put it more clearly; etc.

2

American (English language) plays are presented - sometimes by American actors:

That here you get a chance to see American artists who don't perform at any other place over here; I felt that the performances were typically American and very interesting; that modern American plays were introduced to us; I appreciated that plays by American dramatists were shown of whom no works had yet been produced over here; I got to know, at least in parts, an American play that's only rarely produced but that is a milestone in the history of the theater; I think it's a good thing that people in Germany have a chance to see American plays performed by American actors; especially the performances presented in English were excellently staged; I appreciate that thus we get to know something about contemporary American literary works; above all, I appreciate that I can see English plays presented in English; through the theater performances you get an insight into contemporary theatrical works in the States; etc.

1

Modern and rarely produced plays are presented:

Plays which are rarely produced were presented; modern trends in art are given ever more room here; you get a chance to become familiar with new and modern trends in theatrical art; I think the modern plays they present are good; it's a good thing that they introduce modern plays to us; I appreciate that they offer modern plays also; an experiment is made, they show the most modern of plays that aren't produced anywhere else; new trends are given a chance to develop; I like the way in which problems are presented in modern theatrics; the modern way to present plays is very witty; etc.

1

Excellent musical presentations (scenes from American operas and operettas):

Gerahwin: Porgy and Bess; the musical side of the performances is very pleasant; I like modern music which is offered only rarely over here; I appreciate that modern American music is presented; scenes from American operas and operettas have pleased me very much; the music offered was good; above all, I appreciated the music; the singers were excellent; etc.

1

(Cont'd on next page)

- XIX -

RESTRICTED

Frequent  
Audience

Pleasant locality - good acoustics:

The contact between actors and audience is good as the stage is placed in a clever way; the way things are arranged, it's like a "Theatre Intime," I think that's fine; acoustics are favorable for any kind of recitation; acoustics are good; the room is pleasant, acoustics are good; though the auditorium is comparatively small, you come to feel it's adequate; etc.

\*

Offerings are free:

Theater performances are free; I appreciate that they offer free theater performances to the public; no admission is charged for theater performances; etc.

\*

I didn't like anything:

\*

Other answers:

People who aren't pretentious get an insight into the world of theater; especially the ensuing discussions were stimulating; I think it's a good thing that they give out tickets for reserved seats; etc.

\*

No opinion - No answer:

$\frac{1}{18\%}$ \*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"And what could be changed about them?"

Frequent  
Audience

Nothing - things are all right the way they are:

4%

More theater performances should be offered:

At least once a month a theater performance should take place; they should present even more plays; more theater performances; they could well offer more of them; theater performances should be scheduled more often; they should take place more frequently; they should offer more theater performances; a play could be on the program more often; etc.

2

Theater performances should be included in the program of the America House once more:

They should start with plays again, plays that qualify from the artistical point of view; they should present theater performances once more; etc.

1

Suggestions for the selection of plays:

They should offer plays presented in German; I am interested exclusively in typically American plays; maybe they could present American dramas in German or in English now and then; they could offer more operas; they should venture upon difficult "intimate theater;" they should enact rarely produced plays; they should offer plays that cater more to popular taste, usually they present some fancy plays for connoisseurs; they should offer plays in the original version; they should give more room to American playwrights; they should offer plays that are written in an easily comprehensible style. etc.

1

Suggestions for the selection of artists:

That also distinguished artists appear at the America House; they should organize, or rather form, an amateur dramatics group; they should sign on all-round actors who do an even better job; they should include local actors into the cast; it may be an idea to invite American artists who come over here to entertain the troops to perform at the center; etc.

1

A hall for theater performances should be found once more; suggestions for remodelling existing rooms which serve as a theater at present:

It would be fine if they'd find a hall which could serve as a theater pretty soon; they should arrange for some room which could be used as a theater; a theater auditorium is lacking at present; they should enlarge the hall that's used at present; maybe the stage could be enlarged, and they could try to use decorations in staging plays; etc.

1

Other suggestions:

Only visitors over 19 years of age should be admitted to theater performances; theater performances could be scheduled for an earlier hour; they should provide more funds for such performances; careful distribution of tickets; the place where visitors are greeted and bidden farewell could have a nicer atmosphere, there could be flowers, for instance; the staging in "Porgy and Bess" was pretty poor; etc.

1

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{2}{13\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- XXI -

**THE CURRENT STANDING OF RIAS  
AMONG WEST BERLIN RADIO LISTENERS**

**1. Reactions and Evaluations**

Report No. 182

Series No. 2

July 31, 1953

DECLASSIFIED  
RESTRICTED  
by authority of

Morton F. Goldberg, 5/1/55

Chief,  
PUB; Research Staff

**EVALUATION STAFF**

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY



## INTRODUCTION

That RIAS - the American-sponsored radio station in the American sector - towers above all competitors among East Berlin and East Zone radio listeners has been rather firmly indicated in RAS studies in three separate surveys employing different modes of sampling and different lines of inquiry.\* The question presently raised for consideration is - what is the standing of RIAS among West Berlin radio listeners? If East Germans are the chief target and mission of RIAS it is none the less true that RIAS is a West Berlin radio station using up one of the precious few West Berlin frequency channels. Consequently RIAS is only as secure public relations-wise as its standing with the West Berlin audience.

Pursuant to these considerations the present study - reported in two parts - undertakes to present (a) current West Berlin reactions and evaluations of RIAS and (b) the current frequencies of listening to RIAS programs versus their competitors, as ascertained through the use of a recording technique new to Germany - a radio diary in which for a period of a week respondents list instances of their radio listening.

Sampling was on a representative probability basis of West Berlin radio listeners 18 years of age and older, and for the present study embraced 286 cases collected between the 11th through the 31st of May. While not large enough for any detailed breakdowns, this sample is sufficiently large to permit of general indications. More detailed and intensive inquiry can be left to future studies.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

- \* (1) RAS Report # 90, dated July 25, 1951 entitled "Attitudes Behind the Iron Curtain - A Survey Approach to East German Thinking - IV. Radio Listening in the East Zone"
- (2) RAS Report # 109, dated November 19, 1951 entitled "Attitudes of East German Youth/- A Series of Reports Based Upon Studies Conducted During the Berlin Youth Festival - IV. Radio Evaluations and Recommendations of East Zone Youth"
- (3) RAS Report # 170, dated February 10, 1953 entitled "RIAS Coverage and Programming as Evaluated by East Zone Listeners."



## SUMMARY

I. RIAS Contribution to West Berlin

RIAS contributions to West Berlin are widely applauded with seven in ten (69%) of the radio audience expressing the opinion that the station has done "much" to "very much" for the West Berlin population over the past several years.

II. RIAS Effectiveness in the Cold War

As to effectiveness in countering Eastern propaganda, almost eight in ten among West Berlin radio listeners hold that RIAS has been fairly to very effective - with the larger proportion voicing the stronger opinion.

III. Standing Versus Principal Competitor

Despite widespread acknowledgement of its contribution, the popularity of RIAS - as versus its principal competitor NWDR - appears to have fallen somewhat from its preeminent position of a few years back.

Reasons for preferring NWDR over RIAS revolve principally around the feeling that NWDR gives more and better entertainment.

IV. Conceptions and Criticisms of RIAS

Most respondents allude to news dissemination or political instruction as the chief function of RIAS. But further intimation of what may constitute the chief public relations problem of RIAS in West Berlin lies in the rather appreciable proportion who express the view that entertainment and diversion should be the "chief task" of RIAS. Many remarks stress that this is particularly necessary in West Berlin because of its isolation and the weight of its burdens.

Asked specifically for what they have to criticize about RIAS, the most persistent theme voiced by West Berlin radio listeners is that RIAS does not offer enough of the kind of entertainment West Berliners prefer - light music (not including American jazz). Further direct questioning only served to bring out the same finding.

All in all the conclusion would seem to be that as far as RIAS' West Berlin public relations are concerned, more and different sugar is wanted on the political pill. It is interesting that though RIAS' East German audience has a greater political appetite, they concur with their West Berlin colleagues in the plea for more light music and less American jazz (except for youth, but only in part).

But whatever the objection to the amount and kind of candy coating, there appears to be very little objection to the pill itself. To such serious political charges as RIAS "is only a one-sided American mouth-piece," "exaggerates in its agitation against the East," "acts as if it runs Berlin," "prevents West Berlin from having a German radio station of its own" few indicate agreement, and as often as not, explicitly only to a small extent.

Additionally, only 7 per cent among West Berlin radio listeners judge the news broadcasts to be one-sided, and only 3 per cent judge them to be lacking in reliability.

The extent of East Zone emphasis in RIAS programming does not appear to be a serious source of criticism with few expressing irritation on such a ground - though with equally few recommending any additional East Zone emphasis.

More specific questioning establishes that only 17 per cent of West Berlin radio listeners feel that RIAS broadcasts are partly responsible for precipitating the stream of refugees to West Berlin. Of these only 12 per cent are negative, i.e. hold such a view and at the same time disapprove of such encouragement.

- II -

R E S T R I C T E D

## RESTRICTED

I. RIAS Contribution to West Berlin

## RECORD WIDELY APPLAUDED ...

The large majority (69%) of the West Berlin radio audience concur in the opinion that RIAS has done "much" to "very much" for West Berlin over the past several years.

"As you may know, RIAS has been working in Berlin for several years. How do you judge what RIAS has done for West Berlin in the course of these years? Do you feel that, by and large, RIAS has done very much, much, not so much, little or nothing at all for the West Berlin population?"

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

(286)

Very much	23%
Much	46
Not so much	14
Little	4
Nothing at all	1
No opinion	12
	<u>100%</u>

Past contributions of RIAS, cited by way of illustration, were in the following vein:

IF "Much" or "Very much": "Would you please give me some examples?"

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

37%

Through the news and information offered by RIAS - enlightenment of the public:

They have done everything possible to inform us about politics, to help us form a better understanding of the political situation; it has helped a great deal that West Berliners could develop their political opinion free and without prejudices; by their informative work, time and again RIAS tells you what it's like in the East, you get to know the East quite well by this; it gave excellent information about the Berlin situation, I'm thinking of the time when we still had ration-cards, they always told us what we would get for them - and even today the announcements of vacant positions are a help to a lot of Berliners; detailed announcements about the equalization of burdens, pensions and relief for bombed-out people and more in that line which I can't name because I can't remember it at the moment; that it always kept the public well informed, that it reported on everything that was worth knowing; current news over the radio; it broadcasts all political events of importance, for instance, when Adenauer or the Federal President holds a speech, also the big debates and speeches in the Bundestag; "Where the Shoe Pinches", that it had the idea to pass questions on to the Mayor, thereby bringing about a closer contact with our chief and the public; it's also due to RIAS that Reuter speaks to us; the warnings if the East has planned something which is directed against West Berlin, they are of great value to us; it gave political instruction, informed us about conditions in the East-bloc countries; if I think of the VoA I must say that it has great informative value, they also gave very good information about the East; etc.

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RESTRICTED

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By moral support of the people:

11 1/2

In the time of the airlift RIAS did a lot to encourage people and to keep them in good humor; firstly, that it exists at all and then that it had a very encouraging effect on the people of Berlin during the blockade, they had two ways of doing that, one by diverting people's mind from the grave situation and then by directly encouraging them, as you do with children, using suggestive power and telling them: you are strong, you are steadfast and you have to hold your ground; they helped a lot to keep people calm, for instance during the blockade and if there were any disturbing rumors, such as Berlin will become Russian; during the blockade it helped West Berliners by broadcasting news; time and again it cheered people up in their difficult situation by news, commentaries and by entertainment; etc.

By furthering the interests of the West Berlin people:

10

RIAS draws the attention of the world to the difficult position of Berlin, that's the most important thing; RIAS furthers the interest of West Berliners and passes on reports about Berlin needs to all the world; that it always speaks in favor of Berlin and makes propaganda for the city; at the time when Berlin's was split up RIAS pointed out the need of the city and asked for help; RIAS made the world notice our dangerous situation; it's always emphasizing the importance of Berlin, thereby heightening its prestige, the world now takes the Berlin issue seriously; the propaganda it makes in the West for the West Berlin economy which is in need of help; even today it gives information about the situation in West Berlin and makes propaganda for the Berlin economy; etc.

By good entertainment:

10

Entertains us through musical programs; offers good programs for children from which they can learn something - the adults also might still learn; it has done a lot for West Berliners by the nice programs and the good music it offers; people enjoy the nice tunes it offers; Berliners are very much in favor of music, of light music, RIAS offers that frequently, Berliners like that; it takes part in cultural life by broadcasting good radio-dramas, school programs and classical music, the excellent program "The Islanders" peps us up; above all it cheered people up by its funny programs, by offering good music RIAS led many Berliners to appreciate the great composers; etc.

By material help, by its charity shows:

10

The various requests and collections of money on behalf of the refugees; that it requested the public to make gifts for the refugees, that it asks people to send gift parcels to the East Zone that it helps to supply refugees with food and clothing by its "Join in" program; the efforts of RIAS must not be overlooked or mistaken, the help rendered for our POWs from the East Zone was particularly valuable, RIAS strives for a long time to raise funds for welfare purposes by its "Join in" program, as a radio station I think it's absolutely indispensable because it's good; the support rendered to needy Berliners by gifts raised through the "Join in" program; in connection with the refugee problem it has done its part to render help; today it is still doing relief work for Berliners together with the Red Cross and the welfare institutions of the churches; has established the "Join in" programs, the programs for old people in hospitals that they also might have a few happy hours; in the year of the polio epidemic it saw to it that the iron lung was brought to Berlin as quickly as possible and, besides, RIAS tries to help in all emergencies; etc.

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RESTRICTED

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

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By its locator service:

Through the Red Cross Locator Service for missing persons families were reunited; Locator Service for missing children and POWs; the Locator Service helps us to find family members who might live somewhere without our knowing it; the RIAS Locator Service helps to find missing persons; the current announcements for the Red Cross are also very valuable, so is the program for relatives of missing persons; etc.

Other examples:

RIAS requests the public to support the police in the tracing of criminals; it helped to set an example for the planning of programs in Berlin, also for those of the NWDR; RIAS was very effective bringing about reforms in the cultural, political and economic sector; it has done a lot of reconstructional work, at that time everything was destroyed, they did a lot to get programs ready for transmission; it has taken great pains to offer something to Berliners of the same quality as that they were used to before the war, it has built its own transmitter station; when it invited listeners to write letters telling what they liked and what they didn't so that programs could be planned accordingly - I mean, that's something if they want to get the program more varied; above all it's absolutely independent and not influenced, neither politically nor otherwise - at the time of Hitler the radio stations didn't have any say, they were just ordered, the Berlin station (East) is strongly influenced; etc.

No opinion - No answer:

$$\frac{2}{98\%}$$

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- 3 -  
RESTRICTED

## II. RIAS Effectiveness In the Cold War

### EIGHT IN TEN BELIEVE RIAS EFFECTIVE ...

In evaluating the effectiveness of RIAS in refuting Eastern propaganda, almost eight in ten (78%) express the judgment that it has been fairly to very effective-- 49% or almost half of the West Berlin radio audience voicing the stronger opinion.

"How effective is RIAS, in your opinion, in refuting Eastern propaganda? Very effective, fairly effective, effective only to a small extent or not effective at all?"

West Berlin Radio Listeners	
Very effective	49%
Fairly effective	29
Effective only to a small extent	8
Not effective at all	1
No opinion	13
	100%

Reasons for considering RIAS effective in the Cold War distributed as follows:

IF "Very effective" or "Fairly effective":

"Why do you consider RIAS to be (very) (fairly) effective in this respect?"

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

Because nearly all people who listen to the radio in the East regularly tune in to RIAS and accept the news it broadcasts:

27%

Because everybody who lives in the East listens to RIAS; because the whole East listens to RIAS; people in the Zone have confidence in RIAS, they all listen to it, that goes to prove that it's effective; friends of mine who live in the East Zone told me that everybody over there listens to RIAS, they said, too, that people have more confidence in RIAS than in the East Zone broadcasting stations; talking to East Zone refugees you realize how many people over there listen to RIAS; because there are very many people in the East who listen to the VOA and all news broadcasts though that's forbidden over there and because RIAS is so well informed about the goings-on in the Zone; in the East everybody listens to RIAS and they rely completely on RIAS to bring nothing but facts; etc.

Because RIAS reports about conditions in East and West extensively, objectively and truthfully:

23

Because the reports broadcast by RIAS are true to facts, in them conditions on both sides are accurately described; because it gives an accurate picture of conditions in the East, and to tell the truth is always effective; because RIAS is well known for its objectivity and reliability, here as well as over there many people listen regularly to RIAS, they only believe things when RIAS reports them because they know it tells the truth; because it accurately informs people who live in the East about the political situation; because the reports of RIAS are truthful;

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RESTRICTED



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because RIAS brings what people want to hear, I mean, what actually is going on in the East; RIAS reveals the sorry conditions in the East, it proves that Eastern newspapers keep mum about a lot of things; etc.

Because RIAS succeeds in refuting the arguments brought forward by Eastern propagandists:

10%

In the detailed broadcasts for the East Zone Russian propaganda is refuted; the inflammatory broadcasts the East Berlin radio station puts on the air are rebutted right away; any inflammatory propaganda made by the East is quickly rebutted and set right, because of the fact that they publish names the programs are especially credible and effective; to show up the political lies the East feeds to people is necessary and effective, too; because they refute Russian propaganda with facts; I guess I feel the same way most radio listeners do, that is, the arguments brought forward by RIAS in refuting Eastern agitation are credible; RIAS always is in a position to disprove any allegations made by the other side concerning the West, usually they broadcast a rebuttal the very same day, they've exposed a lot of lies in their days; etc.

Because RIAS boosts the morale of East Zone residents and encourages them to stick it out:

5

They fortify people who live in the Zone in their resolution to stick it out; because people in the East Zone look to RIAS to bolster and fortify them; because of RIAS people take courage, RIAS sometimes tells them to stick it out, sometimes it assures them they will get help, people's spirits are so low at times that they are grateful if they know people over here sympathize with them; East Zone residents frequently listen to RIAS because it bucks them up somewhat, it fortifies them; because of RIAS fewer people fall victim to Communist doctrines, it helps them to stick it out; people in the East Zone are glad to know how well informed West Berliners are; etc.

Because RIAS broadcasts warnings and advice for East Zone residents:

4

I'm thinking particularly of the messages which serve to warn people; I know, for instance, that my relatives in the East Zone listen to RIAS only, they pass on what they've heard, they inform others about people who act as informers and things like that; I often meet with refugees, they've verified what had been said over RIAS, the warnings, for instance, are very important; because RIAS is very active in pointing out to the refugees potential dangers; etc.

Because RIAS is the only source of information that's accessible to East Zone residents - oral reports are more effective than written reports:

3

Because RIAS is the only institution of its kind through which East Zone residents can learn the truth; it's more impressive to hear a story than to read it, with newspaper articles as direct a contact with the public can never be established as with the spoken-word programs of RIAS; because there's no other broadcasting station which can be heard in the East Zone; one radio station has to carry out this mission, after all, and none of the others seems willing to take over; because RIAS

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R E S T R I C T E D

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

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devotes a special program to this purpose and because the broadcasts can easily be heard in the East Zone; because the Zone depends on RIAS for news, it's easier for people in the East Zone to tune in to RIAS than to get a Western newspaper; RIAS is a more powerful instrument than any newspaper; etc.

The influx of refugees proves that RIAS is effective:

Because many people come over from the East, that's proof for the effectiveness of RIAS; you will be easily convinced of it when you go down to Cuno-Fischer street (refugee receiving camp) and check up on the situation; it's proven by the influx of political refugees (East Zone refugees generally) who believe RIAS and come here because they've come to realize that we're free and independent over here; that stream of refugees that arrives here in the Free West proves it, after all, the RIAS information program set the ball rolling; that stream of refugees proves it; in spite of the fact that it's forbidden many people in the East Zone listen to RIAS, the result is the refugee problem; it's demonstrated by those refugees who come here, I'm sure many of them have no solid reasons, in my own circle I know of two families which had been influenced by RIAS broadcasts; etc.

The fact that listening to RIAS may result in punishment and persecution for East Zone residents proves that it is effective:  
If it were not effective, they wouldn't try so hard to suppress RIAS broadcasts in the East; it evinces from the fact alone that East Zone residents are forbidden to tune in to RIAS; etc.

RIAS warns people of the menace of the East:

Because RIAS untiringly warns people and describes poignantly what's going on in the East, for these things can't be described often enough and it's been proven that a thing sinks in and sticks in the mind of a person if it's repeated often enough; RIAS points to the dangers which may arise if the East ever would establish a totalitarian regime here, it helps to inform people on these things; to those people who have never experienced themselves what coercion means, it's made quite clear that freedom and even the lives of individuals are endangered by the East; etc.

RIAS is effective because people feel an American broadcasting station (a station of the West, the Free World) is more to be trusted than any Eastern radio station:

RIAS is an American station, after all, thus it gets first-hand information, as everybody is aware of that, people have more confidence in RIAS than in the East (Berlin) radio station; because the Americans are behind it, people believe rather what RIAS says than what's broadcast by the (East) Berlin radio station; they simply place more trust in RIAS; just because it's sponsored by the Americans, people believe what's said over this station; because it's the radio station of the Free World, people in the East Zone are aware of that, too, that's why they believe in it and pay attention to it; etc.

RIAS fights the East Zone government with its broadcasts:

RIAS describes the West in glowing colors to people in the East Zone, that's quite a blow to the government over there; in many cases the East Zone government decided to shelve some projected measure of which the population had learned through RIAS broadcasts; etc.

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- 6 -

R E S T R I C T E D



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Other comments:

That just how I feel; because it furthers the interests of the SPD, and as it is the mouth-piece of a workers' party in our camp it proves to be effective; because of the policy it pursues RIAS is more vigorous and thus it's more powerful, the eyes of the whole world are upon us as they agree with the views expressed by RIAS; because it proves to us that the Western world is interested in our welfare only, ours and that of Europe, that is, and that America aids us to put us on our feet again, RIAS is effective through its news and commentaries; etc.

No opinion - No answer:

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.
- © Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMMENTS AMONG FEW WHO DISSENT ...

The one in ten seeing little or no effectiveness in RIAS efforts commented as follows:

IF "Effective only to a small extent" or "Not effective at all":

"Why do you consider RIAS to be (not) effective (only to a small extent) (at all) in this respect?"

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

RIAS propaganda is too weak:

The methods RIAS uses are too fair, I guess, judging from what RIAS says about the Radio Berlin broadcasts, these people are much bolder; RIAS still doesn't carry on enough propaganda against the East to take the wind out of these people's sails, RIAS could well adopt a sharper tone in its broadcasts, taking care, however, that East Zone residents won't be harmed through such a course; because the East has managed to get way ahead of RIAS, RIAS is rather sleepy, it's quite obvious that the party that carries on more propaganda will win in the end; not enough propaganda is made, you hardly notice any propaganda, RIAS should be much more active in this respect; etc.

RIAS broadcasts are exaggerated and not quite objective:

Sometimes they bungle the job because they exaggerate in their propaganda against the East; RIAS should employ subtler methods, they shouldn't be so blatant if they want to succeed in counteracting Eastern propaganda; RIAS is too one-sided, it should be more objective, they have to present things in a way that pleases certain quarters, the Americans, one always should listen to the point of view of both sides, that's what RIAS neglects as everybody knows; etc.

People accept Eastern propaganda to some extent:

The younger generation, for instance, is instructed in Bolshevik doctrines in such a way that it's out of RIAS' power to influence them, they are told over there that everything RIAS says is a lie and they believe it; RIAS could be much more effective, as it is, still too many people swallow that Eastern propaganda stuff; well, you don't see any results, I guess I'd better not say more; because many people don't accept what's said over the radio, they have an opinion of their own and think privately that it's just all so much talk what's offered over the radio; those guys in the East, the functionaries, I mean, just don't care; etc.

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RIAS broadcasts aren't heard by a large audience in the East Zone - people are not allowed to discuss the news broadcasts by RIAS:

Because not enough people who live in the East listen to RIAS, therefore all efforts are doomed to fail; RIAS broadcasts will never make an impact over there in the East Zone because it's not heard by a large section of the population; it's not the fault of RIAS, people in the East Zone are not allowed to listen to its broadcasts and they must not talk about them, RIAS can't do anything about this state of affairs, nothing will be changed over there, Eastern propaganda will always follow the same lines, that's how things are; etc.

RIAS only promises to help - people in the East Zone feel that the West has done disappointingly little to help them:

I have some relatives who live in the East Zone, in the past they thought very highly of RIAS, but that's not so any more because their hopes have not been realized, it's no surprise that people in the East Zone are disappointed, they always hear a lot of talk but see no action, after a while nothing will affect them any more; etc.

Broadcasts too often repeated:

It's always the same old stuff, the program isn't varied; etc.

Other comments:

Because West Berliners won't be taken in by Eastern propaganda even if there would be no RIAS to warn them, it would be more vital for West Germans to listen to RIAS, but reception of RIAS is rather poor in West Germany; because in political respects the regime in the East is very much like ours, it's just that we have more freedom, I have talked to quite a number of West Berliners who didn't let RIAS influence them, the fact that refugees get preferential treatment over here also convinces people that they only make a big fuss over things in these broadcasts; etc.

No opinion - No answer:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

### III. STANDING VERSUS PRINCIPAL COMPETITOR

#### SOME LOSS IN RIAS POPULARITY ...

Despite widespread acknowledgement of its contributions, the popularity of RIAS - as ascertained from a trend query in a just completed July survey - appears to have fallen off somewhat from its preeminent position of a few years back.

"What radio station do you most like to listen to?"

West Berlin Radio Listeners		
	Dec 49 (198)	July 53 (200)
RIAS	76%	56%
NWDR	19	31
Others and no choice	5	13
	100%	100%

This trend question was not used in the May study because of some doubts about its precision. It was felt that the wording may carry the meaning for many respondents - what station do you find it most convenient to listen to? The results in such a case would exaggerate the extent of actual preference for RIAS programming, because in view of RIAS' immensely superior signal many respondents may most like to listen to RIAS in spite of an equal or greater liking for NWDR program fare.

That the above considerations are of some pertinence is suggested by the May findings below with a revised approach to station preference.

"What station do you personally value most: RIAS or NWDR?"

West Berlin Radio Listeners	
	May 53 (286)
RIAS	29%
NWDR	26
Same	32
No opinion	13
	100%

Though this wording, too, is far from an ideal measure of station popularity as distinguished from station availability, the results go considerably further than the July trend returns in suggesting that NWDR is drawing up to RIAS in the esteem of West Berlin radio listeners.

Comparative station popularity in the present sense should not be equated with comparative volume of listening. This latter is also determined by technical factors in which RIAS enjoys a marked advantage. In volume of listening, the following paper will reveal, RIAS still leads NWDR by a two to one margin.



## R E S T R I C T E D

## WHY NWDR PREFERRED OVER RIAS ...

Examination of the reasons advanced for rating NWDR over RIAS reveals that both in the July and in the May questioning the answers revolved principally around entertainment considerations. NWDR assertedly gives more or better entertainment than does RIAS. The significance of this point will become clearer as the present findings unfold.

"Why do you prefer NWDR to RIAS?" (July survey)

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

NWDR offers more and better musical programs:

Because the musical programs of the NWDR are better than those of the RIAS, especially the light music in the evenings is very good; music the NWDR offers is lighter; it doesn't offer so much classical music as RIAS; RIAS doesn't bring enough light music; NWDR always offers stimulating music while RIAS usually brings classical music or jazz in the evening, I prefer music from the UKW program (ultra short wave program of the NWDR); I'm not so interested in news, but I like music, and as to music the NWDR offers more; music brought by NWDR is better than that of RIAS, I mean its hit programs are better; I only listen to music but RIAS usually offers musical programs not before the late evening; I think its musical programs are better, dance music; and music from operas are well assorted; etc.

196

NWDR program is more varied, more timely and of a higher standard:

The programs of the NWDR are in general more timely and more lively; the level of the NWDR programs is higher than that of the RIAS programs; the program of the NWDR covers more fields and is more varied; the whole program is more and better balanced; the NWDR program is more interesting; etc.

10

NWDR programs contain less politics:

RIAS deals too much with politics; as an unemployed I want unpolitical entertainment; RIAS lays too much stress on politics, it brings too many broadcasts for the East Zone population; etc.

7

NWDR entertainment programs are better:

It offers more for one's entertainment; the entertainment programs especially those brought in the evenings with stories from all over the world are better and more instructive than similar programs from RIAS; the plays and the programs arranged by Just Scheu are nicer than "Join In"; its entertainment program is more varied; the plays are cleverer and better arranged; etc.

6

NWDR is not so one-sided - RIAS is one-sided and pro-American:

The way NWDR offers things is not so one-sided; it is more neutral than RIAS, the most neutral station anyway; the political stand of RIAS is somewhat too strongly biased; the way RIAS deals with the East/West problems shows that it is biased in America's favor; RIAS is too pro-American; etc.

4

NWDR offers more objective and detailed news:

The news brought by NWDR seems more objective to me; because of its news, I think its news program is more detailed; I found out that NWDR brings the news in a more objective way; etc.

2

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R E S T R I C T E D

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

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Disapproval of the "Voice of America":

1%

RIAS offers too much propaganda stuff such as the "Voice of America"; I can't stand the "Voice of America"; etc.

Other reasons:

1

I don't know it exactly, I think it's because listening to the NWDR grew into a habit;

No opinion - No answer:

\*

46%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"For what reasons do you most value NWDR?" (May survey)

NWDR overall program is more varied, more pleasant (general answers):

8%

NWDR program doesn't give as much talking as RIAS does, it rather serves entertainment purposes; because the overall program of NWDR is better balanced, programs are more varied; NWDR offers more variety, gets the programs from everywhere, from various broadcasting stations; because the program is better and more varied; the programs NWDR offers are more in my line and they are more capably composed; the way the program is presented is more pleasant; etc.

NWDR offers more and/or better musical programs:

7

The program offers more music, and I like that much more; I like the program more, particularly the music which is not the American kind of music; NWDR gives better music, and also they don't talk as much as they do in RIAS; I'm thinking of the musical program, sometimes I like it better than that of RIAS; etc.

NWDR offers more and/or better light music, while RIAS gives too much classical music:

7

NWDR offers more light music which I can understand, RIAS sends too much heavy stuff like Beethoven, etc; most of the time they send light and pleasant music. I don't like classical music; because it gives nice light music - RIAS has grown boring lately; they send too much of that classical stuff; NWDR offers more light and gay music, whilst RIAS' program contains too much classical music; before everything else they offer more music, more light music and also more good old music instead of the modern stuff that is often broadcast by RIAS; etc.

Examples of specific programs which are better on NWDR:

5

The radio plays and concerts, for instance, are so much better, so are the university programs; the Sunday sports reviews are better; NWDR is more concerned with the entertainment of the listeners, gives more light entertainment in the afternoon (afternoon light program) and more gay radio plays; my wife uses to say: the school program of NWDR teaches you so much more; also the program "Round Berlin" is very nice and interesting; the radio plays are mostly better. NWDR transmits more programs of immediate interest, for instance, the program "20 Years Ago and After" every Sunday; I'm thinking of the verbal programs, transmissions, radio plays; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

(Cont'd from preceding page)

NWDR programs contain less politics (general answers):

5%

It doesn't broadcast so many political programs; RIAS gives you so much political stuff; I dislike RIAS' giving politics even in the early morning - there is nothing but talk between 6 and 7 o'clock in the morning - all I want is to leave home in the morning in a cheerful mood; too many political programs for the Zone, that is why I prefer listening to NWDR; etc.

RIAS makes too much propaganda for the West and for America:

2

NWDR program is not loaded with propaganda - it makes no political propaganda and no propaganda for America like RIAS; at times RIAS gives me the strong feeling that it is the counterpart to the Eastern radio stations; RIAS incites too much against the East; etc.

NWDR is no American but a German station:

1

NWDR is a German station; it broadcasts only German programs, in a purely German sense; I consider RIAS an American station and NWDR a German station, that is why I like the program better; etc.

RIAS program is limited to Berlin whilst NWDR program covers the whole of West Germany:

1

I think RIAS deals more with all of West Germany and is not only locally interested like RIAS; RIAS tells you only of Berlin, but NWDR of all West Germany; etc.

Other answers:

4

Speakers and commentators are more genuine and more likable, also the kind of program is more agreeable; RIAS gives the impression of not being serious enough, too much bragging; RIAS has turned sharply against the bakers because of the raising of prices for buns; etc.

No opinion - No answer:

40%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



WHY RIAS PREFERRED OVER NDR ...

Most West Berlin listeners who rate RIAS over NDR evidence in their comments a greater liking for RIAS program fare. An additional negative factor to be added to the number who now prefer NDR, however, is the appreciable proportion who indicate a preference for RIAS only on the basis of such a non-credit factor as the mere physical fact of better reception, or of such a limited-credit factor as mere habit.

"Why do you like RIAS best?" (July survey)

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

The reception of RIAS is better:

17%

With our set RIAS is the one we receive best; I receive it very clearly; RIAS is the only station I can receive, my set is rather poor; with the small set we have in our allotment garden we can receive RIAS and get it quite clearly; with my set I can only receive the East Zone stations and RIAS and I won't listen to the East Zone stations; I can't receive any other stations; reception is so poor that I can't get anything but RIAS; 'like best', really, I should like to listen to another station but unfortunately with my set I can't get another one; etc.

RIAS has better entertainment:

17

As far as I'm concerned it offers the best music, not so many hits but nice music, not this crazy stuff - I like to hear music, music from operettas and operas, etc. and it's just that kind they offer; I like the "Join In" program and the other light programs - I'm not too fond of the American dancing tunes; there are certain programs I like well, for instance, "Join In", funny programs and Saturday evening programs; "Join In", light afternoon programs and the old Berlin songs and stories I like best; because it always offers such nice programs, music and those radio dramas; "Side lights", "Noah's Ark" - those are offered by RIAS only and I like them best of all; I like the music, I won't listen to anything else after work; but RIAS offers such a nice program of folk-music, light popular music; RIAS has good programs, I'm thinking of the radio dramas, of "The Islanders"; RIAS has the best entertainment program; RIAS radio dramas I always like particularly well; etc.

RIAS is specially cut out for Berlin and more familiar to Berliners:

13

I like the kind of program it offers - they're specially cut out for Berlin's local level and that's what I like; RIAS is more specially concerned with Berlin - otherwise both stations are equally good; because it's more interesting - offers more that is of special interest to us Berliners; RIAS concerns itself particularly with Berlin affairs; because of the news - its news are very detailed and offer those things which are of special interest to Berliners; RIAS offers all the local news and after all, we are Berliners and live in Berlin; because it's a Berlin station and advocates Berlin's concerns; RIAS offers things which concern you deeply - above all I like to listen to (Mayor) Reuter's program "Where the Shoe Pinches"; etc.

RIAS has the best news programs:

11

It's just the news I listen to anyway, all the other stuff doesn't interest me; RIAS has the best way of giving the latest news; detailed news and particularly news from the Zone; I'm very interested in the news; because of the news; etc.

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Because of the political programs offered by RIAS:

7%

RIAS offers the most reliable accounts of political events; because for me as a businessman the political news about Berlin is of special interest; I agree with its political opinion; I'm interested in political programs; I used to listen to RIAS in the Zone where I come from because it brings true facts, in the political sense, I mean - I don't listen to the Eastern stations; etc.

Favorable remarks about the quality of RIAS' programs:

5

I like the way programs are set up, I mean the way they offer them, well - the arrangement of programs; it's still the most sensible of them, NWDR is sometimes too highbrow - the stuff RIAS offers is the most sensible; we like the program very well; etc.

I listen to RIAS from habit:

4

I don't have any special reasons, it's just that I listen to it most of the time and therefore I keep the set tuned in to it; the set is tuned in to RIAS and therefore I listen to it; that's more or less a habit, the announcers and times of programs are more familiar to you if you tune in often; I'm used to listening to RIAS; etc.

Because of the educational programs (children's program, youth program, school and university programs):

4

Children's programs; because RIAS offers many children's programs which are very nice and entertaining for me and especially for the children, my little kids won't go to bed before they've heard the lullaby from RIAS; RIAS offers many youth programs of cultural value - I'm concerned with youth work and therefore particularly interested in these programs; school programs; the programs of university students discussing political themes and the lectures about technics and new inventions; etc.

Because of the Voice of America:

3

The VOA is always very interesting, the Americans voice their opinion quite frankly and outspokenly; I'm immensely interested in the VOA program; etc.

Because of other special programs:

2

Housewives' program; particularly the women's programs; about the rate of exchange between DM East and West; the Sabbath celebration, Mohammedan Service; etc.

Other reasons:

3

They mostly tune in to RIAS here, if people listen to the radio it's RIAS they tune in to - I can't listen to the radio the way I would like to; I don't own a radio set so I can only listen together with others; offers better sports news than NWDR; very much up-to-date as regards sports; etc.

86%

Some respondents gave more than one answer.



"For what reasons do you most value RIAS?" (May survey)

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

RIAS has a better and more varied program:

The programs are more varied, they offer something for this and for that taste; the programs of RIAS are more varied and more spcily than those of NWDR and you can learn more from them; RIAS is particularly objective and topical - its programs are of considerable variety; because the program of RIAS is better than that of NWDR, I'm thinking of the musical programs and the soap operas in the morning, that's something NWDR doesn't offer; NWDR never announces the time in the morning, I also like to hear "Uncle Toby" and "The Week in Bonn" which is not offered by NWDR; it has the better program, I'm thinking of "Join In" and the radio dramas, for example; etc.

11%

RIAS is specially cut out for Berlin and more familiar to Berliners:

RIAS is closer related to Berlin, it offers programs which are specially concerned with Berlin, for instance: "Where the Shoe Pinches"; NWDR takes greater interest in West Germany whereas RIAS is specially cut out for Berlin and concerns itself particularly with Berlin problems; it offers more specifically Berlin things, it adapts itself better to the Berlin atmosphere; it concerns itself more with Berlin problems than NWDR; since we here in West Berlin are an island we prefer RIAS because it belongs to Berlin - NWDR is better suited for West Germany; etc.

9

The reception of RIAS is better:

Not so much because of the program, but with this small set of mine I receive it better than other stations; because the reception of RIAS is the clearest of all; because the reception is better and that's why I listen to RIAS most of all; etc.

8

I listen to RIAS from habit:

It's quite an automatic action to tune in to RIAS, if I don't like it I switch off or tune in to another station - otherwise I have no reason nor preferences either, I tune in to any station that offers music; perhaps it's just by chance, I got so accustomed to RIAS that I don't want to miss it and you can't listen to all of them; I have no reason for it, it's just that I listen to RIAS more often; I can't give any reasons for that, I automatically tune in to it; perhaps it's just from habit, I came from the East Zone and RIAS backed me up more than once; etc.

4

Because of the political programs offered by RIAS:

RIAS offers programs which are more interesting to me, I'm interested in politics and like to hear political programs; because of the political attitude of RIAS, purely democratic views of the ideology of a free world which agrees with my own outlook; RIAS comes first because of its programs "Voice of America" and "Hour on European Problems"; besides of music I listen first of all to the VoA, that's what I like best from RIAS; etc.

2

Other reasons:

The programs which I am especially interested in are carried by RIAS at times when I have the opportunity to listen to them; etc.

1

No opinion - No answer:

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

1  
36%

#### IV. Conceptions and Criticisms of RIAS

NOT A FEW SEE ENTERTAINMENT AS CHIEF FUNCTION OF RIAS ...

Most respondents allude to news dissemination or political instruction as the chief function of RIAS. But further intimation of what may constitute the present public relations problem of RIAS in West Berlin lies in the rather appreciable proportion who express the view that entertainment and diversion should be the "chief task" of RIAS. Many remarks stress that this is particularly necessary in West Berlin because of its isolation and the weight of its burdens.

"What is, in your opinion, the chief task of RIAS?"

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners  
39%

##### To disseminate the latest news:

To inform us about the latest events as soon as possible; to keep people informed of daily events; its chief task is to disseminate the latest news from Berlin, the East Zone and the Federal Republic as fast as possible; to inform people about topical political events; to inform people of world events; to furnish those people with news who can't afford to buy a paper; to instruct the people of Berlin in all fields by means of news and lectures; RIAS is supposed to bring news about world events; to make the general political situation clear to the people; to supply us with news one is supposed to know, and it never fails to do so, RIAS has become indispensable; its main task is to tell people what is going on in the political field; etc.

##### To provide entertainment and diversion:

To offer people entertainment, to brighten people's leisure time; to broadcast programs which suit the masses, which entertain people with light music; to offer the Berliners a program as varied as possible, just because most of them can't get out of Berlin, above all it has to see to it that the program offers good entertainment; it should cheer up people in the evening hours; to offer good musical and entertaining programs and from time to time good radio dramas should be broadcast; entertainment, to offer a varied program; its task is to help people relax and enjoy themselves; we want to enjoy ourselves, because nothing much is offered to us in the way of entertainment in Berlin; the main task is to provide more entertainment for us, there is only NWDR aside from RIAS, if RIAS brings a good program we can at least choose between two programs; its main task is to amuse people; above all they should bring cheerful music to entertain us listeners; they should soothe people's nerves with light musical programs, they should bring good music so that people will feel uplifted, a radio program should be planned in such a way that everybody can relax; they should broadcast musical programs so that you can feel happy sometimes; etc.

34

##### To enlighten and encourage East Zone Germans:

To inform people in the East Zone about everything that happens in the world; its political reports and commentaries are to back up people in the East Zone, to give them a light on Communism, and show them what the Eastern potentates are; RIAS' main task is to encourage the East Zone population, to enlighten them, and to cheer them up through broadcasts such as "The Islanders"; RIAS' main task is to enlighten people behind the Iron Curtain, it sees to it that contact is kept between people behind the Iron Curtain and those who live in the free world; it's

14

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West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

the free world's mouthpiece that tells the East how things are managed in a free country, and what stand we take on political questions, thus the East Zone people might take up Western ideas; above all, to give light in the political field to the East Zone people; to enlighten the East Zone population; etc.

To influence people for democracy and against Communism:

11%

To give political lessons, to orient people so that they become true democrats; RIAS has been established to enlighten people and see to it that they don't get in the wave of Communism; RIAS is to teach Berliners to think along democratic lines; to show the way into the future, to fight Communism, to help to preserve peace; to counteract Russian influence; to build a bulwark against Communism; it is to make propaganda for America and to fight Communism; to tell unfree people what a genuine democracy means; to indoctrinate us in politics, RIAS' way of teaching is more discreet than that of the Russian radio station; RIAS is to draw Berliners to the American side; etc.

To promote German-American understanding:

9

To improve German-American relations and to get the Germans acquainted with the American way of life; it has been created to promote understanding between America and Germany; they are aiming at a good cooperation between America and Germany; to preserve peaceful relations between America and Germany; it's the task of RIAS to awaken and promote Germany's understanding for America; in my opinion, RIAS is the only institution able to build a spiritual bridge between America and Germany, and this work has been successfully done up till now; it is supposed to enlarge our knowledge about America; I think it's simply wonderful that German students who are in the States tell us about their experiences through the "Voice of America", RIAS wants to establish friendly relations between American and German youth; RIAS wants us to know what America is like; etc.

To provide instruction:

5

To be instructive, to offer programs through which you can expand your knowledge, improve your education; it should contribute to improve people's knowledge, their general knowledge; RIAS should be instructive and promote science; it should expand people's knowledge; to educate people, for instance through it's "Join in" program, you really can learn something from that; it is a contribution to public instruction; etc.

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West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

5%

To be Berlin's own station:

It has to substitute for the former Berlin station; to make Berliners feel that they have a station of their own; to be the station for West Berlin; to provide a station for us West Berliners which advocates our interests, it has to plan programs in such a way that they provide items of special interest to Berliners; etc.

4

To build a bridge between East and West:

It is to connect people of the West and those behind the Iron Curtain; to put people of the West into contact with those in the East Zone, to build a bridge between East and West; to enlighten people so that understanding between East and West can finally be reached; to pave the way for unification of Berlin, RLAS prevents people from getting under the influence of the SED; etc.

3

To help and encourage West Berliners or Berliners in general:

To strengthen West Berliners' confidence in the West; to take charge of West Berliners' interest; to connect us with the Western world; RLAS wants to dispel our fear that we might be handed over to the Russians one day, besides it makes it clear to the Russians and to Pieck that the three Great Powers will protect us; to promote the interests of Berlin, to make propaganda for our city that has to struggle so hard; etc.

3

To satisfy the listener:

To offer a good program; to satisfy the listeners; it has to broadcast such programs as people really like to listen to; etc.

2

To inform about conditions in the East Zone:

To inform us about the sorry conditions in the East Zone; to instruct people on what's going on in the Zone; to enlighten us on the political situation in the East; to tell people again and again what Communism really means; etc.

2

Other tasks:

Tracing service of the Red Cross to help families to be re-united; to be the voice of the people; to be a lucrative source of income for the state; to show people how to live more carefree, I mean people in East and West Berlin; to improve the Copenhagen Radio Agreement so that all stations can be clearly received; to give young artists, especially comedians, a chance so that listeners won't be forced to hear the same artists all the time; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

7  
138%

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.



ENTERTAINMENT MAIN TARGET OF CRITICISM ...

Reasons for preferring NDR and some of the conceptions expressed of RIAS' main task, have already raised the suspicion that it is on the score of entertainment considerations that RIAS has run into difficulties in maintaining popularity in West Berlin. Answer trends on the present query - wherein respondents were invited to express any criticisms they may have of RIAS - go far toward demonstrating that such is in fact the case. The most persistent theme throughout the comments (which are tabulated in great detail below because of the interest they might have for program planning) is that RIAS does not offer enough of the kind of entertainment West Berliners prefer - light music (not including American jazz).

"And do you yourself have any criticisms to make about the RIAS station? (What is it you have to criticize about this station?) What should be changed for instance?"

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

Not enough light music:

20%

It would be a good thing to bring more light music; they should bring another kind of music, neither classical pieces nor super modern music but old Berlin tunes and light music; since Saturday is meant for the working people to relax they shouldn't offer serious music but light music then; they should bring more light music to please the masses; they should give more room to light musical programs; Sunday morning programs should include more light music such as from operettas and dance music, more jokes to laugh about; more light music on Sunday afternoon, more variety shows presented by the "Islanders" for instance; more old German music; perhaps too much music from operas, they should offer more music that helps one relax; etc.

Poor scheduling of programs:

15

Lectures should be scheduled after 22:00 hrs so that there's more room for musical programs during the day; book reviews and travel accounts should be brought from 20:00 to 22:00 hrs instead in the morning; news should be brought earlier than half past ten in the evening; evening news should be brought about 21:30 hrs; university programs before 23:00 otherwise I can't listen to this valuable program; instead of the intermission in the morning they could bring a program dealing with religious problems, many housewives could listen to them at this time; symphony concerts not before 22:15 hrs, programs for the East Zone not in the early morning but at a time when housewives can manage to listen, and between 19:30 and 20:00 hrs for the working people of the East Zone, the night programs are nonsense who is supposed to listen to them?; etc.

Program conflicts with NDR:

13

RIAS could coordinate its programs with that of NDR, they shouldn't always bring identical programs at the same time; RIAS shouldn't always offer serious music simultaneously with NDR, it really looks as if they do it on purpose; at present important programs overlap, symphony concerts, for instance, are broadcast at the same time by RIAS and NDR; they should see to it that the radio drama programs of RIAS and NDR aren't on the air at the same time; the symphony concerts on Tuesdays, NDR puts on the same program at the same time; etc.

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Too little light music between 19:00 and 22:00 hrs:

13

Light music from 20:00 to 22:00 hrs not only serious programs during that period of time; the broadcasting hours are inconvenient, the good programs, I mean light music, are offered very early in the morning or late at night; they should start playing dance music before 23:00 hrs; it shouldn't offer the fine music so late at night but also from 20:30 to 22:00 hrs; I don't want to criticize the RIAS programs as such but they might select another kind of music for the evenings; etc.

Too much heavy, serious music:

9

They can bring high-level music such as symphonies, at a later hour, for that's a thing for upper crust people who understand it, for us workers they'd better offer operettas and light music for entertainment; symphony concerts are too heavy a fare for me, they should bring less of this type of music; they could cut out operas and symphonies, working people don't listen to such programs; RIAS presents too many modern symphonies, I just can't understand them;

Too much American music (jazz):

9

Too much jazz is offered; that so much room is given to modern music, to jazz and such stuff; RIAS offers too much jazz for my taste; they bring too much jazz for my taste; I don't like the American hit tunes in the weekly hit parade, there are too many boogie-woogie pieces among them; I think these long dance music programs in the evening are awful; the "Hits of the Week" programs are monotonous, they'd better drop that program and put on something else; as for me, they could drop the jazz programs; I don't like the American hits in the "Hits of the Week" program, they should present German hits instead; etc.

Programs are monotonous:

7

The program is monotonous; the program should be more varied, it shouldn't be laid down for a period of years; the over-all program should be changed more often, they haven't presented a new program for quite a while I mean a program such as "Join In"; radio dramas shouldn't be repeated so often, and the "Join In" show has become rather boring too, you get fed up with a thing like that if you hear it too often, they should present some new programs; the radio dramas should be more carefully selected, a play such as "Minister der neuen Methode" (radio play) is pointless and boring; etc.

Too few word-programs:

6

They should bring more radio dramas; more word-programs, less music, that's all I have to criticize; they bring too few radio dramas; they should bring travel accounts from all over the world on Sunday mornings instead of piano and organ music; the news could be more detailed like on the NDR, furthermore, the news announcer speaks too quickly; etc.

Too many political programs:

6

Politics is not in my line, I don't want to listen to political commentaries in between musical programs, the program of a radio station shouldn't be influenced by politics; they shouldn't talk so much about politics; there should be more cultural programs, fewer political programs, they should offer something that makes people forget politics; sometimes you could think that somebody (the Americans) is behind some of the programs; it's too markedly the mouth-piece of the Americans; they offer too many political programs, there's too much talking about politics; etc.

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New blood is needed among performers or in management:

Some personnel changes should be made, they should see to it that they get some distinguished people on their staff, not these young smart alecks; RIAS should recruit new people, we've known those people who are on the staff for too long now, it gets monotonous; in regard to the people they hire, in their programs you always hear the same names, you could think there simply weren't any young artists, take variety shows, for instance, it's always the same names you hear; that they always present the same artists, it looks to me as if they give them contracts for a lifetime, new people should be presented; the RIAS staffers don't go out of their way to present a good program, new people should be put in charge; in the "Join In"-series always the same artists are heard, the way the station is run by some cliques is really disgusting; some new young artists and performers should be put on the program, not always those same sorry types; they shouldn't allow so many women to have their say in the program, they talk a lot of nonsense and inflate their egos, there are enough artists who deserve a helping hand; there are always the same announcers and speakers, they should give a chance to artists and radio announcers who are out of a job to show what's in them; put new people in charge, then this mismanagement would cease; it's always the same actors who get parts in the individual programs, you always hear the same voices, it's a pity that capable Berlin actors, such as Kortner, Deutsch and Eibenschuetz are never heard; etc.

There is too much propaganda - too much agitation:

They should stop agitating against their own countrymen in the East Zone; it would be a good thing if RIAS would show a little more understanding for their opponents, if the others hate us, we shouldn't hate them in return but should try to bring about a reconciliation; I don't like the program "Berlin Speaks to the Zone", I think it's too inflammatory, they should rather mediate and go about things more diplomatically, you can enlighten people presenting things objectively, too; as I told you before, they put it on too thickly as far as propaganda is concerned, in every respect, for the West as well as against the East; the programs for the East Zone are clumsy, too much time is devoted to political subjects in the RIAS program, the "Join In"-series should once more be brought to its former level; RIAS shouldn't carry on so much propaganda against the East, we would prefer to see some action; too much time is devoted to talks about a liberal economy and to announcements of missing persons; you shouldn't pay back spitefulness with spitefulness; RIAS shouldn't make any crude and spiteful comments in the East Zone programs, it should always be objective, wisecracks are cheap, besides if it carries on in that manner it would be on the same level with the radio station of East Berlin; etc.

Too many word programs:

There is too much talk, RIAS offers too many lectures; it brings too many lectures and commentaries, it's the job of a radio station to make people feel happy and gay after all; they needn't bring commentaries on more than three days a week, I'm sure many people turn off their radios when commentaries are broadcast; that it brings too many spoken-word programs and too few musical programs; in my opinion RIAS offers too many lectures; there's too much talk; in the evening when people are tired, spoken-word programs are unsuitable; that sometimes the "Voice of America" could be dropped, it shouldn't be presented daily but only on a few days a week, maybe only on Sundays; the "Voice of America" is broadcast too often; etc.

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Too little serious music:

They should offer more music from operas and classical music; more classical music; I would like much classical music; more broadcasts in memory of great composers; etc.

More music (in general):

I would like to hear genuine martial music again; the program should include more musical offerings; since I'm only a casual listener I can't say much about the program but it could perhaps bring more German music; more musical programs; more music from all European countries; the individual musical programs should be longer; etc.

Too much light music is presented:

I don't like their musical programs on Sundays, on Sundays RIAS presents its poorest musical programs, it's dance music all the time; after working hours they should offer musical programs that are different from their present ones, not (operas and) hits but songs from olden times, folk songs and things like that; etc.

Advertising programs could be cut out:

No, only those ad programs in the morning could be cut out, they shouldn't be so long in any case; they shouldn't interrupt the musical programs in the morning to advertise some articles; the advertising programs should be dropped; etc.

Too many programs are broadcast for the East Zone:

The programs presented after working hours are lousy, they talk about the East Zone endlessly while they say little about the goings-on over here; for a long time they have been presenting an excessive number of broadcasts for the East, they should devote more time to programs which give people a chance to relax and enjoy themselves; it brings a lot of broadcasts for the East, they should offer more for us West Berliners; they should talk less about the East; etc.

No criticisms or suggestions, satisfied with RIAS:

They shouldn't change anything, there may be some people who like RIAS programs; I'm quite satisfied; nothing need to be changed; I've no suggestions to make; etc.

Other criticisms:

Above all, RIAS is meant for Berliners but I got the impression that it is going to lose contact with them since it tries to become a station for everybody; unfortunately RIAS no longer takes German mentality into consideration when planning its programs; it would be a good thing if RIAS would bring more reports from West Berlin in order to wake up people in West Germany; RIAS' outlooks seem a bit superficial to me, the N/DR is more in my line; they should see to it that the reception is clear for us with the small wireless sets pay the same rate as those who can afford big ones; the programs change too quickly, the moment you begin to like a program it's finished, and you have to concentrate on another broadcast; the program "Join In" doesn't do much credit to RIAS, I'm astonished that people put up with the arrogant, sometimes even offensive way of the speaker in this program; etc.

No opinion - No answer:

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



ENTERTAINMENT CRITICISMS CORROBORATED ...

Open inquiry on criticisms of RIAS was supplemented in the study by a device that has proved useful in other studies, i.e. the presentation of a list of possible criticisms of importance with an invitation to the respondents to check any of those to which he agrees fully, largely, or in part. The procedure is somewhat suggestive but has the virtue of reminding respondents of criticisms they may have lost sight of or felt to be too indelicate to mention. In view of the suggestiveness, however, the proportion of criticisms expressed must be interpreted as closer to a maximum than a minimum estimate.

The returns, it will be noted below, corroborate the free answer objections in indicating that the two criticisms most widely echoed by West German radio listeners are (1) "RIAS brings too many political and too few entertaining programs", and, (2) "RIAS brings too much American music and jazz and neglects good music." A total of 47 per cent and 53 per cent respectively agreed in some measure with these remarks. A third criticism which achieved considerable currency (F below with 37%) is probably of the same general programmatic character.

"You sometimes hear unfavorable remarks on the RIAS station. We have put down some of them here and would like to know with which remarks you would fully agree, with which largely and with which you would agree only to a small extent or not at all?"

	<u>Agree fully</u>	<u>Agree largely</u>	<u>Agree only to small extent</u>	<u>Don't agree at all</u>	<u>No opinion</u>
A. RIAS is only a one-sided American mouthpiece	3%	6%	15%	71%	5%...100%
B. RIAS brings too many political programs and too few entertaining programs	11	15	21	50	3
C. RIAS brings too many entertaining programs and concerns itself too little with political issues	-	1	4	92	3
D. In its broadcasts RIAS exaggerates in its agitation against the East	3	3	12	77	5
E. In its broadcasts RIAS inflates its importance and acts as if it runs Berlin	3	4	7	81	5
F. RIAS is operated by cliques so that no new people are admitted to its staff, that's why the program gets worse all the time instead of better	10	7	16	39	34
G. RIAS prevents West Berlin from having a German radio station of its own	3	4	6	47	40
H. RIAS brings too much American music and jazz and neglects good music	14	19	20	43	4

INDICATION ...

All in all the conclusion would seem to be that as far as RIAS' West Berlin public relations are concerned, more and different sugar is wanted on the political pill. It is interesting that though RIAS' East German audience has a greater political appetite, they concur with their West Berlin colleagues in the plea for more light music and less American jazz (except for youth, but only in part).\*

BUT POLITICAL CRITICISMS FEW ...

Also of significance in the tabulations preceding is the indication that apart from the entertainment respect, criticism of RIAS is but very moderate. To adhere to our drug-store analogy there is considerable objection to the amount and kind of candy coating, but relatively little objection to the pill itself. More specifically, to such serious political charges as RIAS "is only a one-sided American mouthpiece," "exaggerates in its agitation against the East," "acts as if it runs Berlin," "prevents West Berlin from having a German radio station of its own" only relatively small proportions indicate agreement - half explicitly to only a small extent.

This relative absence of serious political criticism is further indicated in returns below to supplementary more conventional queries.

"If you think of the news broadcast by RIAS, do you consider the news of RIAS to be one-sided or not to be one-sided?"

One-sided	7%
Not one-sided	87
No opinion	6
	<u>100%</u>

"What impression have you got of the news and commentaries you've heard over the RIAS station? Do you feel that these are very reliable, fairly reliable, reliable only to a small extent or not reliable at all?"

Very reliable	50%
Fairly reliable	39
Reliable only to a small extent	3
Not reliable at all	-
No opinion	8
	<u>100%</u>

\* See Report # 170, dated February 10, 1953, entitled "RIAS Coverage and Programming as Evaluated by East Zone Listeners"

## R E S T R I C T E D

## CRITICISM INFREQUENT OF EAST-DIRECTED OUTPUT ...

And finally indicated, in specific questioning, is that the extent of East Zone emphasis in present RIAS broadcasting does not appear to be a serious source of criticism among West Berlin radio listeners. Few express irritation on such a ground, though apparently equally few would recommend any additional East Zone emphasis.

"Do you feel that RIAS is keying its broadcasts in the right measure to the East Zone or do you feel that it does this too much or too little?"

West Berlin  
Radio Listeners

In the right measure	71%
Too much	8
Do not go far enough	10
No opinion	11
	<hr/> 100%

And in general, it will be noted from the returns to the open inquiry below, criticisms of RIAS' East Zone broadcasts are infrequent and in part tend to cancel each other out.

"Do you have any criticisms to make about the RIAS broadcasts for the East Zone? (What is it you have to criticize about the RIAS broadcasts for the East Zone?)"

West Berlin  
Radio ListenersNothing to criticize:

72%

No, I don't have to criticize anything about them; nothing, on the contrary, I think they are doing fine; no, the broadcasts I've heard were all right; No, it's imperative to enlighten people over there; I don't have anything to criticize about the broadcasts, they are very informative; No, they go about it in the right way, it's vital that people in the East Zone learn the truth; I approve of the broadcasts; nothing to criticize, RIAS does its best to give an accurate description of how things are, I don't see how they could present things more drastically; I often listen to broadcasts for the East Zone and I think they are excellent; No, on the contrary, I get quite a kick out of them; I have no criticisms to offer, some things may not be presented quite objectively, as in "The Islanders" program, for instance, but then they're presented in a humorous way; etc.

Broadcasts are too sharp, intolerant, exaggerated or inflammatory:

7

That they rather exaggerate at times and use too sharp a tone against the East; at times they stir up people rather seriously they act the part of agitators and war-mongers, they come very near to the practices employed by the East Zone radio station, sometimes they exaggerate things, they describe conditions in the East Zone in the darkest colors, while they embellish their reports about the West; if people go too far in agitating they'll brew trouble, it's just that I'm against any kind of agitation; they should speak up, no doubt, but they shouldn't exaggerate because that will only serve to make the rift wider; they go too far in their propaganda against the East; in my opinion these broadcasts should be somewhat less inflammatory; they'd be more effective if they'd be strictly objective; do they have to call the people in the East names? - they should leave that to a cabaret group an appropriate name for which would be "Porcupine"; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



Broadcasts encourage East Zone residents to flee to the West:  
People feel encouraged to come here, though it would be better if they'd stick out; the broadcasts have the effect of an enticement to people in the East Zone, and as it is, we in the West are simply weighed down by the problems we have to face; RIAS has enticed people to come here; they shouldn't describe the West in such glowing colors, many of the East Zone refugees have thus been induced to flee, now they find there's great misery over here; early last year I had the impression that RIAS encouraged people to flee, but that's not so any longer; etc.

Broadcasts should be more intensive and comprehensive:  
Broadcasts are much too brief and the West doesn't carry on enough propaganda; programs could be even more intensified and more broadcasts could be presented; the 15-minutes broadcast from 19:45 hrs to 20:00 hrs is too short; etc.

Broadcasts are poor - accomplish little:  
As I told you already, the level of the broadcasts are somewhat primitive; the "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" program is pretty clumsy; the "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" programs broadcast at noon time could be dropped, nobody listens to them, as it is; just that I don't care for these broadcasts, that's why I switch off the radio when these programs are on the air; etc.

Warnings shouldn't be broadcast:  
In my opinion RIAS gets people into trouble with the warnings they broadcast, I don't consider such to be clever tactics and besides, some details aren't correct; they always warn the East publicly, the government listens to these broadcasts, too, after all, therefore it's no warning in the actual sense of the word; etc.

Broadcasts should be more vigorous:  
They should put things even more sharply and plainly, though they should stick to the truth, of course; sometimes they are too tame, they could express some things more sharply; they should describe conditions in Russia even more drastically to the East Zone people, they should tell them what's actually going on in Asia and Russia; etc.

Broadcasts too often repeated:  
Individual broadcasts are repeated too often; they always tell the same story; etc.

Other criticisms:  
What's offered is all right from the American point of view, I guess, though they don't always hit it off with us West Berliners; sometimes RIAS talks about problems such as unemployment of young people and juvenile delinquency which haven't been solved over here, as it is, in such cases they'd better leave things alone; in my opinion you must be able to manage a thing more efficiently than others before you start criticizing other people, conditions over here aren't more favorable than in the East, you always have to listen to two parties before condemning anybody; etc.

No opinion as no interest in program:  
No, as I never listen to these broadcasts, I can't afford any criticism; I never listen to these programs; I'm not interested in these problems any more; etc.

No opinion - No answer:



FEW BLAME RIAS FOR STREAM OF REFUGEES ...

A serious recent problem in connection with RIAS broadcasting to the East Zone has been the possible extent to which West Berliners might feel that RIAS is in part responsible for the streaming of East Zone refugees into West Berlin. Specific questioning on this score suggests that the situation is not serious in this respect with only 17 per cent expressing the belief that RIAS broadcasts encourage East Germans to flee, and only 12 per cent holding such a view and at the same time disapproving of such encouragement.

"Do the RIAS broadcasts for the East Zone leave you with the impression that RIAS has encouraged the East Zone refugees in any way to flee to West Berlin, or do you have the impression that RIAS makes an effort to persuade people to stick it out in the East Zone?"

Encourage people to flee	27%
Persuade people to stick it out	46
Neither - nor	30
No opinion	7
	<u>100%</u>

IF "Encourages people to flee", "Persuades people to stick it out" or "Neither - nor":

"Do you personally approve of this attitude of RIAS, or don't you approve?"

	<u>Encourages people to flee</u>	<u>Persuades people to stick it out</u>	<u>Neither-nor</u>
Approve	5%	45%	29%
Disapprove	12	1	1
No opinion	<u>17%</u>	<u>46%</u>	<u>30%</u>

SOME CLUES TO THE EFFECTIVENESS  
OF A PRODUCTIVITY FILM PROGRAM  
AMONG GERMAN FACTORY WORKERS

Classification cancelled  
by authority of Leo P. Green  
SUB-RAS.

Report No. 183  
S. Green  
August 14, 1953

R E S T R I C T E D

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY



## INTRODUCTION

At the request of MSA Information Office, Headquarters, HIOOG, Mchlen, the Evaluation Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HIOOG, in June 1955 undertook a preliminary study of one of the audio-visual-aids programs currently being carried out in selected plants and factories by the German Productivity Center (Rationalisierungs-Kuratorium der deutschen Wirtschaft) or RKW. Selected by RKW for survey was a West German factory making machines for dyeing and bleaching, employing about 250 people, a relatively large proportion of whom are machinists, i.e. highly skilled workers. Both management and the Workers' Council gave their approval to the survey.

At the time of the study, eight films selected by RKW with problems of the factory in mind had been shown. The content of the films varied from general industrial films to specific training films. The time span of exhibiting the films extended from January 24, when the first two films were shown, to April 18, when the last three included in this survey were shown.

Titles of the eight films and screening dates are listed below. (Brief descriptions of the content of each are given in the appendix.)

- January 24: <sup>Rationalization</sup> More ~~Rationalization~~ Leads to a Better Life  
Key to Progress
- February 2: Ideas at Work  
More Thought for Work - Higher Production  
Work Simplification Applied to Clerical Work
- April 18: Use and Abuse of Twist Drills  
Chips  
From Iron Ore to Steel

The purpose of this preliminary pilot survey was to arrive at some indications of 1) how the effectiveness of films in a factory training program could be measured; and 2) what means and methods could be employed to get the most value out of the film showings from the workers' point of view.

As to the first, various factors of the film program under review complicate the drawing of firm conclusions. Two illustrations underscore the problem: 1) the time-lapse in the presentation of the various films, each of which presumably was an integral part of the program; and 2) the differences in types of films presented - films of general nature preceding by some months the more specific work process films shown at the end of the program. People may have forgotten their original impressions of the earlier films, or conversely, emphasize the impact of recently seen films. Thus it is difficult to conclude which of the two factors: recency or type of film had the most influence on audience appraisal of the program as a whole.

Interviewing in the survey was done by DIVO (Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H.), Frankfurt/Main, a German organization working under contract to the Evaluation Staff. A list of 175 employees of the firm was given to DIVO by the management of whom 173 were subsequently interviewed in their homes. Not included in the list were persons in executive and managerial positions, clerical workers, and apprentices in their first two years of training.

SUMMARY

I. Clues to Effectiveness

WHAT DO THE WORKERS THINK ABOUT THE FILM PROGRAM?

THE FILM PROGRAM SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN WELL RECEIVED ... by the workers who attended one or more of the presentations.

As to the program as a whole - films and accompanying talks - favorable reactions predominate. And less than one in 10 state the program was unnecessary.

The lectures or explanatory talks win general approval; they are considered both understandable and sufficiently detailed by almost all the workers who heard them.

THE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE FILM PROGRAM ... is generally considered to be to increase factory efficiency. About 15 per cent say the aim is to promote rationalization of industry.

MORE FILMS ARE DESIRED ... with 86 per cent specifying various work processes they would like to have illustrated in films.

DISCUSSION ABOUT THE FILMS ... is reported by half of the workers who saw one or more.

The films on tools and detailed work processes appear to have occasional most comments. Few references are made to the more general films.

WHAT EVIDENCE IS THERE THAT THE PROGRAM WAS EFFECTIVE?

TWO FILMS - "USE AND ABUSE OF TWIST DRILLS," AND "CHIPS" ... are acknowledged by majorities of the workers as useful to them in their jobs.

None of the remaining six films is cited by any considerable proportion as having utility.

It is possible, however, that the greater mention of these two films derives at least in part from recency since they were the last seen in the program.

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF IMPACT ... is the finding that two thirds state that participation in the program was of personal value.

The third who find the showings of little or no value say either that the films, though interesting enough, did not apply to their jobs, or that they already knew how to perform the processes demonstrated in the films.

BUT SEVEN IN TEN ARE UNABLE TO SEE HOW INCREASED PRODUCTION CAN RESULT ... from the film program.

Thus, if the end-product of the film program is to sell the idea to workers of how to go about increasing production, and of the benefits to them of such increases, the majority of workers do not appear to get the point.



AND TWO THIRDS ARE UNAWARE OF PLANT IMPROVEMENTS ... resulting from the program, though improvements in work methods and processes apparently did occur, as is spelled out in considerable detail by the three in 10 who are aware of the facts.

Among the changes directly related to the films are: improved methods of handling drills, and grinding tools, construction of a revolving table for welding, punching machines for making lamellas were constructed, a suggestion box was adopted (but, apparently without a reward system), and the like.

SIGNIFICANCE ... From the point of view of audience interest and approval the audio-visual-aids program as presented in the factory under consideration appears to have been a success. It also seems to have been a practical success in that it resulted in changes in work methods and processes, as attested by three in 10 workers. However, the findings that two thirds of the workers are unaware of the impact of the films on their plant, and even more of them cannot see how the program could lead to increased production merit close attention. The purpose of the program is not, it is understood, merely to increase productivity in a given plant but to get employees to realize the possibilities and benefits to them of such improvements. The evidence of the survey suggests, therefore, that in the audio-visual-aids program more attention should probably be given to detailing the application of particular films to the problems of the plant in which they are shown; and to informing workers of such changes as do occur as a result of the program.

## II. Clues to Ways and Means of Presenting Film Programs

### WHAT DID THE WORKERS THINK OF THE METHOD OF PRESENTATION?

THE PRESENTATION WAS STIMULATING ... in the opinion of two thirds of the people who took part.

BUT SUGGESTIONS OR CRITICISMS ... are forthcoming from half of the audience.

RELATE THE FILMS MORE CLOSELY TO THE PARTICULAR JOBS OF THE AUDIENCE ... is the chief suggestion made. Other suggestions and/or criticism are that processes should be treated in detail, a more convenient time should be chosen, there should be more German films, etc.

### WHAT ARE THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO TIME AND METHODS?

THE SHIFT PERIOD ... is the best time to show films according to two thirds of the workers. Only 4 per cent are willing to attend strictly on their own time, and 29 per cent want showings on company time.

DEMONSTRATIONS VIE WITH FILMS ... as the best means of instructing workers, with 50 per cent preferring movies, and 43 per cent practical demonstrations.

In another test of preference, 46 per cent select a training program of lectures and demonstrations, and 33 per cent one with films-lectures-slides. An added 17 per cent want a training program consisting only of films and lectures.

THE USE OF SLIDES OR STILL SHOTS ... to accompany the films would increase the value of the films considerably, according to eight in 10 workers.

FILMS RELATING SPECIFICALLY TO IMPROVEMENTS IN A GIVEN JOB ... are preferred by half the workers. And three in 10 want films that can be easily adapted to particular job problems. Only 17 per cent prefer general films on the advantages of improving work methods.

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# I. CLUES TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE FILM PROGRAM

## HOW MANY RECALL SEEING THE FILMS?

Obviously the first test of effectiveness of the film program is not only how many actually saw the films, but how many remember seeing them. The findings as reported below indicate that a half or more of the respondents recall seeing the films. A fifth of the people interviewed either did not see any films or have no recollection of seeing any.

"Did you participate in any one of the shows in which these movies have been shown?" (Films presented on card)  
 "Which films did you see?"

On January 24, these films were shown:

More Rationalization Leads to a Better Life	51%
Key to Progress	49

On February 2, these films were shown:

Ideas at Work	51%
More Thought for Work - Higher production	55
Work Simplification Applied to Clerical Work	60

And April 18:

Use and Abuse of Twist Drills	62%
Chips	61
From Iron Ore to Steel	53

Saw None	19%
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## FILM PROGRAM GENERALLY WELL RECEIVED ...

Among the workers who recall seeing one or more film showings, favorable reactions to the film program - taken as a whole - outweigh other reactions by two to one, with the largest single category of comments referring to the instructive value of the films. Moreover, less than one in 10 of the workers who participated in the program definitely state that it was unnecessary. The comments follow.

"First: What do you think about these showings with movies and lectures in general?"

### Favorable Comments:

They are instructive, and of importance for one's job:

In my opinion this program is very good, for only through these films did I get an idea as to how I could improve my machine, and then, my ambition was aroused, you come to sit down and study these things; they are instructive and good, things like that should take place more often; it does no harm to look at them, it's a fact that you never cease learning, these meetings are always instructive; people who work in small firms can learn from them, for sure, the program is very instructive; that they are fine and that you can learn a lot from them, the showings should be repeated frequently; it's all right, you never can learn enough, if you have no chance to see a thing in practice, you get a good idea of it through films; they are quite instructive even for me and for our special field; they are very informative, it's a good thing that one's attention should be drawn to things like that; on the whole, the films were good and I learned how to work properly; they aren't bad at all, they explain

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- 1 -

R E S T R I C T E D

some things you hadn't known before; that they are good, they demonstrate how to do work properly and point out mistakes that often are made, things you may not have been aware of up till then, these showings should be repeated; improved working methods are demonstrated, how greater efficiency may be achieved as time goes; they are quite instructive, it's a good thing to learn how greater efficiency can be achieved; they are very interesting and instructive, you learn what methods people in other countries use; the films certainly are very instructive, I observed improvements, for instance, which I would never have thought of myself; I think this program is a good thing, you get tips as to how you can improve a lot of things; it's not the wrong thing to do, you can learn from them, it's a good thing for the factory, too, we don't have a chance otherwise to see such films, the management as well as the workers benefit from them; the things that are shown hardly concern us, but they are instructive anyway; as far as they are concerned with our branch of the business, I think this is useful, this way you get a good over-all impression of everything that's in the line of our job and that we can't see in our own plant, you can form an idea how they work in other factories; by showing movies and offering lectures that are instructive the efficiency of the plant can be considerably increased and a lot of material can be saved; etc.

50%

They are good (general answers):

They were all right, the films were good; I was quite pleased with them, they should take place more often; the ideas aren't bad at all, the films are good and I'm sure it's worthwhile to show them; you always see something that's new to you, I consider these offerings to be good; etc.

13

They are especially valuable for apprentices:

One can see how working methods can be improved and especially if you are an apprentice you can learn how they work in other factories; not bad at all for apprentices, you find out how work can be done more efficiently and can try out methods afterwards; they are very useful especially for our younger colleagues; it's a good thing for young people, I have been in the business for 20 years, I'm not much interested in this stuff; that these showings are very instructive for young people, through them you learn quite a few things you can make use of in your work later on; they are of special importance for training and instructing apprentices; etc.

9

Favorable - With Reservations:

Showings like these are good, but they are not pertinent to specialized plants:

They were fine, only not for our special branch of industry; they should be out for our kind of plant; they aren't bad, but they aren't very suitable for us, the films are mainly for big outfits with mass production, where semi-automatic and fully automatic lathes are used; the movies are instructive, no doubt, but many things can't be carried out, they were not suitable for our plant; they aren't useful for every firm, in my opinion; they can be very interesting provided they come within a certain sphere of work; they may be quite all right, but they shouldn't be too general; on the whole, they are very instructive, they should be more specific, however, the films were good, but not all of them were suitable for our factory, there were too many films about work different from our own, we should get to see more films about our special

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field; I was quite pleased with the movies, but they should show more technical films about our own field; they should show more specialized technical films; the idea as such isn't bad, only they selected unsuitable material; they aren't of special interest for us as they deal with a kind of work that's far removed from our own, it's quite interesting to learn about work in a modern office, for instance, but it's got nothing to do with the work we do; etc.

18%

Other commentaries:

I liked the movies all right, but in practice plans can only be carried out if things are more efficiently prepared by the planning department, through better planning production could be stepped up, in most cases the films inspire ideas which can't be realized for the time being; that's all very well, one does go to see the films, but nothing is done about it later on, improvements are suggested by the foreman, we don't have any say in these matters, we are allotted our work, if it's to our advantage we may make suggestions, at that; those films should be shown to the people who are responsible for the management of the plant as well, they are interesting, no doubt, and the firm as such may benefit through them; it may be an idea to show the films on Mondays instead of on Saturdays, people would be more attentive; I guess, those films are quite a good thing, but they shouldn't show foreign films all the time, aren't there any German films?; etc.

9

Critical Comments:

They are unnecessary, our own experiences suffice:

They can't do any harm, but people who have been in the business for some time don't need that kind of thing, they are experienced enough, for trainees it may be a good thing; personally, I don't believe in it, if I'm interested in my job, I'll find out about things myself, I don't need any movies; it's not much use, I guess; etc.

4

They are unnecessary, our plant keeps up with modern developments:

It may all be quite well, but there isn't much room for improvements at our factory, it has modern equipment, so that hardly any hard labor has to be done any more; on the one hand they aren't bad, but on the other hand they are unnecessary if people do a good job and the tools are in good condition as it is in our plant; up till now it hasn't paid showing the movies to us, as we had known all this stuff for ages; etc.

3

No opinion:

1  
107%\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## EXPLANATORY TALKS WIN APPROVAL ...

The explanatory talks accompanying the films, given by a trained engineer, were also generally well-received. Asked for spontaneous remarks on the talks, seven in ten express approval, saying the lectures were an essential contribution to understanding the films, they were good in general, were instructive, entertaining and the like. The few who are critical appear largely to believe that the films were self-explanatory.

"What is your opinion on the comments (lectures) to these movies?"

Favorable Comments:

These films require explanations to make them clear to people:

It's good that they explained everything before they showed the film; the lecturer explains the whole film so that it will stick to our memory some people won't understand just by seeing the film, I think that comments are essential; gave a good explanation of the films and makes you get a better grasp of what's shown; was a good support to the film; you get a better understanding if there is somebody who explains things to you; well, that's quite a good way - there are always plenty of young people who won't understand just seeing the films; if there is somebody standing in front of you and talking that's better than seeing a film; etc.

25%

They were good (general answers):

They should be repeated after a certain period of time, they were good; they were very, very good; everything was fine; I liked the lectures very well; they were good, he took great pains with them; quite well, yes, he was good; they were certainly not bad; etc.

24

Instructive, interesting, stimulating:

They were interesting; stimulating; in my opinion they were very instructive; they freshen up your memory and are instructive; good and instructive; very useful for the young, these films ought to be shown to them; that is so that workers may learn something, that is good; they were instructive; they gave a clear picture about "streamlining methods" abroad; very useful for apprentices but for an old, experienced worker not so useful; etc.

17

The lecturer was an expert, the explanations he gave were good and he delivered them well:

That was a real expert who held the lectures; they were good, he explained very well; that gentleman talked in such a way that everybody could understand him easily and he knew what he was talking about; that the lectures were good and the lecturer was an expert; etc.

5

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Critical Comments:

Lectures were boring and uninteresting:

That wasn't much of an explanation, not too good; that wasn't much good, they should send another man to do that; could be more interesting, I felt bored and many were on the point of falling asleep, what he said wasn't much good and most of the men aren't interested anyway; etc.

8%

The film was self-explanatory, lectures were not necessary:

The lectures weren't really essential; if I watch a film closely enough I don't need lectures; it wasn't really necessary because there were explanations in the film itself; not important, he just repeated what was said in the films; only a repetition of the film; etc.

5

Not suitable for our shop:

They were unsuitable for our firm, they talked too much about production and that can't be done here, every piece of work is different; the explanations should be made to measure so as to be suitable to every individual firm; etc.

3

Explanations were too difficult to understand:

That's something for the higher-ups, for the common worker they used too many foreign words - I'm sure that 30% of the apprentices didn't understand what he was talking about, even for me it was difficult to follow; etc.

3

Other answers:

Stop the film in between and talk it over - you should be able to give your opinion about it - if it's interesting stop the film and talk about it; it might be right what he said but I had a mind to tell him that if they try to raise the working speed all the time workers can't stand that for long - it's just a question of time before you have to start walking on crutches; that they try to get still more out of workers, I doubt whether that's to our personal advantage - it's just that we should work still more; he should have talked while the film was shown; etc.

7

No opinion:

$\frac{8}{105\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## TALKS SUFFICIENTLY DETAILED AND READILY UNDERSTOOD ...

The lectures are also considered to have the right amount of detail, and generally understandable.

"Were the explanations (lectures) easily understandable, or were they too elementary, or too difficult?"

Easily understandable	90%
Too elementary	-
Too difficult	4
No opinion	6
	<u>100%</u>

"Were the explanations of the lecturer detailed enough or should they have been shorter or longer?"

Detailed enough	82%
Shorter	5
Longer	9
No opinion	4
	<u>100%</u>

... The few who have criticisms of the lack of detailed explanations, or the converse of too much detail, speak as follows:

"What could one have shortened?"

The repetition of what was shown in the film; it was unnecessary to explain the film all over again; he needn't repeat what we had already seen in the film; that's all well known to us, one needn't talk so much about it; the explanations of things that were not connected with the film were too much detailed; the things that don't belong to our sphere of work; etc.

"What could have been more detailed?"

He mentioned new working methods that are unknown here, he should have told us something more about them; he should have given more details about machines and tools, more precise instructions about the twist drills, for instance; the explanations took rather a long time but they weren't instructive enough, he should have stopped the film now and then to give some explanations; I would have appreciated it, if he would have given more details about new ideas; I can't give you an example but he should have given more details how to do everything faster and better; the whole lecture should have been more detailed; etc.

The handful who feel the explanatory lectures too difficult have this to say:

This rationalization, that was too highbrow for me, I couldn't quite follow; with those percentages, that was too difficult - as a worker one doesn't have an idea what that is; too many figures, what do we know about that; too much on economic policies and foreign words which the worker doesn't understand, after all; workers found them difficult to understand, it's the jargon; many say: "Der Zappelkopf;" often foreign words were used which I didn't understand; I can't remember the words any more; etc.

AIMS OF FILMS IS THOUGHT TO BE INCREASED EFFICIENCY ...

The main purpose of the film program is to encourage factory efficiency, according to most of those who saw one or more showings. Only about 15 per cent speak in broader terms of rationalization of industry.

"What was to be shown in these showings? (Why have they been shown? What did they want to achieve?)"

The Aim Is to Promote Streamlining in Industry:

Tips were given as to how to work more efficiently, more simply, more cheaply and faster (new methods):

They wanted to show how a job can be done faster and more efficiently and how production can be stepped up, how working processes can be simplified; they wanted to demonstrate to people that through rationalization work can be done more efficiently and faster and that the output can be increased; so that people do a better job and time is saved; by showing the result of streamlined working processes, they want to win people over for new methods; how to get a job done in less time than before; they wanted to give people a better over-all idea than they can ever get at the place where they work, of how work can be done faster and more simply; the idea is to increase the efficiency of a plant that way; to show people how they can work faster with less effort and still do a better job; people are expected to learn from these showings how to increase their output, they want to get us to work more efficiently; they wanted to make it clear to people in that way work can be done more quickly and more easily, how the output can be increased; to make the workers familiar with improvements and suggestions, it is an incentive to work faster and more efficiently, it's a fine thing, too, if you get a reward in exchange for a suggestion; how to step up production, suggestions are given for doing a job in a simpler way; besides, they want to introduce new methods to us; they want to demonstrate the working methods used in foreign countries as compared to those we use in Germany; to introduce the improvements shown in the film in Germany; to help us to work more efficiently in our plant and to show us what methods are used in other shops; more efficient working methods as used in America and England are to be shown; etc.

56%

Tips were given as to what tools to use for individual jobs, how to handle and maintain tools:

That tools should be used economically; that people learn how to grind tools correctly and how to handle them more carefully, that costs the plant hardly anything, but the tools are thus spared; you had a chance to learn how to handle tools properly, and that you have to take good care of drills; they wanted to make it clear to people that they should work economically and efficiently and should handle their tools carefully; that material is saved; above all, the idea behind the whole thing was to show people how to save material and to spare tools; above all, people should learn how to handle tools more carefully; tips were given as to how to work efficiently, how to make the best use of all available tools and equipment; that a tool is only used for a specific purpose, small drills should be used for small parts only, they shouldn't be misused; the idea is to save material and to keep tools serviceable for a long time; etc.

16

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It was suggested to people to use their brains while working (to think about improvements):

That people will go on to value the good workmanship of old, that they should use their heads and shouldn't work in a dull and robot-like way; that people should use their heads while working; the titles of the films make it quite plain now to step up production by working more purposefully; everybody should go and see the films and should adopt for his work whatever may be useful, it comes down to doing some more thinking and working less hard; a job is planned more efficiently; an increase in production by working more purposefully, that's all; they suggest that you yourself should think about how you could do your work more easily and faster; they were meant to get people to think about the problem of how to streamline working processes; the workers are prodded to think about their jobs, that's all, I guess; they should serve to inspire people to make suggestions for improvements; so that even a simple worker who may have been rather timid up till now will at last come forward with any idea he may have; after having seen these films you hit on ideas for improvements yourself; they were meant to get it across that everybody should work on improvements himself; etc.

17%

General answers (expanding information):

To broaden the horizon of apprentices; they are meant as sort of a refresher course for the older workers, and as a means to arouse the interest of the younger generation; you want to brush up on the stuff you've learned back in the vocational school; they are meant to help achieve more efficient working, that's the idea behind the whole thing; they want to streamline industry; they want to make suggestions, to show us that rationalization pays; etc.

15

Tips for preventing accidents:

Suggestions were made as to how to prevent accidents; accident prevention; to inform the workers on safety devices; etc.

3

Aims of Rationalization Program:

To facilitate work, to spare the workers:

That the machines are to take over more of the work, and men have to work less hard; relaxations for the workers so that they will keep fit for a longer period; how to facilitate work; how to go about increasing the output while working less hard; it's meant to make work easier for people; etc.

8

Increasing the individual output:

They serve to increase our output so that we will be able to compete with firms of foreign countries and won't come in second best on the world market; the worker is to produce more with less effort if possible; etc.

4

Higher standard of living:

To step up production and to raise the standard of living; through that the individual worker is to attain greater prosperity; etc.

3

Other aims:

In my opinion they just want to save manpower and that means there will be more unemployed later on; etc.

1

No opinion:

4  
127%

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**MORE FILMS WANTED ...**

an indirect measure of the value placed on the film program is that the bulk (86%) of the people who saw films would like to have more films on various work processes. Their suggestions as to the topics reveal again their interest in specific films related to jobs rather than those of more general nature.

"Are there any work processes about which you would like to have further movies and lectures of this kind?"

Yes	86%
No	<u>14</u>
	100%

"About which work processes for example?" (Asked of those respondents who said "Yes" to preceding question)

Turning, honing, drilling	24%
Modern welding engineering	21
Construction of tools, machine tools	12
Apparatus construction, mechanical engineering	9
Plate and sheet processing(punching, bending, riveting, soldering)	9
Mechanic's work (fitter's shop)	8
Sheet metal production (rolling, drawing, pressing)	7
Forging, hardening	6
Planing, sawing	5
Filing	4
Iron and steel production (composition of steel)	4
Steel processing (V 41 steel, Remanit steel)	4
Forming, casting	3
Milling	3
Diesel and gasoline motors	3
Boiler construction	2
Marking, slide-gauge measuring	1
<b>Other processes:</b>	
Generation of electrical current; thread cutting; production of gears; bridge construction; production of dyes and pigments; simplifications in the building trade; joiner's work; characteristics of oils and greases; working with compressed-air hammers; chemical analysis of acids; cooperation between engineering-department and workers; construction of railway engines; etc.	20

No opinion

1  
146%\*\*

\*\* Percentages add up to more than the original 86% since most respondents gave more than one example.

R E S T R I C T E D

## HALL HAVE TALKED ABOUT FILMS TO FELLOW WORKERS ...

Additional evidence of the interest the films aroused among the workers who saw them is found in the fact that half (51%) say they have talked to fellow-workers about the techniques and ideas presented in the program. Their comments again make it apparent that the detailed films on tools and instruments aroused the most discussion. Here again it should be kept in mind that the recency of the films on specific work processes may have contributed to the emphasis given them in respondents' replies.

"Have you talked with other members of the factory about any technical processes, simplifications, or improvements - from these movies and lectures or haven't you had an opportunity for that?"

Yes	51%
No	49
	100%

TOPICS OF CONVERSATION ... aroused by the films are listed as follows in their entirety.

"And what did you talk, for instance?" "How come that you talked just about those things?" (Asked of respondents saying "Yes" to preceding question)

"About punching and grinding the drill, how to work efficiently; because we've got such machines in our plant, too, that do the same kind of work."

"About the good and the bad points of the film, I didn't like the film about the Marshall Plan; because German skilled workers work at least as efficiently as do the Americans, if not better."

"About twist drills and grinding machines, about the mining of ores; we've got such a machine for grinding drills in our plant, too, that's why it was interesting for us; the mining of ores was quite interesting, it sure concerns us since we are metal workers."

"About twist drills, their use and misuse; because in practice things are quite different, as a rule, the profits go to the boss; when V4 material is supplied, the drills usually are of no use."

"About the melting of steel, no other topic; because we are very often working with steel."

"We talked about the drilling machine, for instance, when you work with a water level, about the punching machine and how to insert the material by hand as thus time is saved; because I considered this to be quite a good thing."

"About the films shown last, about turning and drilling, what folks think about the grinding and rough-grinding of steel; because that's needed most frequently here."

"That the part about tools was quite instructive; because some of the drills we got at the tool distribution shop were rather blunt, but things have improved lately."

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D



"The film about twist drills, that even today there is widespread ignorance as to the handling of such drills; because they are used so frequently."

"We discussed how things might be and how conditions actually are in our factory where many tools are ruined, it really hurts you inside when you see how carelessly the boys handle the tools; because in our factory so many tools are broken, which is quite unnecessary."

"That they do it much faster and better with the conveyor-belt at the NSU-Works, as to the British, I'm rather doubtful, because I don't think they are on the ball; because we all go in for motor-cycling."

"About the use and misuse of twist drills, well- ground tools - how to work more efficiently and more economically; it concerns my special field."

"We talked about it that improvements might be made as suggested in the films if we had the proper machinery, as things are now quite a few pieces must be planed and filed which could be punched; all this struck you again and again when you're at your job, it would mean less work for the individual worker."

"About the vertical hand drill with a water level, about the production and painting of cars; that was right after we had seen the film, I was especially interested in the hand drill since we use it quite often."

"That it is quite important to handle your tools carefully, then you'll also work more efficiently; because the tools you get from the tool shop aren't always o.k., if you need a drill you got to grind it yourself, and that takes up some of your time."

"About the clearness of films in which working processes are demonstrated, in general; it concerns my job and was the most interesting part of the whole thing for me."

"Twist drills; because up till now not too much attention was paid to them, especially to grinding processes."

"We profited by it, because you always can learn more about how tools are ground; because that's our job."

"On the whole I got nothing out of these films as conditions in our plant are quite different; because working methods in our plant are based on rich experiences."

"About that drill with the water level, about tool grinding; because they don't pay so much attention to this in our plant, they are quite careless with the tools, just everyone grinds tools, not only those people in the tool distribution shop who know how to do it."

"About streamlining of working processes in general, that's all; I really don't know how it came about that we talked about just this angle."

(Cont'd on next page)



"About cutting tools and twist drills and tools in general; because we use them daily at our job."

"That we are not interested in all that since it does not concern our job, it is not worthwhile to see these films; as we were bored by these films we decided not to see any more of them."

"That they build such devices to facilitate welding, thus it means less toil for the workers."

"Drill grinding; they still make a lot of mistakes when doing that job."

"Pressing and drilling, punching of the intermediate plates, it's all in the line of our job, it could be improved in our plant, our punching machines are too old, the edge cutting tools are always broken."

"About twist drills; some of us did not quite know all the angles of the job, that's why we talked about it."

"About office work and punching; because these jobs are also done at our plant, especially work at the punching machine."

"Whether this is in line with the different methods of drill grinding. But then I looked this stuff up in my vocational training book, and it's sure all right; because we work with these machines and we are interested in things like that, too."

"That it's of no use for us if the things shown don't apply to our kind of work; because we just had seen the film."

"About the grinding of drills, and conveyor beltwork; while we did assembly line-work, we found that it's an easier job."

"Now and then we talked about the grinding of drills; in the film extreme cases were demonstrated which simply shouldn't occur in a well-run plant."

"About drills and how to grind them; in our shop much drill grinding is done, and this field leaves much to be desired."

"About twist drills, how to handle them properly, apart from this we discussed things only in a general way; we had a good laugh for we all knew that you must knock with a hammer on the drill while setting it, that's quite obvious."

"Streamlining punching methods, for instance, that that business about inserting a small piece, we only talked things over in a general way; because we use such a punching machine in our shop, too, we do most of the work on it and it can be improved in our case, too."

"About efficient and progressive working methods, that one should use one's brains at work and should keep up with developments; because I like to take it easy at work."

(Cont'd on next page)

"Only some general remarks because it's really better if streamlining methods would be employed."

"Especially about the punching machine, about the manufacturing of china - because we were interested in that and because it's done in our shop."

"That this method could be employed for series production but not for single piece work."

"Because many of the things shown couldn't be carried out in our shop, for instance that bit about cutting angles - you would need too many tools, the stock of drill-points would have to be excessive, we need drill-points ranging from 2 - 60 mm, costs would be too high."

"Production of the NSU-Lux motorcycle, we took that as an advertising film."

"A water level to be fixed to the drilling machine is a good thing, we don't have that in our firm; because we have no water level available in our shop."

"About grinding of drill-points, we don't check the exact cutting speed, we don't have to do the sort of precision work they showed in the film; because we do drilling work every day."

"That you can learn from these films how to handle tools and how to employ rationalized working methods; because in our firm many things were done improperly and so there was much waste of good tools."

"They said in the movie that by sudden and inappropriate cooling the surface of cutting steels would crack - that's not so, we had the cutters examined in the laboratory to find out about it, they may be cooled, they won't be damaged by it."

"I wasn't clear about the steel, what sort of steel was it, cutting steel or V4<sub>2</sub> steel? This thing about the grooves: could that also be done with SS-steel?"

"There should be more that applies to our firm, at first we started grumbling "rationalization at our expenses", but then we found out that they were instructive; well, just as something strikes you when you're talking about such a theme."

"About the whole thing. Some people thought that we would have to work one hour less than now, other thought all this rationalization was at our expenses, the boss profits and we would have to work harder - but, all the same, some things we have learned from it; we have talked about it all in general."

EVIDENCE OF EFFECTIVENESS ...

Though audience interest and approval are necessary elements in a successful film program, it is not the real test of its effectiveness. In reference to the present study, the final test is some indication that the workers realize the applicability of the lessons of the films to their own work, as well as to the plant as a whole. In this respect, the findings suggest that while the films have had a demonstrable impact on their audience, certain weaknesses in presentation emerge which should be considered if the audio-visual-aids program is to be really effective among factory workers.

TWO FILMS WIN MAJORITY AGREEMENT AS USEFUL ...

As a direct test of the extent to which the workers find the films applicable to their jobs, they were queried on which of the films presented they had personally found useful. Only two films got majority recognition in this regard, both of them dealing with specific work methods? "Use and Abuse of Twist Drills," and "Chips."

"Which movies did you find most useful for obtaining suggestions for your own work (your factory)?"  
(asked of those respondents who had seen more than one movie.)

Use and Abuse of Twist Drills	65%
Chips	58
More Thought for Work - Higher Production	20
From Iron to Steel	16
Ideas at Work	11
More Rationalization Leads to a Better Life	11
Key to Progress	8
Work Simplification Applied to Clerical work	6
None; No opinion; No answer	16
	<u>211%**</u>

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The top ranking given to the two films which deal specifically with the use of tools would suggest that the best way of getting the message across is to concentrate on this type of film rather than those of more general nature. However, the evidence on this point as presented in this study cannot be considered conclusive. The fact that these two films were seen more recently than the others may partially explain their apparent greater impact. A more definite answer to this question must be left to future studies.

AND TWO THIRDS SAY THE FILMS HELPED THEM IN THEIR JOBS ...

Corroborating the above finding is the fact that two thirds of the workers interviewed say they personally benefited by seeing the films. Their reasons for this opinion tend to be general rather than specific as may be seen in the comments which follow.

"Did it have any value for you personally to participate in these showings?"

Yes	64%
A little	8
No value	27
No opinion	<u>1</u>
	100%

"In what did the value of the showings consist for you? (what suggestions did you get out of them?)" (asked of those respondents who answered "Yes" or "A little" to preceding question)

General answers:

I still have to learn everything and therefore it was quite useful for me; expansion of my general knowledge; how quickly and systematically you can work; I'm an apprentice and there are many things I have still to learn - there was something that was new to me; that you can always learn something to improve your working methods; it inspired me to think about how I might invent some improvement or other; to get to know other and even foreign firms and that it's possible to simplify almost every working process; you see more machines and learn about their design and how they work; you are led to think for yourself how you could facilitate your work; you can learn something from every film, some general information about practical life; that you see how other people work, that gives you an idea about the standard of your own work; we've seen something you won't be shown anywhere else, and many things you didn't understand up till now were explained in the showings; etc.

50%

Specific examples:

I've seen once again the effects of rationalization; Through the showings I got the idea that my turret lathe could be improved; That it's better to turn in series so that the machine won't have to be readjusted for every single piece; Care of tools; Tool maintenance; And especially about drill points, to use the proper drill point for every kind of machine; The right way of drill point grinding, how to handle drill points properly and the way they must be stored; That it always pays to take good care of one's tools; Tool grinding, clearing angle of planes; That drill points will break if the machine runs too quickly or too slowly; To know all the tricks you could use when grinding steel-tools; Above all I got suggestions about drilling and about the way of using twist drills; About grinding of drill points and lathe tools; These explanations about special drill points and properly ground tools were very interesting because we've to deal with these things every day;

21

No opinion:

1  
72%



## REASONS WHY FILMS NOT CONSIDERED VALUABLE ...

The reasons given by those (35%) who feel the films were not particularly useful to them are interesting to the extent that they indicate a problem that possibly arises quite often in a program not tailored for particular groups of workers. First, they say that the films, though interesting enough, did not apply to their particular jobs; and second, they say they already knew how to do the things presented in the films, e.g., about tool grinding or chip cutters, etc.

"Why did that have (only little) (no) value for you?"  
(Asked of those respondents who answered "A little"  
or "No value" to preceding question.)

Not my special field, therefore I didn't get much out of the film:

Because they showed commonplace things which didn't apply to our special field of work; I've seen only such films which had nothing to do with my work; I'm a welder, why should I be interested in all this other stuff; I'm a bricklayer and not a locksmith or metal worker; because they had nothing to do with my job, I'm doing turning work with special metals; that was only partly connected with my work; we do only special work, every single piece is different from the others, we don't have series production; I liked the films but for my personal work they were of no value so far; because they didn't show anything in connection with lathes; if it had been something about boiler construction or sheet metal working it had been of value, but as it is I can't use anything I've seen in these films for my work; etc..

19%

Knew it already, have learned it in course, there wasn't anything new to me:

As a skilled worker I knew all that already; because I had tried these things already, for instance, we've made chip breakers ourselves some years ago; I've worked in many big factories and I knew almost all new devices and improvements; I know how to grind my tools, there was no need for me to see that; because this kind of work and the improvements of working methods are familiar to me, I've seen quite a lot; there wasn't anything new to me, I saw that myself in big factories; some of these films I've seen already in apprentices' schools; it wasn't exactly a success, more a sort of refresher course because I had learned all that in my time; I attended so many courses as a soldier, I didn't get anything out of it I hadn't known already; I was able to gather experiences by long years of working in various and different factories; etc.

12

Other answers:

They just want to fool people with it; I can't gather anything from a film, with these things shown in practice it would be different, you forget these films so quickly; that depends on what sort of factory you're working in; etc.

2

No opinion:

2  
35%

R E S T R I C T E D

## MANY CANNOT SEE HOW FILM PROGRAM LEADS TO INCREASED PRODUCTION ...

But while the workers find the lessons of the films more or less applicable to their own jobs, relatively few of them appear able to transfer the lesson to the factory as a whole, and particularly to what is in the final analysis the purpose of the audio-visual-aids program - selling the idea of how to go about increasing efficiency in a factory - and of the benefits of increased production. Asked what ideas they had received from the films that could be utilized to increase factory production, three in ten state that the program was no help at all, either because their plant is already at peak efficiency, or because the films were not applicable to it. And four in ten have no opinion on the matter.

Those who do have suggestions, propose: the installation of new and modern machinery and tools (14%); more careful and neat work by employees (11%); introduction of assembly line production (6%); and the use of blue prints (5%).

"After you have participated in these showings: what do you think, what measures should be taken in your factory to improve the productivity? What else?"

Since our plant is already very efficient in every respect, the productive capacity is high, films were not helpful:

I can't think of any improvement that could be introduced, everything is fine as it is, we can't hope for more; no, I can't think of anything, in our plant the manager takes care of these things, if there is something new he adopts it for our outfit right away; that's hard to tell, in our plant things are in pretty good shape; in our shop things are 100 per cent all right as it is; there are no improvements which we could introduce, in what way could we increase our efficiency, after all; our output is high enough, our foreman and manager see to it that good work is done; etc.

15%

New and modern machinery, installations and tools should be acquired:

They should get new machines, otherwise things are all right; they should buy a punching machine, a new press, and a new roll, a surface grinder, a circular saw to machine V4L material, we haven't got the necessary blades; we should acquire a new milling machine as the old one doesn't work accurately any more; we should get more modern tools, there aren't too many as it is and they are no good, either; the tool distribution shop should be better stocked; they should procure section shears, or rather plate shears, at present we have to cut heavier plates by using a saw or a blow-torch, that takes too much time, besides the individual machines should be more carefully reconditioned; at the bench drill stand safety devices for workers should be installed; etc.

14

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

The films didn't contain anything useful for our plant(not applicable for our branch of industry):

There was nothing we could use for our kind of work, we don't work with assembly line methods; these films were American films, people over there work in a different way from people in Germany, for us the durability of an article is the most important thing, that's not so in America, if we would streamline our factories and would introduce the assembly line system, we would no longer produce high-quality articles, in our plant every machine is different from the other; that would be a rather difficult thing over here, we can't simplify our working methods, our firm has to fulfill the wishes of the customers, I really can't give an opinion in this matter, I remember only a few things I saw in the films and nothing I've seen could be used for our factory; this plant is sort of a special thing, as long as we produce these installations one by one, no improvements can be adopted, we don't have series production yet, and I think it wouldn't work, every firm of some standing has special requests; etc.

11%

People should work more carefully, neater, more intensively, more economically:

The work should be done more carefully; people should do a neater job; people should work faster and more economically; a person should start on a job and stay at it until it's finished, he shouldn't do something else in between, a lot of time is wasted through repeated readjusting of a machine; it's hard to tell, people should work harder; people should be advised to handle tools in a more practical and economical way, in that way the quality of the work will be improved; etc.

11

The plant should be reorganized and adjusted to assembly line production:

They should produce a universal machine, I mean a new type; every factory should produce only specific parts, there should be more assembly line production; assembly line should be introduced, that's all I can think of; they should produce standardized articles to a greater extent; etc.

6

Accurate blue prints should be made:

They should make good blue prints; work should be done according to blue prints, the drawing must be accurate, however, they shouldn't look like picture-books; better blue prints should be supplied; etc.

5

Other commentaries:

More handy-men should be hired who could help in keeping the place orderly and clean, the apprentices should get a better chance to learn the job, it's not their job just to clean up, after all; there should be an incentive for the workers to think about improvements, they should get the money that's saved through a suggestion; there shouldn't always be one person who wants to run the whole show, they shouldn't deduct such high taxes from our over-time pay, in that way the output could be increased, too; a larger stock of materials should be on hand; they should do something to reduce the noise in our plant, the noise that's produced when the rivet boilers, for instance, really gets on our nerves, thus our output decreases; etc.

5

No opinion:

42  
109%\*\*

\*\* Percentages add up to more than 100% since some respondents gave more than one answer.



AND MANY ARE UNAWARE OF PLANT IMPROVEMENTS RESULTING FROM THE PROGRAM ...

Not only are very many of the workers unable to see how the film program could be used to increase production in the factory, but when queried directly on the point, two thirds assert that the program has had no effect there. Three in 10, on the contrary, not only say the program did lead to changes in the plant, but specify these changes in considerable detail.

Obviously, then, the program was effective as far as the plant is concerned. And it can be argued that the fact that as many as three in ten mention improvements is an impressive showing; one could even assert that any single mention of improved work methods attests to the value of the audio-visual-aids program. But to argue thus probably misses an important point. The purpose of the program is not simply to bring about increased production but to get employees to recognize the possibilities and benefits to them of these improvements. If this were not so, only management would need to be convinced. Thus, without minimizing the impact the program appears to have had on the workers, the evidence of this survey suggests that more attention should be given 1) to informing workers of such changes as do occur, and 2) to detailing the application of particular films to the problem of the plant in which they are shown. The question and comments follow.

"Have you been able to notice any effects of these showings in your factory?"

Yes	30%
No	67
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

"Which for instance? (What else?)" (Asked of those respondents who said "Yes" to preceding question)

"The things about grinding drills, the film was quite a hit, drills are handled more carefully now."

"During the past months machines were kept cleaner than before, the manager said some months ago that conditions in the tool distribution shop must improve, and they actually did."

"Laminas for heating units are punched automatically now, formerly we purchased these laminas from some other firm."

"They take good care of cooling now while grinding is going on."

"Quite a few people have learned that one has to take good care of tools and has to turn them in in good condition."

"Tools are better taken care of now, they are more carefully adjusted, too."

"Tools are kept clean."

"They have introduced a conveyor-belt system at the punching machine."

"Drills have been changed, tools are ground more efficiently, the work generally is done more efficiently now."

"Drills are ground more efficiently now."



"We use a grinding machine regularly now to grind drills, the grinding shop employs two additional men now."

"A matrix has been constructed, it proved to be good, the finished laminas come out of the matrix, so everything is done in one working process, first holes are punched, second, laminas are pressed and cut to the desired size."

"Drill grinding methods have been changed, in the past we had to go to the grind-stone first, that's no longer necessary."

"A fellow worker has constructed a revolving table for welding, he had been inspired by the film he had seen."

"Changes in grinding and drilling methods."

"That the suggestions made in the film have been taken up, we don't go on in the same old rut."

"We are about to procure an emery grinding machine with which V42 stools can be cut fast."

"At the punching machine where lamellas for heating units are manufactured, I don't know exactly how this is done."

"One man grinds twist drills now, in the past every worker had to do it himself."

"Maybe it's the punching of thin metal sheets."

"After we'd seen the film, special punching machines for manufacturing lamellas for heating units were constructed, it means a simplification in the production process, things move faster now."

"One of my apprentices has learned pretty well from them how to drill and how to grind properly."

"New tools."

"The tools have been improved on, drills are ground before they are being distributed now."

"People work more carefully now, as to drilling and grinding, for instance, they do a thorough job now."

"Heating batteries are made by machines now, thin plate is fed automatically now."

"I'm in no position to judge it, but the improvements at the press were made only after the film had been shown, for we have the new press only for a month now."

"The drilling of spindle sleeves is done now as it was shown in the film."

"We got tips as to how to handle tools properly, one has to handle them carefully, then you can work better and more efficiently with them."

"Improvements on the punching press."

"Suggestions boxes were put up, though nothing has happened yet."

(Cont'd on next page)

"After having seen the films the apprentices are more interested in learning how to grind and cut plates properly."

"Right now I can't think of any example, but I believe things have improved."

"In regard to tools, the guys at the tool distribution shop pay more attention to people getting the right tools."

"That welding helmets with flaps will be introduced, as well as suction fans with which to suck off foul air during welding jobs."

"Grinding is done more carefully now."

"A week ago the foreman arranged things so that only properly ground drills are issued by the shop now."

"Since then we have started to produce heating units in our own factory."

"That a machine to punch out thin metal plates automatically was purchased."

"How to handle special drills."

"In our plant any improvements that are suitable for us are adopted immediately, though it's very modern all around, as it is."

## II. CLUES TO WAYS AND MEANS OF PRESENTING FILM PROGRAMS

A second aim of this preliminary survey was to explore audience suggestions as to the presentation of film programs. The matter was first approached in a general way, and then in respect to details, e.g. best time to view films, the feasibility of lectures, demonstrations, use of slides, etc. and finally, the relative value of the film program as compared with practical demonstrations.

### PRESENTATION CONSIDERED STIMULATING ...

The film program as a whole was presented in a stimulating way according to the statements of two thirds of the workers who viewed one or more of the films.

"Generally considered, did you find the showings stimulating or dull?"

Stimulating	65%
Dull	5
Partly-partly	28
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

### BUT MANY HAVE SUGGESTIONS OR CRITICISMS TO MAKE ...

However, when probed for suggestions or criticisms, about half have something to say. The chief suggestion and/or criticism is that the films shown should be more closely related to the particular jobs of the audience. A criticism made by a few, but nevertheless probably worthy of note is that the films should not be shown on Saturday afternoons, as appears to have been done in this particular factory.

"If you were asked to give an objection to these showings (in general): what would you then say?"

"Could you make any proposals how such showings should be made more effective?"

#### Neither objections nor proposals:

No objections; why objections, it was good as it is; I have nothing against them; they should come again, it was very stimulating for me; no objections, on the contrary I was glad that I could see these films; there isn't really anything I could say about it - we were satisfied with the lectures and with the loudspeaker; they're quite all right; unless they start guided tours through a factory there is nothing better than films for this purpose; etc.

50%

#### They should show things that apply to our firm - to our field of work:

Films about our special field of work; the engineer must acquaint himself thoroughly with the firm and should know about the special conditions - he should talk about things which apply specifically to the firm; I would suggest showing appropriate films in those firms which are particularly concerned with the subject - so that I might get something out of the films I could really use in my job; they should show films which are specially concerned with the kind of work the firm is carrying out; I like to see the films but perhaps one could try to select them in such a way that they would really apply to the special kind of firm in which they are shown; films of purely technical character should be shown; the things they showed and talked about were useless for special workers such as we are, we have nothing to do with that kind of thing; they should show only such films which are concerned with metal industries and not films about offices; etc.

21%

(Cont'd on next page)

Particularly important subjects should be treated in detail:

New devices and improvements should be shown again so that you get a more lasting impression of them; films should show particular manipulations still more clearly and distinctly, they should also stress the importance of cleanliness and tidiness; it would be still better if they gave some practical demonstrations - that's easier to understand; give practical demonstrations; etc. 10%

The showings should be made more interesting; are boring:

The lecturer should make his subjects more interesting so as to arrest people's attention; it's not necessary at such a lecture that certain things are repeated over and over again; films like these should be made in the same way as a real movie, for instance, the workers shown in the film should give the explanations themselves, that would make the things more effective; etc. 6

The showings were inconveniently timed:

Before working hours; shouldn't be shown on Saturdays; because they were in most cases on Saturday afternoons, just when you want to be off, besides, we were tired; they should rather be shown in a restaurant and during spare-time when you won't be tired; etc. 4

More German and not so many foreign films:

German films which are shot in German firms; German firms should be shown; why should the work done in foreign countries serve as a model to us, usually you hear that German work is of top standard; they should show German working methods; etc. 3

The room was unsuitable:

The room should be suitable for the purpose (ventilation); they should be shown as shorts in movie theaters; unsuitable room, poor ventilation; etc. 2

Other criticism or suggestion:

It would be better to show the films to workers of one shift at a time, then it would be easier to speak up than if you have to be afraid that 300 people might start laughing at you; the showings were more appropriate for apprentices as far as I know there are still a great number of firms which are hard up because of their old-fashioned working methods - this, however, doesn't apply to our firm: it would be a good thing if the lecturer could speak through a mike; perhaps a newsreel could be shown in addition to the films; etc. 9

No answer:

1  
106%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



FILMS SHOULD BE SHOWN DURING SHIFTS ...

The most favorable time for presenting films, judging by the results of this study, is during the shift period. Few workers (4%) would be willing to attend film showings strictly on their own time, but two thirds (64%) are willing to come somewhat earlier or stay late in order to view films. Three in 10 (29%) prefer seeing films on company time - with the preponderance of this group favoring showings at the end of the working day.

"What would you personally prefer: when should these showings and lectures be given - during the working hours, during your own time, or fifty-fifty, that is at change of shift?"

Working hours	29%
Own time	4
Fifty-fifty (shift)	64
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

"Should these showings be at the beginning or at the end or in the middle of the working hours?" (If on company time)

Beginning	5%
End	19
Middle	1
No opinion	4
	<u>29%</u>

LEISURE TIME IS LIMITED ... is the main reason (23%) given by those who wish films to be shown during working hours.

"Why would you be against a showing in your own time?"

Spare time is scarce, people want to go home, they have to attend to their own affairs:

Why should we sacrifice our spare time for a thing like that? - it's pretty scarce as it is and people are supposed to relax during those few hours; because you usually are in a hurry and have a long trip to your home; everybody has something to do during his spare time, to work on a house of his own, for instance, besides, many of my buddies have to commute to some outlying places; after a long working day, people want to enjoy their leisure time, there's always something you want to attend to; there's such a lot of work to do around the house that I take a dim view of sacrificing my spare time for a thing like that; after knocking off, I prefer to go home; I guess half of the workers wouldn't stay on; because in that case attendance would be very low, I guess, everybody is pressed for time as it is; as things are today, nearly everybody has some chores to do around the home or in the garden in his leisure time; etc.

23%

(Cont'd on next page)

As the management profits through these showings, they should bear the loss in working hours:

The efficiency of the whole plant is increased if we learn something from these showings, after all; indirectly, management benefits through these showings, no doubt; most of the films are of greater value to the management than to us; therefore they should be shown during working hours; workmanship will improve and thus the plant will benefit in the end; because we work for the plant and it's the plant that will benefit through these suggestions; etc.

4%

People wouldn't be paid for attending showings:

Because we wouldn't be paid for it; etc.

3

Other reasons:

You don't know what will be shown, if the film is interesting then it could be shown during our spare time; because I don't set any store by these showings, I prefer practical demonstrations; etc.

 $\frac{2}{32\%}$ \*\* :

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## PRACTICAL DEMONSTRATIONS VIE WITH FILMS AS BEST MEANS OF INSTRUCTING WORKERS ...

As previously stated, accompanying the films shown in the factory were lectures given by a trained engineer. In order to obtain reactions on the instructive value of these methods of presentation, as well as receptivity to the use of slides, a series of questions was asked with the results reported below. As will be seen, the choice of the workers is largely between the film-lecture-slide combination and practical demonstrations.

"If one wants to make suggestions for improvements in working methods which way would you regard as the best one?" (CARD)

Through lectures	2%
Through movies	50
Through slides	2
Through practical demonstrations	43
Through pamphlets	2
No opinion	<u>1</u>
	100%

"If you had the choice to go to one of the following presentations in which possibilities of improving working methods were given - which would you personally prefer?" (CARD)

▲ training course in which a lecture is held on the subject	*
▲ training course in which a film is shown and an explanatory lecture is held	17
▲ training course in which a film is shown and an explanatory lecture with slides is held	33
▲ training course in which a lecture is held and a practical demonstration is carried out	46
▲ training course in which a film is shown	*
No opinion	<u>4</u>
	100%

\* Less than half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

## REASONS PRACTIAL DEMONSTRATIONS ARE PREFERRED ...

Reasons for preferring practical demonstrations over films as a teaching device suggest that it would be advisable in showing films also to utilize one of the advantages of the practical demonstration. If workers were, in conjunction with the film showings, given the opportunity to examine a similar machine, tool, or part, the film demonstration would probably have more meaning for them.

"Why do you regard movies as not so good as practical demonstrations?" (Asked of those who did not mention "through movies" to initial question.)

Films aren't so clear, explicit and don't provide such vivid experience as practical demonstrations:

You see the different manipulations as well as the materials more clearly in practice, in a film these things can't be shown in such minute detail; because you can't learn so much from films, you can't follow the individual processes so closely, the machine isn't shown in all its details, the minute individual manipulations aren't shown, if such a working process is practically demonstrated, you can ask some questions if necessary; if such a procedure is practically demonstrated, you can walk around the machine and look at it from all angles, you can even take up the work piece and examine it; during a practical demonstration questions can be asked and people can be shown how they should go about things, in that way it's clearer; you are right in the middle of the whole thing and can watch the goings-on closely, you can't demonstrate things so clearly in a film; if a working process is practically demonstrated, you see for yourself how this sort of work is properly done, in a film you see all this only in pictures; if you get a chance to take a close look at the machine and see how it works you'll get more familiar with it, a picture sequence reels off too quickly, thus in a film there isn't such a good chance to make suggestions as there is in reality; a practical demonstration means you can actually see with your own eyes how a thing works; it's a rule in life, to demonstrate something practically and to work it out yourself is always the best course; etc.

37%

Processes seen in a film don't stick so easily in the mind:

You can't remember all the explanations given in a film; you have to consider all the angles in a film, the things you have seen with your own eyes, how they work, that's what you remember best; such a scene on the screen passes quickly, you only see pictures of real things; etc.

13

Films combined with practical demonstrations are best:

Both media should be used, films and practical demonstrations, in that way you will most easily remember a process; films and afterwards practical demonstrations, that would be the ideal thing, you see a process first in a film and afterwards you can take up and examine the work piece yourself; a film should be supplemented by practical demonstrations so that people can try how a thing works themselves; etc.

<sup>2</sup>  
52%\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D



REASONS FILMS ARE PREFERRED ...

Comments of those who prefer films to demonstrations suggest that the best type of film for teaching purposes is one that is detailed, uses close-ups, and slow motion.

"Why do you regard movies as the best way?" (asked of those who answered "through movies" to initial question.)

Movies are best because they are the most impressive means and show everything clearly - (possibilities of showing close-ups, slow-motion pictures):

You see everything in detail, the way they work, especially in slow-motion pictures; in a film there are more possibilities to show every small detail; because practical demonstrations or lectures cannot show so many things and in such a detailed way as it could be done in movies; there are more possibilities in a film to explain everything quite clearly, all people are interested in a film and close-ups show things so clearly that you think you could touch them; because you look more attentively at a film, with practical demonstrations you won't notice every detail; because in a movie they can show more than one working process at the same time; because working processes as they really are can best be shown by films; you can never explain things so clearly as they could be shown in movies, they really give you a good idea; because you see everything as it really is, suggestions for improvement can best be shown by films; in a movie you can see everything, whereas you won't grasp everything out of lectures - to see something is better than to hear about it; because you can see every movement and manipulation so that you get a good understanding of the complete working process; there are possibilities of showing things clearly by a movie than by slides; because in a film even the biggest and latest designs of machinery will be shown; etc.

42%

Movies are more attractive, are always interesting:

Movies are always nice to look at; there are always people who won't be attracted by lectures and practical demonstrations are such a bother; movies make the whole affair more lively and more interesting; are more attractive; movies make the whole thing more lively; etc.

6

Films supported by lectures or demonstrations:

I think that movies supported by lectures would be the best thing, then you would get everything quite clearly; films followed by practical demonstrations, that would be excellent, first the movie shows you how it's done and later on you could take hold of the real workplace and have a close look at it; films and practical demonstrations would be most instructive, that would give you the best idea of it; etc.

$\frac{4}{52\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## SLIDES OR STILL-SHOTS HIGHLY RECOMMENDED ...

Clearly, the use of slides in addition to films and lectures is worthwhile, judging from the results of this study. Eight in ten of the persons interviewed state that slides add considerable value to the program.

"Somebody had the idea one should show important pictures of the movies as slides during the explanatory lectures. - Do you believe that this would increase the value of the showings considerably, somewhat, or only very little?"

Considerably	79%
Somewhat	10
Very little	6
No opinion	5
	<u>100%</u>

## SPECIFIC FILMS DESIRED ...

Preferences for films on specific work processes, already indicated in audience reactions to the various films, are again demonstrated in a summary inquiry on the types of films considered most worthwhile. Less than a fifth (17%) prefer general films on the advantages of improving work methods. In contrast, half want films showing how to improve one's own specific job, and three in 10 want films demonstrating work methods which do not necessarily have to do with one's own particular job, but can be applied to it.

"If one utilizes movies with explanatory lectures to suggest improvements in working methods: in what form should these movies then be, in your opinion?" (CARD)

Movies which show exactly and in all details how one can do one's work in a better way	50%
Movies which show how one can do certain jobs in a better way (which don't have to be related to one's, own factory) and through which one can arrive at ideas for improvements in one's own working methods	29
Movies which only generally report on the advantages of improving working methods and which stimulate thinking about how one can carry out improvements in one's own working methods	17
No opinion	4
	<u>100%</u>

## APPENDIX

## BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE FILMS PRESENTED

On January 24, These Films Were Shown:

MORE RATIONALIZATION LEADS TO A BETTER LIFE

This is the first German (post-war) productivity film. Through examples from a number of German factories it shows how jobs can be done in a cheaper, easier, faster, safer way. It also points out that making an excessively large number of different items (radio sets, pressing irons, door handles, etc.) is rather unproductive. Furthermore, it makes an attempt to point out that rationalization means lower prices, which means more goods for more people, which means higher living standard for all.

KEY TO PROGRESS

Outlines the basic principles of industrial productivity and its relation to a higher standard of living for everyone. The film shows how the proper utilization of modern, efficient machines can increase production and, at the same time, produce a higher standard of living for the worker in terms of fewer working hours, higher wages and more and better goods available.

On February 2, These Were Shown:

IDEAS AT WORK

This film demonstrates how higher productivity in all factories can produce more goods with less time and effort and at lower cost.

This increased production can be achieved by simple improvements in work methods and greater efficiency in the handling of materials. The adaption of ideas suggested by those working on the job is encouraged; these ideas often result in the freeing from unnecessary labor of the hands and eyes of skilled workers.

MORE THOUGHT FOR WORK - HIGHER PRODUCTION

Technical training film (silent) shows how the way of doing a particular job differs from one worker to the next and how through an analysis of the filmed phases of working an inexpensive device can be used that both speeds up the working process and eliminates the danger of the worker getting hurt.

WORK SIMPLIFICATION APPLIED TO CLERICAL  
WORK

Work simplification in transcription work, extending time cards on calculating machine, sorting index strips, collating, file storage, layout work for printing, production rating manual and rate slip preparation, sorting of checks, parts requisition control from ledger, and scoring of employee progress reports on chart.

And April 18:

USE AND ABUSE OF TWIST DRILLS

The first part of the film illustrates the general methods used in making twist drills.

A round bar of tool steel is machined, heat-treated, oil quenched and ground to give the proper cutting surface. The nine main parts of a twist drill are described in detail and their functions demonstrated.

The second part of the film shows the correct methods of resetting the drill in the drill press, points out the errors to be avoided in re-dressing the cutting surfaces and the web, and illustrates the proper speeds for drilling aluminum alloys and cast iron. The film ends with demonstrations of misapplication of twist drills by the use of improper speeds and feeding rates.

CHIPS

The film demonstrates the importance of correct use and maintenance of carbide cutting tools.

The different cutter requirements for mild steel, cast iron and brass are explained by use of slow-motion magnified photography showing cutters at work on these metals.

The film also demonstrates the correct clearance angle to support the cutting edge in prying the chips from the work, the rake angle necessary to direct the chips away from the work, the use of a chip groove to break up the chips, and the importance of cooling fluid and correct cutter size to carry off heat.

Some points of cutter grinding and setting the cutter on the machine are also dealt with.

FROM IRON ORE TO STEEL

Shows how steel is produced - from the pit through the iron works to the mills, and its use in construction work. Not really a productivity movie but entertainment.



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**UNCLASSIFIED**

GERMAN THINKING ON A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

Special Report  
August 24, 1953

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - SECURITY INFORMATION

*Series 2*

*#4 in May*

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

**UNCLASSIFIED**

## INTRODUCTION

In late July, following the Western invitation to Russia to convene a Four Power conference on German problems, a representative sample of West Germans and West Berliners was surveyed as to their views and judgments on issues related to such a conference. The returns derive additional pertinence in the light of current indications that sooner or later such a conference may eventuate.

The findings reported upon are based upon a representative probability sampling of 625 adults (18 years or over) in West Germany and 199 in West Berlin. As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## HEADLINE SUMMARY

I. Support for Conference and Extent of Confidence  
in Western Intentions

- ... OVERWHELMING APPROVAL OF FOUR POWER CONFERENCE
- ... ONLY AMERICA - AMONG WESTERN POWERS - WIDELY TRUSTED TO STRIVE FOR GERMAN REUNIFICATION

II. Anticipated Gains from Conference and Role of EDC

- ... ADVANTAGES, BUT LESS THAN REUNIFICATION IS PREPONDERANT EXPECTATION
- ... CONFERENCE NO REASON FOR POSTPONING EFFORTS TOWARD EDC

III. Free Elections as a Precondition of Reunification

- ... MOST FAVORABLY INTERPRET WESTERN INSISTENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS
- ... SUPPORT FOR FREE ELECTIONS HIGH - BUT GIVES WAY SOMEWHAT UNDER STRESS

IV. The Status of German Neutrality as a Price for Reunification

- ... PREPONDERANCE RECEPTIVE TO NEUTRALITY
- ... NOT ALL SEE WEST OPPOSED TO GERMAN NEUTRALITY
- ... NEUTRALITY LOSES ATTRACTION WITHOUT WESTERN GUARANTEE
- ... NEUTRALITY FOR MANY ONLY A STEPPING STONE TO WESTERN ALLEGIANCE

V. Should a Conference Fail - What Then?

- ... CONTINUED CONCILIATORINESS OUTWEIGHS MORE FORCEFUL RECOMMENDATIONS AMONG WEST GERMANS - WEST BERLINERS TOUGHER

# I. SUPPORT FOR CONFERENCE AND EXTENT OF CONFIDENCE IN WESTERN INTENTIONS

## OVERWHELMING APPROVAL OF CONFERENCE PROPOSAL ...

As was to be expected in the light of earlier trends, the recent action of the Western powers in inviting Russia to a Four Power conference met with the overwhelming approval of both the West German and West Berlin citizenry.

"Recently the foreign ministers of the three Western Powers, England, France and America, invited Russia to a Four Power conference for some time around September of this year."

"Do you approve or disapprove of this?"

	West Germany (625)	West Berlin (199)
Approve	83%	95%
Disapprove	3	4
No opinion	14	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Preceding trend results on an analogous question ran as follows:

"Would you be for or against America, England, France and Russia joining in a Four Power conference on Germany at the present time?"

	<u>West Germany</u>							<u>West Berlin</u>	
	June	Aug	Sept	Mid Apr	Late Apr	Early June	Late June	Mid Apr	Late June
	52	52	52	53	53	53	53	53	53
	(786)	(397)	(399)	(764)	(376)	(740)	(761)	(299)	(186)
For it	75%	75%	70%	78%	72%	71%	84%	92%	94%
Against it	8	10	7	8	9	9	6	5	6
No opinion	17	15	23	14	19	20	10	3	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

ONLY AMERICA - AMONG WESTERN POWERS - WIDELY TRUSTED TO STRIVE FOR GERMAN REUNIFICATION ...

Strong majorities in both West Germany and West Berlin express the conviction that in the event of a Four Power conference America could be relied upon to strive for German reunification.

"Do you feel that America would enter into such a Four Power conference with the intention to really strive for a reunification of Germany, or do you believe that America has no such intention?"

West Germany    West Berlin

Has this intention	75%	90%
Has no such intention	7	6
No opinion	18	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Confidence in the British is materially less, particularly in West Germany where less than a majority express the belief that Britain would enter a Four Power conference with the intention of really striving for German reunification.

"And how about England? Do you believe that England would enter into such a Four Power conference with the intention to really strive for a reunification of Germany or do you believe that England has no such intention?"

Has this intention	47%	70%
Has no such intention	20	20
No opinion	33	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The heavy weight of traditional German-French suspicion is more than a little indicated in the French results which reveal only 13 per cent - 27 per cent in West Berlin - expressing any confidence in French support for German unity.

"And now let's turn to France: do you believe that France would enter into such a conference with the intention to really strive for a reunification of Germany, or do you believe that France has no such intention?"

Has this intention	13%	27%
Has no such intention	51	60
No opinion	36	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



INFORMATION

## II. ANTICIPATED GAINS FROM CONFERENCE AND ROLE OF EDC

## ADVANTAGES, BUT LESS THAN REUNIFICATION IS PREPONDERANT EXPECTATION ...

Though the preponderant opinion is that advantages for West Germany are likely from a Four Power conference, only a minority are so optimistic as to anticipate agreement on reunification. It is worthy of note, however, that as many as 41 per cent in West Berlin express the belief that an East/West conference would be likely to reach agreement on German reunification.

"Supposing in the near future a Four Power conference on Germany would take place, do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for West Germany will result from it?"

## West Germany West Berlin

Advantages likely	40%	60%
Advantages unlikely	27	29
No opinion	16	6
	<u>83%</u>	<u>95%</u>

"Apart from what you may hope or wish from such a Four Power conference, do you consider it more likely that at this Four Power conference an agreement on a reunification of Germany will be reached, or do you consider it more likely that no such agreement will be reached?"

Agreement likely	26%	41%
Agreement unlikely	43	52
No opinion	31	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## CONFERENCE NO REASON FOR POSTPONING EFFORTS TOWARD EDC ...

But whatever the anticipation held as to the probable results for Germany of Four Power negotiations, the viewpoint preponderates both in West Germany and West Berlin - particularly the latter - that in the interim efforts should continue toward the realization of a European defense community. For the purpose of the present study it was thought desirable to present in a chatty argumentative context two major competing views as to what to do about the EDC in the light of an impending conference. Measured in such a framework the weight of opinion appears to be clearly on the side of pressing ahead with EDC with the theory that the stronger West Germans get, the more they can expect to achieve at the conference table.

"Two persons are discussing what would be better for the future of Germany.

Herr Schulze: If there is any chance for a Four Power conference on Germany, we should postpone all efforts toward creating a West European defense community as otherwise the chances for a reunification of Germany would be hindered.

Herr Maier: We should continue our efforts for a West European defense community regardless of any plans for a Four Power conference for the stronger we get the more we can achieve.

Whom would you be most likely to agree with?"

Postpone EDC efforts	28%	21%
Continue EDC efforts	48	72
No opinion	24	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## III. FREE ELECTIONS AS A PRECONDITION OF REUNIFICATION

## MOST ADVANCE FAVORABLE INTERPRETATIONS OF WESTERN INSISTENCE ...

The current Russian counterproposal to the recent Western conference invitation has brought to the fore the question of to what extent the German rank and file understand and support Western insistence on free elections prior to any negotiations with East German representatives. The initial sounding on this score utilized an open question on Western motives, the answers to which would be diagnostic of generally positive or negative orientations toward the free election provision.

It will be noted in the returns below that while not all of the answers are revelatory of attitude, most of the replies are clearly favorable to the West and only a small proportion are patently adverse.

"As you may have heard or read, the West insists free elections be held in the East Zone before a reunification of the whole of Germany. Why do you believe the West insists on free elections in the East Zone before a reunification of the whole of Germany?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
--	-----------------	----------------

In order to make sure of the real opinion of the people in the East Zone:

25%	25%
-----	-----

To find out what people really think, of course free elections; to learn about the voice of the people - only the people can understand the importance of the reunification issue; to see what people in the East Zone think about the Communists; to show to both sides what attitude the East Zone people really take; so that the West sees how many followers they have and how many in the East Zone are Communists; so as to find out the real opinion of the East Zone people about the reunification issue; to see what attitude people in the East Zone have toward the West; to make certain that people over there really want to side with the West; etc.

To weaken Communist influence; to strengthen the West and its position:

20	25
----	----

To prove to the world that the people in the East Zone don't want to have anything to do with Communism, and that they don't agree with the Russians and that system; free elections shall prove to the world that the people of the East Zone reject Russian dictatorship; to have Russia nailed down; the West Zone wants to know whether the East Zone is in favor of the West, and whether the Russians might then perhaps see their serious intention before. And that shall finally serve as a pressure on the Russians; the majority would vote for the West if there were free elections - that would exclude Communism over there and put the Russians aside; to show that the people in the East Zone are not in favor of Communism; to show that there are really very few Communists in the East Zone; because it believes that a great many will decide in favor of the West. Up till now the East population lives under pressure, and cannot tell their true opinion; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany    West Berlin

In order to have a government that represents the will of the people for negotiation partners:

19%

40%

They can only negotiate with a government elected by the people, the present leaders are just puppets; the government hasn't the confidence of the East Zone people that's why the Western Powers don't want to negotiate with a government that represents only a minority of the people; because the present government serves Moscow's interest and not the interest of the people so that it would suppress the real opinion and wishes of the public; because otherwise negotiations would be impossible since the present government is paid by Moscow; to have a negotiation partner of equal rights - the SED government couldn't be recognized as lawful because it wasn't elected by the people - it was forced upon them - it was never recognized by the Western Powers; the Americans and the Western Powers don't want to negotiate with the Pankow government but want a real German government that is not established by the Russians, otherwise they might as well negotiate directly with the Russians; the East Zone people don't recognize the East Zone government as their lawful representation, neither do the Western Powers; etc.

Because free elections would pave the way to a reunification of Germany (general):

3

5

Free elections will lead us to reunification. That's also to the advantage of America and the West; free elections would probably remove all difficulties involved with reunification, because that would practically be one of the results of the elections; because otherwise there would be too little probability of a reunification and perhaps free elections in the East Zone might be a step towards reunification; because that would help to bring about reunification in a shorter time. In my opinion it is impossible to have a reunification without previous free elections; because it is better to have free elections before a reunification; etc.

Because the Western Powers want to solve the Germany issue in a democratic way, too (general):

3

3

According to democratic principles there has to be an election first which then will result in the establishment of a new government; because the West wants to demonstrate its democratic principles; the simplest democratic rule: the people shall decide; in order to have it done in a democratic way for once, otherwise it would be advantageous for the Russians; being true democrats, the Western Powers have to be for free elections before; because they are free and democratic countries; because the Americans want democracy; etc.

Negative comments (Western demands for free elections are refused):

2

1

Those are just single points that everyone clings to, and no one will give in. I think it's nonsense; I think they must have a reason for delaying it again, I guess perhaps they want to get some profit out of it; the West should rather not demand so much but be more friendly towards the East and enter negotiations. The Russians won't release the Zone for nothing, and won't be dictated to in addition to that. Both sides should be more peaceable; that wouldn't be necessary at all, the Germans would unite without that, too; I'm not for free elections in the East Zone because after all they cannot vote freely in the East; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West West  
Germany Berlin

Other reasons:

3 2

Nothing can be done by force; because then everyone can do what he wants, every single one, not only the upper ten; apparently the East Zone shall disappear before; it's probably more diplomatic; to have the same conditions everywhere; because the Americans probably want to get into business with the East Zone, too. I don't know what government they have, and that's quite unimportant for me; I don't understand the question, the East favors free elections, too; to have peace; etc.

No interest in politics, no understanding for politics:

5 2

I don't understand that; I've heard nothing about that, I don't care anyhow, I only want to be let alone, I don't care for anything else, for I don't understand it anyhow; one ought to have kept oneself better posted up on everything, I really have no time; I don't care for politics, I'm working all day long and want to be let alone; I only wonder that these questions are put to a poor woman like me who neither reads about political affairs nor listens to the radio; I don't know, I won't have anything to do with politics; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{23}{103\%}$   $\frac{2}{105\%}$

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.



EXPLICIT SUPPORT HIGH - BUT GIVES WAY SOMEWHAT UNDER STRESS ...

Following the open inquiry respondents were questioned more explicitly as to their stand on free elections as a precondition to dealing with East German representatives. Two in three in West Germany under such inquiry appear to subscribe to the Western thesis - nine in ten in West Berlin concur.

"Would you approve of the present leaders of the East Zone government representing the population of the East Zone at negotiations on a reunification of Germany with the Big Four

or

should the Western Powers insist that only a delegation of the people in the East Zone formed via free elections be allowed to negotiate about the reunification of Germany?"  
(CARD)

West Germany    West Berlin

Present leaders of the East Zone government	8%	4%
Freely elected delegation of the people	68	93
No opinion	<u>24</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%

The above support is not entirely firm, however, in the light of a follow up inquiry. If insistence on free elections means paying a price in delay of possible reunification then support in West Germany shades off to less than majority status, though in West Berlin it remains firm at a level of two in three.

IF "Freely elected delegation of the people":

"Would you agree to this even if that would mean that a reunification and a peace treaty for Germany would not yet come about, or would you then not agree to this condition of the Western Powers?"

Agree to it even then	42%	68%
No, then not agree to it	17	22
No opinion	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>
	68%	93%

## IV. THE STATUS OF GERMAN NEUTRALITY AS A PRICE FOR REUNIFICATION

## PREPONDERANCE RECEPTIVE TO NEUTRALITY ...

The present finding corroborates earlier indications from a more extensive and elaborate inquiry\* that the preponderant inclination among West German is to agree to German neutrality if thereby German reunification can be attained. In West Berlin the weight of opinion is opposed to such a course, but only by a slight margin.

"Supposing Russia would agree to a reunification of Germany through free elections only on condition that Germany would remain neutral and would not be allowed to enter into an alliance with either West or East, would you under those circumstances be more for or more against an immediate reunification?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
More for reunification	55%	42%
More against reunification	21	52
No opinion	24	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

And when respondents who oppose neutrality are put under additional pressure, the extent of resistance comes out to no more than the level of one in five in West Germany - four in ten in West Berlin.

"But let's suppose the Russians would agree to a reunification of Germany through free elections only on this condition and rejecting neutrality for Germany would mean that for the present no agreement would be reached on a reunification of Germany, would you under those circumstances be more for a neutral Germany or would you even then be against it?" (Asked of those opposed to neutrality in question above.)

For a neutral Germany	2%	6%
Against a neutral Germany	16	43
No opinion	3	3
	<u>21%</u>	<u>52%</u>

So it would seem that the present support for the EDC is for many Germans a means of putting pressure on the Russians, and by no means precludes support for German neutrality if thereby the Russians will agree to German reunification.

\* Report No. 179, entitled "Current West German Political Trends and Projected Reactions to Possible Russian Proposals," dated June 15, 1953.

## NOT ALL SEE WEST OPPOSED TO GERMAN NEUTRALITY ...

Western opposition to a neutralist approach to German unity would seem to be exercising less than its maximum influence on German public opinion in view of the finding below that many are unaware of such opposition and not a few in fact believe that the West would approve of German neutrality.

"Are you of the opinion that the Western Powers would go along with a neutral Germany as a basis for the reunification of Germany or not?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Would go along with neutrality	18%	22%
Would not go along with neutrality	43	68
Don't know	39	10
	100%	100%

## NEUTRALITY LOSES ATTRACTION WITHOUT WESTERN GUARANTEE ...

The interesting indication emerges in further inquiry that if the West took the position that it could not guarantee the security of a neutral Germany, support for neutrality as an acceptable price for reunification drops by half.

"And let's suppose the Western Powers could not guarantee the security of Germany, if Germany would have to stay neutral, would you even then be for an immediate reunification of Germany, or would you be more in favor of waiting until a reunification under more favorable conditions would be possible?" (Asked of total approving of neutrality in earlier questions.)

For immediate reunification	22%	19%
For waiting for more favorable conditions	28	25
No opinion	7	4
	57%	48%

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

## NEUTRALITY FOR MANY ONLY A STEPPING STONE TO WESTERN ALLEGIANCE ...

Finally, it is notable in the present connection, that whatever attitudes respondents may have as to the acceptability or non-acceptability of neutrality as a price for reunification, the preponderant opinion is that within five years a neutral Germany would take a place in the Western camp.

"Supposing a reunified, neutral Germany would come about in the foreseeable future: how do you think, things will stand, say in 5 years? Will Germany still be neutral or will it have sided with the West or with the East?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Still neutral	15%	16%
Side with the West	38	61
Side with the East	2	3
Not neutral, but it's uncertain which side it will take	11	5
No opinion	34	15
	100%	100%

Reasons advanced for this judgment distributed as follows:

IF "Side with the West":

"Why are you of this opinion?"

Germany belongs to the West:

In their hearts the Germans shall always be on the side of the West; we belong to Europe and not to Russia; Germans belong to the West because of her religious and political convictions - she wants to have nothing to do with the Communists; we can never make common cause with the East; the Germans are aware that neither neutrality nor the East is of any good to them - to live a life worthy of human beings we need the association with the West; the Western people are akin to us - the Russians are Asiatics; the Western ideas are closer to the German people, and the Western way of life will decide the issue; etc.

West Germany    West Berlin

12%    28%

Germany is vitally dependent on the West (especially in regard to economics):

Germany is economically dependent on the West; the East has nothing to offer or to sell us - we are dependent on the West; Germany is unable to exist without the political and the economic support of the Western Powers who, in turn will have an interest in supporting Germany only if they can be certain that we are on their side; Germany has to have trade relations with the West, this fact will decide the issue; without the West as market outlet and as a trade partner Germany would be on the rocks; in the long run Germany can practically not exist without the West; etc.

6    12

(Cont'd on next page)

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CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany    West Berlin

Experiences have taught Germany to expect nothing good from the East:

The refugees have told us of the Eastern system, and we know what the result would be if we ever sided with the Russians; Germany has got to know the East thoroughly; we could never expect anything good; we need only ask the ex-prisoners of war and the refugees about the conditions in the East Zone: their answer would make this question superfluous; most Germans have enough of the Russians. Almost every family has got to feel it, their members being either as prisoners of war in Russia or in Russian concentration camps - and they'll never forget it; the Russians are losing more and more sympathies because of their deeds: e.g. murdering and detaining the German prisoners of war, looting the German East Zone, etc.; etc.

6%

7%

In the long run neutrality will prove to be impossible:

We would have to side with someone. The Russians are out of question. We'd much rather ally with the West some day; we cannot remain neutral, and only madmen would ally with the East; in the long run Germany cannot remain neutral; neutrality would be impossible because of Germany's geographic situation; the political situation would force us to side with the West, and probably also force us to rearm; etc.

5

10

Russia will constitute a constant threat and never respect German neutrality:

Neutrality is a dangerous thing for Germany - she would be overrun by the Russians; the Russians would threaten us politically, we would never be safe; the Russians will force us to side with the West: they'll never keep peace or leave our neutrality untouched; the Russians would never leave us in peace but stir up unrest by help of the KPD; within five years the situation would have changed in a way that Germany would be forced to ally with the West. The Russians would constantly try to stir up trouble, and under petty pretexts they'd try to reestablish an occupation; to avoid the danger of being eventually dragged to the East - either by force or by political influence; etc.

4

8

Germany prefers freedom and democracy to dictatorship:

Germany has to ally with a power group and will certainly chose the West because there is more freedom; there is a dictatorship in the East, and we don't want that; it is a totalitarian state, whilst we are free people; Germany has made a sore experience with dictatorship once, and it would side with the democratic states, the West. Germany wants nothing but peace; because the West has a free economic system; since our experiences with Adolf we have grown too democratic and would refuse any dictatorship; etc.

3

4

Germany is obligated to the West (America) because of its economic aid:

I think we owe the West very much. We have obtained much money for reconstruction from America, and therefore we'll have to remain on the side of the West; they have lent us support in every respect. We'll always remain faithful to those who have helped us; Germany will have to cooperate with America, because it has lent us money; the West will give so much aid to Germany that it cannot stay completely neutral. We have to be grateful and cannot remain neutral; etc.

2

2

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION

CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany    West Berlin

Germany will eventually be integrated in a European Union (also militarily):

1%    1%

Germany would have to join the European Union because of geographic reasons. In consequence Germany would have to pledge herself to the West also in respect to military matters; I believe that a European Union will be created similar to that of the USA, and it would be only natural that we should belong to it eventually; we can count on the creation of a United Europe, and Germany would necessarily pledge herself to it, and that way engage in military obligations; the whole situation would always force Germany into the European Defense Community; etc.

Others:

3    2

Especially America would try by all means to win Germany to her side, because only the German soldiers are able to fight the Russians; we would win a strong ally then; this is sheer optimism on my part; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

1    \*

43%

74%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The few respondents who foresaw continued neutrality argued as follows:

IF "Still neutral":

"Why are you of this opinion?"

West Germany    West Berlin

Because owing to the experiences we gained in the last war we want neutrality at any costs:

4%    2%

Germany should have learned from the last two wars that it's better to keep neutral; we are sick and tired, look at Switzerland, it proves that remaining neutral is the best thing to do; we had enough of war, we prefer to remain neutral; because the German people suffered too much in the last war, we resort to neutrality to finally achieve peace; because people are fed-up with military forces and things like that; we are fed up with war, we want to rebuild Germany in peace, and live a life worth of human beings; we are all fed up with war; etc.

Because it's better to remain neutral:

2    3

Because it would be the best for us; in case the Germans find out that neutrality is better, they will remain neutral; once we are neutral we'll stick to it; we won't be so stupid as to get entangled again; if it acts wisely it won't side with either party as one-sided obligations to the West would cause trouble with the East; etc.

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany    West Berlin

Germany will still be neutral if East and West leave us in peace:

2%

2%

It would still be neutral if East and West wouldn't try to induce it to give up neutrality; it will if not the East or the West will hinder it from doing so; it doesn't depend on us, but if both sides, East and West, really want peace I don't see any reason why we should renounce our neutrality, I'm sure it wouldn't do us any harm; it's difficult to predict, if we won't be forced by economic or military means we'll still be neutral in 5 years; we'll still be neutral if they leave us in peace, but I fear that the Russians will try to gobble us up; etc.

Because Germany doesn't need any help:

1

4

Because the Germans can help themselves; we don't need any help; Germany isn't interested in another war, after 5 years we won't need economic support any longer; etc.

Because Germany will enjoy economic advantages if it maintains neutrality:

1

2

If all Germans behave sensibly, we could remain neutral forever, we could trade with all nations then; if the Germans are offered the chance to remain neutral they should do so and trade with the West as well as with the East, Switzerland that has grown very rich through its neutrality proves that neutrality is a good thing; Germany will then have learned to like neutrality. Think of Switzerland, Sweden, Portugal, etc., neutral nations make profits when other nations wage war; etc.

Because the danger of war would increase if Germany wouldn't remain neutral:

1

1

Because war would break out the moment Germany sides with one side or the other; joining the West might induce the Russians to launch a war; because it would be the best for us: tensions would ease, and the danger of war would diminish; etc.

Because Germany will be forced to remain neutral:

1

\*

I think that Germany will be forced to remain neutral for the next 50 years; because the others will see to that, one nation watches the other; etc.

Other answers:

2

2

Siding with one party would mean breach of contract; we'll be busy with our own affairs for a long time; because we gained experiences, I'm thinking of the time after the war when they treated us so badly; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

 $\frac{1}{15\%}$ 
 $\frac{1}{16\%}$ 

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## V. SHOULD A CONFERENCE FAIL - WHAT THEN?

CONTINUED CONCILIATORINESS OUTWEIGHS MORE FORCEFUL RECOMMENDATIONS  
AMONG WEST GERMANS ...

Under the very real possibility that a Four Power conference would fail to come to any agreement, what reactions could be expected from the German people as a consequence - tougher attitudes or continued conciliatoriness vis-a-vis the Russians? The returns from the present study indicate a mixed picture of conciliatory reactions predominating in West Germany and tough reactions in West Berlin.

"Supposing such a Four Power conference would turn out a failure, what would you like to see the Western Powers do then?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Conciliatory reactions	39%	34%
Tough reactions	21	47
Indeterminate	1	2
No opinion	<u>39</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%

The actual comments made by the respondents to this inquiry were in the following vein:

CONCILIATORY REACTIONS

West Germany    West Berlin

Renewed efforts to bring about negotiations and a peaceful agreement:

27%    22%

To try again to achieve an agreement; they should try time and again to come to an understanding by diplomatic means; try again to bring about such a conference; try to schedule more conferences until good sense gets the upper hand; renewed efforts to bring about another conference because there is no other means to reach an understanding; they should try it again and send another invitation to the Russians; try it time and again to come to an agreement with Russia; renewed endeavors to come to an understanding by means of negotiations, war should be avoided, though; they mustn't start another war but leave no stone unturned in order to reach their objectives through peaceful means; they should try to come to an agreement through peaceful means; etc.

Anything but a war:

5    6

See to it that there won't be another war; should the Western camp prepare an act of violence, I mean something that leads to war, I would be bound to oppose it, I would then rather see things remain as they are right now; I've no idea as to what they ought to do, but by all means no war; avoid another war at any costs; try again, try everything but don't start a new war; anything but a war; we all don't want a war; at all events they shouldn't take up arms, they must find new ways to prevent war for every war means a loss to the entire people; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



West Germany	West Berlin
4%	4%

Wait and see - give in themselves:

In no case take military action; just wait and see, don't take any quick action, in any case avoid war; it will be best to wait and see and not break off negotiations; in no case take up arms, just wait and see again, and be prepared for battle; correct their own point of view and pay regard to the interests of other nations for once, too; they should give in a little, too; after all, one can only wait and see; etc.

4%

4%

Leave Germany alone:

Let's handle our own affairs, they have been over here long enough; mind their own business and leave us alone, we can very well manage without them; pack and leave Germany all of them; as far as I'm concerned they can go home; it would be a good thing if the occupation forces would decide to leave Germany, because after all we pay for all their expenses; etc.

3

1

They cannot do a thing:

Nothing at all; they cannot do a thing; all they can do is keep their faces, what else do you expect them to do; etc.

1

1

Other answers:

They should agree with a German neutrality, that would be the best thing for Germany, and the money destined for the rearmament program could be used for some other purpose; they should try again and again to buy off the East Zone by supplying Russia with machines, etc.; they can't force the Russians, but after all, isn't there something they could offer to the Russians in exchange? perhaps they could offer the Russians something in exchange for Germany so that they'd give it up - what they should offer I don't know; they might give them some other country, not necessarily a European one, which isn't as important as Germany; by indirect economic support, the East might be induced to join the West voluntarily, mainly all the satellites, if there are economic ties, the political ones will follow; we might perhaps try to get the Western Powers' permission to negotiate with the Russians ourselves, we might withdraw again, but we'll have to try to persuade them; give another country to the Russians, for instance a faraway country like Abyssinia; etc.

\*

2

(40%) (36%)

(Cont'd on next page)

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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TOUGH REACTIONS

More drastic, even military measures against the East:  
If they can't come to terms with the Russians they must take military actions against them; they should then attack the Russians; they should treat the Russians with more vigor, things can't be settled without a war anyway, they should present them with an ultimatum: either reunification of Germany or declaration of war; use violent methods, the farce has to come to an end, after all; declare war on Russia; there is only one way to reach peace finally: some Russians must bite the dust, the Americans should drop some atomic bombs, no war, just some atomic bombs, no other means will bring the Russians to their senses again; they should show fight instead of tackling the problems in a too cautious way; beat the hell out of the Russians; bring pressure to bear upon Russia by all possible means; pursue a more active policy towards Russia; etc.

8% 23%

Accelerate rearmament and unification of the West including Germany (EDC-treaty):

7 10

There will be nothing left for them to do but to rush the realization of the European defense plan as much as possible; realization of the EDC-treaty should be vigorously pursued, it could serve as a bulwark against Russia and enable us to parry an attack from that side; quickly rearm West Germany as danger still greater without military forces; we absolutely must recruit soldiers, I mean German soldiers within Germany in order to prevent an attack, foreign soldiers are unlikely to defend our country with their lives, it's up to the Western Powers to set up German military units without delay; the EDC-treaty should be signed by all Western Powers, that would make West Germany strong enough to bring pressure to bear upon Russia; develop more strength in order to impress Russia so that it will finally give in; get the EDC-treaty accepted as soon as possible; realize the EDC-treaty as rapidly as possible so that the Russians will face a strong Western bloc; strengthen Western Europe; the Western Powers should then organize the European armed forces; etc.

Not give in - continue the present policy:

3 1

Stick to the course they followed so far; what am I to say, they shouldn't give in; should do the same as until now, accomplish the European union; that's difficult to say - but they should not give in until there'll finally be a favorable situation; continue their present policy, keep up strength so that the Russians won't dare to start a war; continue their policy of strength but without changing to military action; they should continue what they have been doing so far; etc.

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	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Not give up Germany (especially East Germany and Berlin)</u> <u>but support and strengthen it by political and economic</u> <u>means:</u>	2%	2%
Not leave Germany but stay here; they should back up the Eastern parts of Germany now as ever; increase assistance for East Germany thus teaching the Russians a lesson through peaceful means; never leave Berlin in the cold; stick by us; well, do not leave us in the lurch, don't forget that without the Americans we wouldn't have had a thing to eat since quiet a while; etc.		
<u>Economic pressure against the East:</u>	1	12
In the economic field they should bring pressure to bear upon Russia; they should use every possible economic pressure against Russia, but should avoid another war; no war at any costs that would mean the end of all of Europe but raise an economic blockade against the East; as to economic relations they should demonstrate a more energetic attitude, they should exclude the Russians from import altogether; impose an embargo, take strong measures, discontinue trade relations with Russia; freeze trade with the East-bloc nations; etc.		
<u>Other answers:</u>	1	2
Western Powers shouldn't pay any regard to Russia; the Western powers could debate among themselves and summon Russia to bow to their resolution; have a conference without Russia; the Communist party should be prohibited; one should be on the watch to find vulnerable points of the Russians and wait for a good opportunity to get hold of them; they should free East Berlin from the Russians at least, or even the whole Eastern Zone; the Russians will give in one day, majority always wins; Russia should be excluded from world politics, and not be given any attention even if they make a lot of noise; etc.		
	(22%)	(50%)

INDETERMINATE REACTIONS

<u>Others:</u>	1%	2%
The Bible always tells how you should act; I don't expect any failure; the Western Powers should act according to their consciences; if Adenauer or Reuter were allowed to negotiate with Russia, perhaps more could be gained; I'll never forget what the Americans did to me, and I don't think much of them; etc.		

No opinion:

39%	17%
102%	105%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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WEST BERLIN SUBSCRIBERS APPRISE  
THE NEUE ZEITUNG

Report No. 184

Series No. 2

August 27, 1953

DECLASSIFIED  
RE S T R I C T E D  
by authority of

Morton F. Fogberg,

Chief, 5/1/55

PLIB Research Staff

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY



## R E S T R I C T E D

## INTRODUCTION

Who are the Berlin subscribers to the Neue Zeitung and how do they differ from other Berliners? What do they think of the newspaper and what kinds of news and features do they read? These were primarily the questions which this study was designed to answer. The study used two methods: 1) personal interviews with a random sample of 335 Berlin subscribers, coupled with 2) a readership inventory in which each of the 335 members was shown every article and feature in a recent copy of the Neue Zeitung and asked to tell what part of each he had read. Interviews in the survey were made between March 17th and March 29th, 1953, using the following issues of the Neue Zeitung for the readership inventory: Sunday, 15th of March, 1953; Thursday, 19th of March, 1953; Friday, 20th of March, 1953; Sunday, 22nd of March, 1953; Thursday, 26th of March, 1953; Friday, 27th of March, 1953.

Subscribers' names were obtained randomly from subscription lists made available by the Neue Zeitung, and respondents were interviewed in their homes within the following or second day after publication of each issue. This allowed subscribers time to have read the copy and still not delay so long that they could no longer recall what they had or had not read.

It should be remembered in reading this report that this is a study of subscribers and not of all readers of the Berlin Neue Zeitung. These people represent the 26,000 Sunday subscribers (buying 40% of the 65,000 Sunday copies distributed) and the 21,000 daily subscribers (buying 51% of the 40,000 daily copies distributed).

Interviewing of non-subscribing readers (those who pick up their copy on news-stands or obtain it indirectly in some way) would have been a complicating factor in this study, and it was decided to interview only those who are on the subscription lists.

At the time of the interview the respondents were first asked a very few preliminary questions, then were invited to look through a copy of the Neue Zeitung with the interviewer column-by-column, article-by-article, headline-by-headline, noting what parts of each article and headline had been read. After this a series of detailed questions were asked, eliciting subscribers' reactions to and appraisal of the Neue Zeitung. The readership inventory itself lasted about 40 minutes for the Sunday editions (20 pages) and approximate 20 minutes for the daily editions (8 pages).

The following data are available from this study: 1) an article-by-article readership inventory (copies of each Neue Zeitung edition tested are now in the hands of the Berlin Neue Zeitung editor, with readership figures for men and women indicated on each article), 2) a survey of subscriber characteristics and attitudes (represented in this report), and 3) a final classification of all articles and features into major content types appearing in the six editions with related proportions of readers (to be reported later).

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, the German survey organization working under contract to the Evaluation Staff, HICOG.

R E S T R I C T E D

## HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

I. Who are the Berlin Neue Zeitung Subscribers?

THERE ARE MORE HIGH STATUS BERLINERS ... among NZ subscribers, proportionally, than there are in the general West Berlin adult population. Educational attainment and incomes are higher in the subscriber group, and more of them are in upper-status occupations,

PASS-ALONG WIDENS THIS AUDIENCE ... with an average of 2.2 readers in addition to the subscriber reading each subscription copy.

II. The Berlin Neue Zeitung as Its Readers See It —  
A Subscriber Appraisal

THE NEUE ZEITUNG IS THE "FIRST PAPER" ... to most of its subscribers. Over one half (56%) read only the NZ, and three fourths of those who also read other papers prefer the NZ.

OBJECTIVITY AND RELIABILITY ARE THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NZ ... in the opinion of its subscribers. This is the main reason for the Neue Zeitung's being preferred over other papers and for its being read at all. This, too, is cited most often as the way in which the NZ differs from other West Berlin papers. The adjectives most often used by NZ subscribers to describe the paper are related to objectivity and fairness and to comprehensive coverage.

IN DISCUSSING NZ WITH OTHERS, MORE SUBSCRIBERS MENTION ITS RELIABILITY ... than anything else about the newspaper.

III. What Is Read in the Berlin Neue Zeitung?

POLITICAL ARTICLES ARE BY FAR THE MOST POPULAR NZ CONTENT ... according to subscribers. They are more interested in NZ political columns than in anything else in the paper; more of them read political news first.

Four in ten subscribers say they have found themselves better informed (by reading the NZ) than people they know who don't read the NZ, largely because of its political reporting.

BOTH MEN AND WOMEN FIND SPORTS AND ECONOMIC NEWS THE LEAST INTERESTING PART OF THE NZ ... although both are minority judgments. One third of NZ subscribers consider sports the least popular, and one fourth are least interested in economic reports.

Only 14 and 10 per cent, respectively, want less or no sports and economic reporting, however.

IV. What Changes Would Berlin Subscribers Make in the Neue Zeitung?

TWO THIRDS OF NZ SUBSCRIBERS MAKE NO RECOMMENDATIONS ... for improvement of the paper when asked what "could be better." The feuilleton section and novels get most suggestions for improvement, but specific comments vary widely in theme.

Nothing specific can be pointed to as arousing general dissatisfaction among the paper's subscribers.

V. Neue Zeitung Readers Pass the Word Along --  
They Recommend the Paper to Others

TWO THIRDS OF SUBSCRIBERS HAVE CALLED THE ATTENTION OF OTHERS ... to the paper, mostly to the credibility of what it prints or to its feuilleton section.

Sixty-seven per cent have recommended to others that they read the NZ. Those who haven't are more likely to say either that they "haven't had the opportunity" or that they refuse to recommend what other people should read.

VI. A Weekly Neue Zeitung --  
What Do Berlin Daily Subscribers Say About the Idea?

RECEPTIVITY TO THE IDEA OF A WEEKLY NZ ... is low among current daily subscribers. Answers to a series of questions show that they want daily news from the NZ.

OVER ONE HALF SAY THEY WOULD DROP THEIR SUBSCRIPTION ... were the NZ to become a weekly. Many of the 34 per cent who say they would continue buying it are really unlikely prospects, judging from their attitudes expressed toward the possible change.

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I. WHO ARE THE BERLIN NEUE ZEITUNG SUBSCRIBERS?

- 1 -  
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## R E S T R I C T E D

## MORE HIGH STATUS BERLINERS AMONG NEUE ZEITUNG SUBSCRIBERS ...

A few comparisons between Berlin NZ subscribers and the general adult population (18 years and older) of West Berlin show how select the subscribers are. They are unlike most Berliners in amount of formal education, income, age and occupation.

It is clear that NZ subscribers have a much higher education--as a group--than the general West Berlin population. Only one-fourth of the former have been limited to an elementary schooling, compared with two-thirds of West Berliners generally. Three times as many NZ subscribers have attended universities as is true of the general population.

<u>Amount of Education</u>	<u>NZ Subscribers</u>	<u>General Population</u>
	No. of cases : (335)	No. of cases (395)
Elementary	26%	66%
Secondary	48	24
Diploma	9	5
University	17	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Income distribution is much higher among NZ subscribers. Over one-half of people who subscribe to the NZ in West Berlin make at least DM 400 per month, compared with 22 per cent in the general population receiving this income.

Per Month DM Income

0 - 149 DM	10%	25%
150 - 299 DM	18	32
300 - 399 DM	18	18
400 DM and more	54	22
No answer	-	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Closely related to the above factors is the matter of occupation. As one would expect, the professions and higher status occupations have a higher proportion of representation in the NZ subscriber group than in the West Berlin population generally.

Occupational Group

Professionals	16%	5%
Businessmen	15	8
White-collar workers	23	12
Skilled laborers	3	9
Semi- and unskilled laborers	2	7
Apprentices	-	2
Service	1	4
Housewives	12	15
Unemployed	4	15
Retired, pensioners	24	20
Students **	*	1
No answer	-	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Excluded from this sample are a special group of students who are given a preferential price for the NZ, and who are not subscribers in the same sense as regular NZ subscribers.

## R E S T R I C T E D

There are many older people on the NZ subscription list than are found proportionally in West Berlin, with 58 per cent of the NZ subscribers at least 51 years of age. Only 36 per cent of the general population is of this minimum age.

Only slightly more than 5 per cent of NZ subscribers are under 30 years of age, compared with 15 per cent of West Berliners generally. Three in ten Berliners subscribing to the NZ are at least 60 years of age.

<u>Age</u>	<u>NZ Subscribers</u> (335)	<u>General Population</u> (395)
Under 20 years	*	3%
21 - 30 years	5	12
31 - 40 years	11	20
41 - 50 years	26	29
51 - 60 years	27	17
61 years and over	31	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## THREE PEOPLE READ AVERAGE SUBSCRIPTION COPY OF NEUE ZEITUNG ...

While this is a study of representative subscribers (not readers) to the NZ, it might be interesting to note how many persons other than the subscriber usually reads it.

The average number of readers per subscription copy of the Neue Zeitung is 3.2 persons. Here is the distribution of readership which shows more clearly the extent to which subscription copies of the NZ are read by more than just the subscriber himself.

Number of Readers per Copy

	(335)
1 person (subscriber)	8%
2 persons (including subscriber)	29
3 persons (including subscriber)	28
4 persons (including subscriber)	18
5 persons (including subscriber)	12
6 persons or more (including subscriber)	5
	<u>100%</u>

RESTRICTED

II. THE BERLIN NEUE ZEITUNG AS ITS READERS SEE IT -  
A SUBSCRIBER APPRAISAL

RESTRICTED

## R E S T R I C T E D

## NEUE ZEITUNG IS "FIRST PAPER" TO MOST OF ITS SUBSCRIBERS ...

Over one-half (56%) of the Neue Zeitung's Berlin subscribers read the NZ only; clearly it is not a "second paper" to them. Furthermore, as will be seen, most of the people who read other papers besides the NZ consider it their first paper.\*

	(335)
Read the NZ only	56%
Read two papers (including NZ)	25
Read three papers (including NZ)	14
Read four or more (including NZ)	5
	100%

Neue Zeitung readers who also read at least one other newspaper were given a hypothetical choice by the interviewer - if they could keep only one of the papers they read, which one would it be?

Three quarters of them answered by naming the NZ as the one newspaper they would prefer to continue reading if a choice were necessary.

## OBJECTIVITY AND RELIABILITY IS MAIN REASON FOR PREFERRING NEUE ZEITUNG ...

More than any other reason given for their choice of the NZ in preference to other newspapers they now read is its objectivity and reliability. One-third of those who choose the NZ do so for this reason, while a fourth compliment the paper in each of two other ways: they say its coverage is more varied and extensive and that it has a higher professional standard of quality and style.

Indications are that men are more likely than women to prefer the NZ because of its objectivity, whereas to women the cultural section is more important in determining their preference. No percentage comparisons can be made because of the statistically unreliable number of persons (67 men, 41 women) who answered the question. See Appendix Table III.

"Why would you prefer the NZ?" (Asked of all who named NZ as first choice among papers they read.)

(108)

Because it is objective, impartial and reliable:

33%

It's all very objective; above all I like the precise and objective way of reporting which is free of any tendency; it is objective with regard to politics; it has a matter of fact way and doesn't make so much fuss about everything; it's objective about politics, because after all the terrible years we've been through you prefer a newspaper which takes a more placid and objective view of the situation; I'm politically-minded but I don't care for party politics, I have to have a newspaper that's independent (from the German point of view) and yet follows the general trend; it's more reliable because it doesn't publish any news unless it is certain to be true and doesn't have to be revoked; it is an objective daily paper and doesn't show any party tendencies; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

\* See Appendix for list of other newspapers read and proportions of NZ readers who read them.



## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because it's more extensive and more varied:

25%

Because it is more extensive and more varied; it's more voluminous; because of all papers it's the one that's most varied; because it offers something for every taste; because it's a paper that offers something from all fields; it's more varied in every respect, offers something from all fields and enough of everything; because it offers more from all fields than any other Berlin daily newspaper; because it brings everything that's worth knowing I got better and more detailed information out of it; it's very instructive with regard to sciences; it offers a thorough review of the world situation in general; etc.

Because it's of a higher standard and is superior in style:

25

Because it's of a higher standard in both the political and cultural section; it's of a high intellectual level; its intellectual standard is high; because it comes up to my level as a professional man; it has a cultured style; it shows a responsible ethical attitude; the political reports are well written; etc.

Because it's better informed and more up-to-date:

20

Because it's well informed and supplies information quickly; because it's more up-to-date; you get quickly and thoroughly informed through it; as regards the political news, I like it best of all; etc.

The cultural section is better:

16

Because it has a good cultural section; I'm pleased with the cultural section; the way of reporting in the cultural section is concise, objective and free of any tendency; I regard the feuilleton as very good, also the cultural news in most cases; I'm specially interested in music critiques and other reviews; etc.

The economic section is more extensive:

8

The economic section is more extensive; I consider the economic section to be excellent, it's always up-to-date; the economic section is extensive; out of business considerations, I have to read the economic review and learn about the East-West course of exchange because we have business dealing with the East; in other papers you won't find that so detailed as in the NZ; etc.

The local news section is better:

5

The local section is specially cut out for the Berlin situation; it has the nice Berlin page; because of the good local section; the letters to the editor are good; etc.

The make-up of the NZ is better:

3

It's easy to review and you find quickly what you're looking for if you don't have the time to read it all through; just for it's outward appearance I like it best of all; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

The feuilleton is interesting:

As a woman I am more interested in the feuilleton; the feuilleton is very extensive; etc.

2%

Pitt, the youth reporter, is interesting:

It's of great value to me in my teaching job - I use the reports in classes, Pitt, the youth reporter, is particularly good; Pitt, the youth reporter, is really good; etc.

2

The women's page is interesting, fashions, women's problems:

Because I like the fashion page, there are many nice suggestions and articles; etc.

1

Other reasons:

I'm used to it; you have got used to it, if you read it for a long time; it interests me most of all, I tried many papers, at present I read the NZ and I'm quite pleased with it - moreover, I don't like to change papers; I like its political tendency; there are not so many ads; because of the interesting articles; it is delivered very early in the morning; etc.

14

No opinion/No answer:

<sup>1</sup>  
155%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

OBJECTIVE REPORTING BY NEUE ZEITUNG IS MAJOR FACTOR IN READER POPULARITY ...

Further evidence of the trust subscribers place in NZ's reporting of the news is found on a series of questions measuring reactions to the paper. By whatever approach used, reliability and objectivity of content stands foremost in readers' appraisal of the NZ.

Subscribers were asked in three different ways in three separate questions to tell in their own words what they think of the NZ, with the opportunity to give negative as well as favorable comments.

POLITICAL OBJECTIVITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF REPORTING...is stressed as a reason for reading the NZ by nearly one-fourth of the readers (the largest group of reasons given).

THE NEUE ZEITUNG DIFFERS FROM OTHER WEST BERLIN PAPERS IN BEING MORE OBJECTIVE IN REPORTING...according to nearly one-half (48%) of its subscribers, who were asked to compare the NZ with the others. No other single attribute was mentioned as often, with twice as many subscribers naming objectivity as named the next most-often mentioned difference. (Eighty-eight per cent of subscribers say that the NZ does differ from other West Berlin papers.)

SUBSCRIBERS ASKED TO DESCRIBE THE NEUE ZEITUNG IN ADJECTIVES OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING...make it clear that a principal element in the NZ's high reader receptivity is its objectivity.

Twice as many women as men (29% and 14 per cent, respectively) say they read the NZ because of its local news, whereas the reasons given by men are more likely to be that the NZ is well-informed, has up-to-the-minute and comprehensive coverage. See Appendix Table V.

<u>"Can you tell me for what reasons you read the Neue Zeitung?"</u> (Asked of those who read only NZ and those who had not named NZ as first choice among papers they read.)*	<u>"In what respect does the NZ differ from other West Berlin papers? and in what other respect?"</u> (Asked of those who say NZ differs from other West Berlin papers.)	<u>"If you wanted to describe the NZ to somebody, what adjectives would you use then?"</u> (Asked of all.)
It is objective, independent and reliable in its reporting 33%	NZ is more objective, more to-the-point, more impartial, more neutral, more reliable, more authentic 55%	Objective, impartial, neutral, to-the-point, tolerant, fair, earnest solid 44%
It has good style and high standards 22	The level of the NZ is higher 26	Many-sided, varied, comprehensive, detailed, copious 43
Because of its cultural section 21	NZ is more detailed, more comprehensive, more varied 18	Of a high intellectual level, of high standards, in good taste, cultured, instructive, educative, stimulating 36
It is comprehensive and varied 17	The make-up of the NZ is superior 14	Topical, true, informative, well informed 33
* This question could not be asked of those who already had given their reasons for preferring the NZ over other papers, without seeming repetitions to these respondents.		
(Cont'd on next page)		

## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

It is well informed, its reports are topical and cover a wider area	11%	The cultural section of the NZ is of a higher level, is more detailed, better in quality	11%	Good, very good, excellent, first-rate agreeable, pleasing satisfactory	21%
Its political tendencies suit me	7	NZ is more open-minded, more far-sighted in its reporting, its news service is world-wide	10	Interesting	14
It provides us with information about the US	4	The NZ is an American newspaper, it reflects the American outlook on things (positive and neutral commentaries)	9	Clearly arranged, handy, tastefully made up, lucidly illustrated	14
Because of the other sections	4	Its contents and style are well composed and easily comprehensible	5	Open-minded, generous, West European, universal	5
Because of its good editorials, articles, and commentaries	3	The NZ is better informed, more topical, it has a faster news service	4	Entertaining	5
Because of the local news	2	Political topics are treated in greater detail, more material on political developments is published than in other papers	4	American	4
Because of its commercial section	1	The NZ carries fewer ads	4	Lively, modern	4
		The NZ wants to sell American views (negative commentaries)	3		
				Large-sized, its wonderful to wrap all kinds of things in; punctual, worth its price; religious	4
		The editorial staff of the NZ is more capable	3		
		The NZ offers detailed articles from the fields of science, research, and technics	3		
Other reasons	18	Other reasons	6	No opinion/No answer	2
No opinion/No answer	7	No opinion/No answer	1	No answer	2
No. of cases -	150%** (227)	No. of cases -	176%** (293)	No. of cases -	229%** (335)

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



R E S T R I C T E D

## III. WHAT IS READ IN THE BERLIN NEUE ZEITUNG? \*

- \* Data in this section are based on what readers say about their reading habits and preferences. Actual readership of articles in the six issues of the NZ tested will be reported at a later date.

- 10 -

R E S T R I C T E D

## R E S T R I C T E D

## POLITICAL NEWS IS MOST POPULAR CONTENT OF THE NEUE ZEITUNG ...

No other kind of news or features approaches NZ political news and reports in magnitude of reader popularity.

About four in ten (38%) say in a general way that they are more interested in news and articles about political developments than in anything else that is printed in the NZ. Another 7 per cent specifically mention foreign affairs, 7 per cent also claim highest interest in editorials and political commentaries.

Two or three other kinds of answers below indicate that the high interest in political information and interpretation by the NZ is pervasive. That is, the four in ten subscribers who speak in general terms about being most interested in political content clearly are supplanted by others who specify the kinds of political articles which they like to read more than any other content.

The feuilleton section receives the second highest number of mentions--either in general terms or specified as film reviews, literature, arts, theater and so on. Twenty-nine per cent consider various of these feuilleton section features of most interest to them.

Berlin news in the Neue Zeitung runs third in content popularity with 19 per cent of the readers saying they are most interested in it.

Nearly one-half (47%) of men subscribers claim having the most interest in the NZ's political articles and news reports, compared with 27 per cent of the women. As one reads down the list of favored NZ content, the fact becomes clear that women are much more interested in the feuilleton and other non-political sections. About the same proportion of men and women say they are most interested in Berlin news. But film and theater news, literature, fiction and "cultural" news offerings in the NZ exercise a consistently greater attraction for women readers.

"Which section of the NZ are you interested in most?"

	TOTAL (335)	Men (186)	Women (149)
<u>Political news and reports, articles about political topics:</u>	38%	47%	27%
In the objective news section; I'm interested most in political developments, news; in current political events; in the detailed articles on political issues of general interest published beside editorials; in political matters, for, in the end, everything depends on the developments in this field; in politics; in all political developments; in politics, after this last war we all are much more dependent on the Western world than before; political events, I'm interested in getting as objective a report on political matters as possible, just the way the NZ handles these things; in the political section; in political news as I don't listen to the radio; in political articles; in articles dealing with political issues, printed on the second page; in the political section, everything about it interests me for I'm a businessman and today the economy largely depends on political developments; political matters, what's going on at home and abroad; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

(Cont'd from preceding page)

TOTAL 100% 100% 100%

Local news, "Berlin page":

19% 18% 19%

In the page devoted to Berlin affairs; in the Berlin page, generally in everything that's topical; in the Berlin section; in the Berlin page, local news concerning Berlin, what's cooking in Berlin; all about present-day Berlin and reports about the progress made in reconstructing Berlin; the Berlin page, the whole page from top to bottom; local news; in local news, above all, in the notes on Berlin; in reports about trials of juvenile delinquents, in the notes on Berlin; etc.

Feuilleton:

16 9 24

In the feuilleton section; in the cultural supplement, especially in the one published on Sundays, short stories; I'm interested in the feuilleton page, new developments in the fields of arts; in the short stories; in the cultural section; I'm most interested in the cultural section; the cultural section, I used to be a teacher, I read a lot, and that's why one's interested in this matter; the cultural supplement issued on Sundays; etc.

Foreign affairs, foreign policy at home and abroad:

7 9 5

In political editorials, such a thing as the commentary on Ruter's sojourn in the States or about the EDC treaty; political developments throughout the world, above all the EDC treaty and attempts to come to an understanding with the Western Powers, so that they will recognize us, that they will drop the idea of a collective guilt of the whole nation; that they will let the past rest, I'm also interested in the pan-European movement; the foreign affairs section, all about world policy, I'm interested in everything that helps me get an accurate idea of the situation throughout the world and all about the fight against Communism; on political matters, current events and things that are of special interest at the moment, I mean all current problems that concern Europe; foreign news that has a bearing on Germany, such as the relationship between Germany and France; etc.

Editorials and political commentaries:

7 9 4

In the political commentaries; at present I'm most interested in the political section, in the commentaries which are very enlightening for me, they are of a level to be appreciated internationally; in the commentaries; in the moderate political commentaries; in the editorials; in the editorial serial; in the commentaries on European problems; etc.

Literature:

7 3 11

The literary page; in book reviews and announcements of new books; above all in literature and book reviews; books and other publications; etc.

Sciences and technics:

7 7 7

I'm most interested in reports about scientific matters; in the scientific articles published in the NZ, regardless of whether it's about technics, philosophy or languages; in the articles from the field of sciences; all scientific contributions; the scientific section published on Sundays; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

(Cont'd from preceding page)

TOTAL Mon. Wedn.

Brief cultural news:

In the brief cultural news; in the news about the cultural sphere; etc.

6% 3% 10%

Domestic affairs, local politics in Berlin:

In the reports about the Berlin Senate which are printed on the second page; reports about the sessions of the Senate; I like to read about party politics because it's presented in an objective manner and it's not played up as sensations; current news from the field of politics, things that concern Berlin, as well as the Federal Republic; etc.

5 5 5

Economic reports and news:

I'm most interested in the commercial section; news from the economic sphere, and in this field I'm most interested in reports on the money market; in the commercial section; in the market section and in articles on political economy; in all features that make up the market section; in the market reports published in the commercial section; in the business news; etc.

5 8 2

Theater, theater reviews:

In reviews of theater performances; etc.

5 2 9

Reports and news from the East Zone, from the East:

In our relationship with the East Zone; articles about conditions in the East Zone and in the Eastern sector of Berlin; all about the Soviet occupied territory; in the reports from the East, from Eastern Germany and the Eastern countries, that's what interests me particularly as I am an expellee; what they report about foreign countries, about conditions in Russia and all that's going on behind the Iron Curtain; etc.

4 5 3

Films, movie column, film reviews:

Above all, film reviews; I'm interested most in film reviews and all cultural contributions treating film subjects; the film reviews by Mr. Luft; the movie page, previews of films which are to be produced; etc.

4 2 7

The whole newspaper:

I'm interested in everything, I read everything, really, everything; I'm interested in everything published in the newspaper; I want to get an idea of how things are throughout the world, therefore I'm interested in all fields; etc.

4 4 5

Sports:

I'm most interested in the sports section published on Sundays; in the sports section as far as aquatic sports are concerned; the sports page and all that's connected with sports, I take a professional interest in these things; the sports section, above all, soccer; etc.

3 3 3

Arts (fine arts):

In the arts; etc.

3 3 3

Daily accounts:

In the daily reports; etc.

2 3 2

(Cont'd on next page)



(Cont'd from preceding page)

TOTAL Men Women

<u>Non-political reports, travel accounts, people and countries:</u>	2%	1%	4%
In current events, when there are catastrophes; reports about expeditions; travel accounts; in the page devoted to travelling published on Sundays; etc.			
<u>Fiction (Entertainment section):</u>	2	1	4
Novels; in the novels published, too, reading them you get well acquainted with American authors; in the novel, I read it, cut it out, send it to friends, they in turn give it to a refugee camp where many people read it; etc.			
<u>Women's problems:</u>	2	1	4
<u>Puzzles:</u>	2	-	4
<u>Ads:</u>	2	2	1
Small ads about vacant apartments and job offers; in the ad section; etc.			
<u>Headlines and headings, brief news:</u>	1	1	1
I always read the column "News in brief"; etc.			
<u>Sunday pictures:</u>	1	-	7
In the pictures published in the Sunday issue; in the well-arranged front page of the Sunday issue, the pictures, I mean; etc.			
<u>Music, reviews of musical performances:</u>	1	1	3
In music critiques; in the reviews written by Mr. Stuckenschmidt; in reviews of musical recitals by Mr. Stuckenschmidt which are published in the entertainment schedule section; etc.			
<u>English course:</u>	1	1	2
In the English course; in the English classes edited by Steiner; etc.			
<u>Letters to the editor:</u>	1	-	3
<u>Weather forecast:</u>	1	1	1
<u>No particular habit:</u>	1	1	1
<u>The whole front page:</u>	2	3	-
<u>The whole second page:</u>	1	2	1
<u>All of the third page:</u>	*	1	-
<u>Other answers:</u>	1	1	1
No opinion			
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	1	1	-
	164%**	156%**	184%**

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

POLITICAL REPORTING IS READ FIRST --- BEFORE OTHER NEWS AND FEATURES ...

Another way of discovering comparative interest in various parts of the newspaper is to ask the reader what he first reads in the NZ, what he reads next, and what he reads after that. Forty per cent of the readers cited political news as the first content they turn to in the newspaper. Of course, this is partly a function of the placement of the news on the first page, but is nonetheless important. Popularity of the Berlin page is indicated again in the finding that 39 per cent of the people -- a higher proportion than any other second choice -- turn to the Berlin news after they have looked at their first choice content.

"What do you read first in the NZ? What comes second?  
And what third?"

	Read first (335)	Read second (335)	Read third (335)
Political news and reports, the political section	40%	14%	5%
The whole front page	14	4	1
Local news, "Berlin page"	13	39	18
Headlines and headings	12	2	*
Editorials and political commentaries	4	6	7
Foreign policy at home and abroad	3	2	1
Sunday pictures	3	-	*
Home affairs, Berlin local politics	2	1	*
The whole second page	2	4	2
Feuilleton	2	5	11
Reports and news from the East Zone	1	*	1
Economic reports and news	1	4	11
Arts (fine arts)	1	1	*
Literature	1	5	5
Brief cultural news	1	3	6
Sciences and technis	1	2	2
Women's problems	1	1	1
Puzzles	1	-	1
Letters to the editor	1	*	2
Weather forecast, etc.	1	1	1
The whole newspaper	1	1	4
Photos, pictures, illustrations	1	-	-
Sports	*	1	5
Film, movie-column and film reviews	-	1	4
Fiction	*	2	4
Ads	*	-	2
Daily accounts	-	1	1
All of the third page	-	1	1
Non-political reports, travel accounts, people and countries	-	1	2
Theater, theater reviews	-	2	4
Music, reviews of musical performances	-	1	1
English course	-	*	1
Church news	-	*	-
No particular habits	-	1	1
Other answers	-	1	*
No opinion/No answer	-	1	3
	107%**	106%**	108%**

● Note that 14 per cent say they first read the "whole front page", which is largely political in content.

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

## NEUE ZEITUNG POLITICAL REPORTING OF MOST VALUE IN INFORMING ITS READERS ...

Four in ten subscribers can cite ways in which they have been better informed (by reading the NZ) than people who have not read the paper, and largely because of the political content of the NZ. The comparatively high interest and usefulness of NZ political reporting is seen in the finding that one in four subscribers say they have been better informed about political matters than people they know -- as a result of reading the NZ. This function is mentioned much more often than any other.

"Have you ever found that by reading the NZ, you were more exactly and thoroughly informed than other people who haven't read the NZ?"

	(335)
Found it	42%
Have not found it	46
Qualified answer	2
No opinion	10
	100%

"About which fields have you been more exactly and thoroughly informed than other people who haven't read the NZ?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Found it" to preceding question.)

(142)

About politics:

26%

About politics and current events; about politics and topical problems; the NZ informs people more speedily about internal and foreign affairs than other papers do; in the political field, I've told many a reader of party organs not to read their SPD papers only but other newspapers in between; the NZ reports topical political news earlier than other papers; the news about the America trip of Professor Reuter; I have been better informed about international politics; reports on new statesmen such as Malenkov or Eisenhower; etc.

About cultural matters:

11

About cultural things; the cultural news of the NZ is more topical and comprehensive than that of other newspapers; the feuilleton is more comprehensive than that of the "Tagesspiegel", for instance; about literature; in all cultural fields such as film, music, theater and literature, etc; as to reviews of news books, announcements of exhibitions, etc; about the feuilleton including theater- and concert critiques; as to news from the world of film, theater and music; etc.

About economic developments:

6

About the economic field; about commercial news; about economic matters; about the economic field through its market news from West Germany; its commercial news is more topical and comprehensive than that in other newspapers; its excellent commentaries help to see the inter-relations of the economic machinery; the NZ reports especially clearly about economic developments in the world; about economic policies; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

About science, research, technical matters:

I'm well informed about the latest result of research in the fields of biology and physics; about philosophical subjects; etc.

4%

About local news:

As far as local news is concerned the NZ never exaggerates things so that one needn't fear to be fooled, and to find that something one has told to some people turns out not to be true; about local news; etc.

3

About the East Zone, the refugee- and prisoner-of-war issue:

About conditions in the East Zone; above all, it carries more thorough reports about the East Zone; about the refugee question, the help these people get from the German and American side; about the repatriation of our prisoners-of-war; etc.

2

About the US and working methods over there:

I have been more thoroughly informed about conditions in the States and American policy, that's only natural since the NZ is the mouth-piece of America; the output of my workshop has increased, the workers' morale has improved since I made use of American experiences of which I learned through the NZ; etc.

2

About every field:

The reports of the NZ are generally more detailed; when talking with friends at my hangout I always notice that I'm better informed than those who read the "Telegraf" or the "Abend"; the NZ is very comprehensive; about every field; apart from sports news I'm better informed about everything than other people; I feel I'm better informed generally; etc.

2

About official announcements and laws:

About the ordinance regarding refunds for employees of the civil services; announcements of Berlin ordinances; about Law No. 131; it sounds strange and it's very surprising but the NZ keeps people better posted on official announcements than the "Telegraf" and the "Tagesspiegel"; etc.

1

About women's problems:

The NZ offers the most interesting news for women, it keeps them posted on developments that are of special interest to them; etc.

\*

Other answers:

I happened to talk with somebody about Belgrade, I was well informed as I had read the latest article about this subject in the NZ; the reports about the South and the Suez Canal were so extensive and instructive that I bet I was better informed than others; etc.

1

No opinion/No answer:

\*  
58%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## SPORTS AND ECONOMIC SECTIONS LOWEST IN READER INTEREST ...

Queried on what sections of the paper they find least interesting, three in ten NZ subscribers mention the sports section and a quarter economic news and reports. As could be expected, this results in part from women readers' lack of interest in such matters. However, the difference between men and women readers in this respect is not as great as one might expect. Only seven per cent more women than men have the least interest in economic news and reports. As many as one-fourth of the NZ's male subscribers say they are less interested in the sports section than any other part of the paper - with four in ten women voicing such an indication.

"And which section of the NZ are you the least interested in?"

	TOTAL (335)	Men (186)	Women (149)
Sports	30%	24%	39%
Economic news and reports	23	20	27
Ads	12	14	9
Fiction	8	9	7
Political news and reports, politics	6	2	12
Feuilleton	5	10	1
Literature, books	5	7	3
Women's problems	4	8	1
Local news, "Berlin page"	3	4	3
Art (fine art)	3	6	-
Film, film reviews	2	4	-
Science and technics	2	1	3
News and reports from the East Zone	1	2	-
Editorials and political comments	1	1	3
Reports from the Theater and theater reviews	1	1	7
Music, music reviews	1	1	1
Cultural news and announcements	1	3	-
Puzzles, games	1	1	1
Other answers	1	2	1
No opinion/No answer	9	8	11
	120%**	128%**	129%**

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## ONLY SMALL MINORITY WANT FEWER SPORTS AND ECONOMIC REPORTS ...

While sports and economic news and reports are also the top candidates in the minds of the readers for either getting less space in the NZ or being omitted entirely, not many subscribers are desirous of such changes. In fact, four in ten (39%) volunteer that the paper is all right as it is, when asked:

"If it would be up to you, what should the NZ offer less of, or what should be left out?"

(335)

The paper is good as it is:

39%

The NZ is so excellent that nothing should be left out; I've nothing to complain of, I think the NZ is rather good and nothing should be left out - after all it's not a purely German paper and therefore you have to apply different standards; nothing, I think the composition of the NZ is very good; well, I would have to think that over, besides, I've no special field of interest, the present make-up seems to be quite good; I wouldn't want to miss anything; nothing should be left out; I wouldn't know what could be left out; I couldn't tell you, it's good enough for me; it's all well balanced, should remain as it is; no, it should stay that way; nothing; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Sports reports:

14%

Sports should be left out; they shouldn't bring so much about boxing; all of the sports section; the sports section could be left out altogether, those who want to read about that should by all means buy a real sports-paper; something about sports except horse racing; the articles about the soap-box races are too long; not so many articles about boxing in the sports section, they often take up more than one third of the sports section; etc.

Economic reports:

10

Economic things like stock lists needn't be in; the economic section could be smaller; for me the economic section is quite unnecessary; these steel affairs and such like, these things about political economy - they should bring less of it; industrial news about stock companies, trusts, etc.; they could, for instance, leave out the market reports; the commercial section could be smaller; etc.

Literary contributions, shorts stories, feuilleton-stories:

7

Of the feuilleton stories; in the feuilleton section the short stories, they are sometimes too abstract and eccentric and are a bit absurd in the eyes of Germans; the feuilleton on Sundays, the surrealistic stories could be left out, they are too stilted; not so many rather queer articles in the feuilleton, not all of the readers have had a college education; the cultural section should be abridged and the articles shouldn't be so eccentric; foreign short stories nobody can understand; etc.

Pin-up girls, pictures from films:

7

The pin-up girls on the Sunday picture supplement should be left out; no pictures from films on the First page (Sunday edition) that's fit only for pictorials; etc.

Reports on fine arts:

5

Not so much on the daubing of modern painters, not so many articles and pictures about the so-called "modern art"; not so much about modern art; they shouldn't bring these picture in Picasso-style; no surrealistic pictures; not so many scrawlings, these ultra-modern drawings I mean, they aren't natural, they are decadent; sometimes they show silly pictures in the feuilleton (modern paintings); pictures of abstract art; about arts, people like us aren't interested at all in things like that; etc.

Political reports, politics:

4

The political section could be left out; they shouldn't write any more that the Russians have never a touch of a democratic spirit; not so much about French policy, we know anyway how they feel about us; political features should be cut down and more light stuff brought in their place; I've got very little interest in politics; not so much about politics, you can get that over the radio; etc.

Novels:

4

No novel; the novel; the novels could be condensed; English and Americans novels could be left out, all the more so because mostly they describe life in the 17th and 18th century; the novel should be left out; etc.

Film-, theater-, music reviews:

3

All those film reviews; as for me, film reviews could be left out; long essays about films are unnecessary, a very short review would be sufficient; the theater reviews, it's sufficient to listen to Mr. Luft over the radio; Mr. F. Luft, he considers himself an infallible authority, he is presumptuous like a megalomaniac, and that's not fit for the NZ; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Science, research, technics:

I consider the articles about medical themes to be downright dangerous because they are often written in an amateurish and very superficial way; etc.

Local reports, "Berlin page", court reports:

The articles on the "Berlin page" are sometimes too long, I have the impression that the local news is deliberately stretched out; court reports such as "23 counterfeit 2-Mark coins in a roll"; etc.

Political articles and essays are too long:

Long and detailed articles about politics; fewer political things; not so many political essays, you can't read so much at one time, you just haven't got the time; etc.

Feuilleton, cultural section:

As for me there's no need to have a feuilleton section; the feuilleton takes too much space, it should be reduced and more pictures of topical subjects should be shown in that place; etc.

Propaganda and advertisements:

Ads could be left out and more instructive articles put in their place; all the big ads; ads; the many book advertisements, a small notice would be sufficient to give an idea, excerpts take up too much space; etc.

Political articles which are one-sided and contain too much propaganda:

These indoctrination articles about politics are also no good, they should be left out - we want a paper with an independent political attitude and not articles which drive things in with a sledge-hammer; there should be fewer series of political articles, I'm not much interested in them because lately they have been so one-sided; etc.

Many reports from or about the US or England (or other countries):

Less local news from the US, who, for instance, is interested in the "coronation" of President Eisenhower?; a little less of what America does to help Germany; articles that deal only with American or English internal problems could be cut down; etc.

Reports from the East Zone:

Reports about the East Zone because they are primitive, their tone is false and they are too detailed; of things about the East Zone; these reports about the East Zone, you can't stand that any longer, you try to get that out of your mind - I was interned in East-Prussia at that time (1945) for a whole year, I know exactly what it's like and I don't want to hear about it any more; etc.

Book reviews:

Book reviews, all these book reviews could be cut down; etc.

Fashion reports, women's problems:

As for me there was no need to bring anything about fashions but my wife won't agree to that; fashion reviews could be left out altogether; not so much about ladies' fashions; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

All contributions should be shorter:

All articles should be shorter so that the paper won't be so voluminous because I never find enough time to read the paper right through; etc.

English courses:

The English course; etc.

Youth section, Pitt, the youth reporter:

They shouldn't bring so much about that Pitt, that's all too far-fetched; etc.

Puzzles, games:

The cross-word puzzle; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

6  
117%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



RESTRICTED

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IV. WHAT CHANGES WOULD BERLIN SUBSCRIBERS MAKE  
IN THE NEUE ZEITUNG?

- 22 -

RESTRICTED

## R E S T R I C T E D

## MAJORITY OF SUBSCRIBERS HAVE NO SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF NEUE ZEITUNG ...

The extent of satisfaction with which readers appraise the NZ is suggested in the finding that more than two thirds (65%) have no suggestions to offer as to ways in which the paper could be improved.

No single suggestion for improvement of the paper stands out above others in the minds of Neue Zeitung readers. Most desires for change refer to recommendations about particular sections of the paper and not to policy. For example, one of the most frequent reader recommendations relates to the feuilleton section. However, scrutiny of the comments in this group indicates at once that criticisms of the feuilleton vary widely in theme. Suggestions for changes in the feuilleton appear to depend upon the readers' various tastes and not upon some agreed-upon discernible faults of the section.

Another set of suggestions refer to the novels published in the paper. Objections to the content of this section, too, range over a large number of specific dissatisfactions.

It should be noted in reading the comments below that there is a great variety of suggestions for improvement of the Neue Zeitung, but nothing specific can be pointed to as arousing general dissatisfaction among the paper's subscribers.

"What, in your opinion, could the NZ do better? In which fields? In which section?"

## IMPROVEMENT OF CONTENT:

(128)  
7%

The feuilleton section should be improved:

The literary section for light reading is rather stale and colorless, they should put some pep in it; I think the short stories aren't too cleverly written; they should select more intellectual contribution for the feuilleton section, the level should be higher, they shouldn't publish such ridiculous short stories; the literary section could be more varied, it consists mostly of translations of works written in English, they should give German authors a chance, too; I found that the syntax in some works was terrible, I had to read some phrases twice to understand the meaning, the style should be more lucid; they shouldn't use so many foreign words all the time; the German language is so rich that you can express yourself clearly concentrating on it; there shouldn't be so many difficult articles in the feuilleton section, you can understand some of them only when consulting an encyclopaedia; the feuilleton shouldn't be so modern; etc.

Criticisms of the novels published in the NZ:

7

The novels should be more carefully selected; better quality fiction, not always stories with a strong socialist tendency; they should publish more historical novels, more biographies of great men, such as Bismarck and Emperors Wilhelm I and II, then, too, it would be a good idea to bring reports about expeditions; they should publish a fine novel, they shouldn't publish American fiction only but also German novels; the NZ should select more outstanding authors, I don't want to waste my time on unknown authors; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

Criticisms of the picture material in the NZ:

They should publish topical pictures; they should bring some more pictures with brief and pointed captions; they should bring better pictures, on the front-page of the Sunday issue, they shouldn't publish so many pictures of girls with their legs showing all the way, I think that's superfluous, a paper like the NZ doesn't need to resort to such means; pictures shouldn't be published on the front-page should be reserved for news, pictures can be published somewhere inside; etc.

Criticisms of the ad section:

More ads, more job offers and applications should be published; they should bring more ads; they should try to get Berlin firms to place ads in the NZ and should make more propaganda for goods manufactured in Berlin; the ads could be arranged more tastefully, not in such a sober and primitive manner; etc.

More articles about political topics should be offered, articles should be more detailed:

They should bring more about the European movement, they should devote a special column for that regularly, they should write editorials about this theme; to political articles they should add more often a short description of the country in question; etc.

The women's section should be expanded:

They should offer more about fashions, things women are interested in; the women's section should be even larger and should be published more often; they should bring more articles teen-age girls are interested in, short stories about school life, serious ones as well as funny ones, they should give advice to those girls, too, it should be sort of a vocational guidance, individual occupations should be described; they should bring horoscopes, too; etc.

Local news from Berlin should be given more prominence:

The Berlin section should be given more space; local news from Berlin should be condensed and should be clearly arranged and published regularly in a fixed place; more attention should be paid to Berlin affairs, they should enlarge the Berlin section; even the West German edition of the NZ should contain a Berlin section; etc.

The letters-to-the-editor section should be expanded:

The forum of reader opinion could be expanded, the NZ should make suggestions regarding topical theme, they shouldn't wait for what individual will write them about that, in that way the contact between editors and readers will be intensified; they should see to it that letters to the editor don't contain so many contradictions, I'm thinking of the letter concerning the quarantine for cats and dogs, they should see to it, too, that no letters are published in which people describe the police as rowdies, I'm sure they know what their duty is; etc.

The sports section should be more detailed:

The sports section should be more detailed in the future; they should say something about the Turnerbund (gymnastic club), about its activities; if the sports section would be expanded so as to be as detailed as the other sections, the NZ would be 100 per cent all right; the preview of sports events should be more detailed; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

Criticisms of scientific and technical articles:

Scientific and technical articles should be more precise; they should offer more articles about technical matters; they should publish more reports and pictures of automobile exhibitions; etc.

The supplement for young people should be improved:

They should publish a special children's page in the Sunday issue; "Pitt", the reporter for young people, is sometimes somewhat primitive, therefore they should bring about youth organizations, so that parents know where to send their youngsters; etc.

Quizzes, puzzles, jokes:

They should bring more crossword puzzles; they should offer more political satires, I'm sorry to say that this is missing, the feature "Icke" is vulgar and uninspired; it isn't even funny; etc.

## CHANGES IN POLICY AND FORMAT.

The NZ should have a less pronounced pro-American tendency, it should conform more to the German mentality:

The NZ should show greater consideration to their German readers in regard to political matters, for instance, German affairs should be looked at from a German point of view rather than from an American point of view, if that would be done, the NZ would be ideal; it shouldn't have such a marked pro-American tendency, because of that many people refrain from reading the paper; the number of subscribers would be much greater if the paper would be edited more from a German point of view, as it is, the American outlook on things often prevails, I got this impression, too, through those strange headlines which make no sense to me, I take it that they are supposed to be something special, I guess there's a purpose in the way they present the headlines, they want to be different from other papers - usually I don't read such articles because the headlines are so strange, they sort of discourage me, and I'm sure the authors don't want that, they want people to read their articles, after all; etc.

The NZ should be as objective as it used to be, it should carry on less propaganda:

As to political matters, the NZ should be more objective once more, there should be a freer spirit, above all, it shouldn't try to hammer things into people; it should stand up for democracy as sincerely as it did in the past, the article about the Constitutional Court, the constitutional crisis and rights and tasks of an opposition party wasn't democracy; etc.

News should be more topical and more concise:

News should be condensed and should be more topical; all important news should be condensed into headlines so that people can learn in a jiffy about the most important developments, that's vital to people who have little time, that's all I have to say to that; the news we got in the morning is about events that happens up till noon time of the previous day, the headlines often aren't up to date, necessary changes should be made during the night; they should see to it that the news is more topical, that's all; many articles, especially articles written by the editors, are too long-winded, those of Peter de Mendelsohn, too; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



## R E S T R I C T E D

Reports about the East Zone should be more exact and clearer, more aggressive towards the East:

1%

The East Zone reports are too primitive, they don't go to the root of the matter, they should be careful not to publish any false reports, such as payment of wages to West Berliners made by the East, and the news about border railway stations often are exaggerated, some things weren't true; the attitude they show towards the East; etc.

East-West problems shouldn't be given such exaggerated prominence: Political matters, they shouldn't stress East-West problems so much; etc.

1

OTHER COMMENTS: ..

Criticisms of the critics on the NZ staff:②

2

They should have another critic besides Mr. Luft, Mr. Luft sometimes criticizes things too sharply; they should replace Mr. Grohmann, I don't consider him to be a capable journalist; they should get rid of Mr. Luft, he is too conceited; the film critics should sign their full names to reviews; reviews often are published at rather a late date, above all critiques of concerts; etc.

Topical themes (in general):

1

More about school matters and the school reform, it would be a good thing to inform readers more thoroughly about these matters, the NZ people should hit on topical themes themselves, they shouldn't wait until readers write to them and make suggestions; etc.

Other criticisms:

2

They should publish daily previews for radio dramas and other important radio programs; they should print notices about lectures and other events, they should announce, for instance, when there is a lecture held by Hans Hass; the NZ should report more about everyday life in the States, about the way of life, what people eat, if there still are artisan's trades over there, and so forth; etc.

No suggestion as to what could be done better:

$\frac{65}{112\%}$ \*\*

No. of cases = (128)

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.
- \*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.
- ② Later in the report it will be noted that the NZ staff is praised by some people in recommending the paper to others.

R E S T R I C T E D

## WHAT MIGHT THE NEUE ZEITUNG OFFER MORE OF? ...

When asked what the Neue Zeitung should offer more of, a score of different kinds of answers was given. These ranged from a desire for more political news through more entertainment notices and descriptions of foreign countries to such specific interests as enlarging the "Letters to the Editor" section. The three most-often mentioned preferences are for more articles about technics, science and research, more travel reports and an expansion of the Berlin local coverage. However, comments are scattered and no one or two single desires are clearly expressed by current subscribers.

The largest group answering the question ignore the opportunity to make suggestions by saying that the NZ is all right as it now is.

"According to your preference, what should the NZ offer more of?"

The paper is satisfactory:

34%

I couldn't say, it's extensive enough; the content of the paper is well-balanced, therefore I can't say anything - I'm satisfied; I don't know what could be improved, I really couldn't tell, I'm satisfied with the NZ; it offers enough of everything, I don't know what it could offer more of; it's sufficient, it's good enough for me; what should it offer more of without getting other sections the worse for it; I think it should remain as it is; etc.

More about technics, science and research, architecture:

12

Reports on technics, especially about modern physics; more articles about technics and they should be more comprehensible; more in the way of technics, now technical devices, I'm always looking forward to the supplement "Research and Science" that could be a little more extensive as far as I'm concerned; they should offer more articles of a scientific character; more articles about scientific subjects, about all fields of science; more about ship-building and navigation - a list of ships built in Germany after the war; articles about all fields of medicine; I would like more instructive material about natural sciences and technics; during the week they could offer more of my hobby, philosophy, more articles about Schweitzer and Einstein and the modern philosophers; etc.

More reports on travels and expeditions, descriptions of foreign countries and places:

12

Travel reports, reports of expeditions; about foreign countries, life in other countries, how people live, for instance, in Israel, or it may also be France or Spain, their economy, their problems; reports from abroad, I mean articles about foreign countries, their people, their habits and customs, especially with a view to sociology; about health resorts in Germany; something of my home-country the Sudeten country, what it is like over there now and under the Czechs; more descriptions of landscapes; about expeditions; more travel reports; about USA, country and people like the VOA gives its reports; more reports from all over the world, for instance, about Hans Hass, deep-sea diving; suggestions for the coming travel season with short descriptions of the places; the travel section could be enlarged, especially now in the travel season, for instance, you won't find anything about Switzerland; travel, reports of travels through foreign countries; more travel reports, general information about other countries; more travel reports; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

More about Berlin events:

10%

More of the "Berlin page"; I don't know whether the "Berlin page" is detailed enough, the "Abend" offers more of Berlin events - the NZ should also publish more of the happenings in Berlin; the Berlin page should be enlarged - after all we all are Berliners - there shouldn't be gossip but full and detailed reports on Berlin events; more reports about what happens in Berlin and local news; still more reports about life in Berlin, the way the individual lives, everything that is connected with our life here; the Berlin local section should be separated from other news; etc.

More about business and industry and trade unions:

7

To enlarge the economic section; more of the economic section, more business reports, take the economic section of the "Tagesspiegel" as a model; the Berlin economic section should offer more about the situation of Berlin industry; they should offer more trade union information; as for me the economic section could be more extensive and offer more about banking and the stock exchange; about the Berlin economy; about the European movement with regard to economic problems; etc.

More about sports:

7

More about sports; more about soccer, I miss the list of games; more articles about mountaineering and alpine sports; more about soccer and softball and other ball games; there should be longer reports about games between the national teams; they don't give much room to sports, particularly not to rowing; much more news about horse racing; more all-round reports, not so much about soccer and boxing but a little more of rowing, sailing and other sports; the news about boxing could be more detailed; articles on tennis; sports; more detailed reports about the Berlin soccer games; etc.

More of subjects which are interesting to women:

7

More of things which are interesting to women; more fashion articles and drawing, also during the week; detailed fashion reports, what's worn, the latest spring-summer and autumn fashions and where you can buy these things; more women's problems, a series of articles about the life of well-known women who have distinguished themselves in the field of social work, more about Berlin personalities and the leading ladies in Berlin women's organizations and their attitude toward political questions of topical interest, not only about Luise Schroeder but also about the other female members of the Senate; the supplement "Fuor die Frau" (Women's page) could be added also during the week; for women, modern recipes, practical advice, technical household devices; etc.

More advertisements, movie and theater announcements, radio programs:

7

Of the offerings, I mean small ads offering apartments, jobs, etc.; more small ads; it would be desirable if there would be more ads, for instance, sales and offers for jobs and about money-lending; more family news, such as wedding or death announcements, since I live in Berlin for such a long time I'm interested in that kind of things; more so that you don't have to buy another paper in addition if you are looking for something, for instance, for my daughter; more propaganda for Berlin firms; the ads section should be more extensive, I miss theater and opera announcements, they should be made in the same way as the movie announcements; the radio program should be published daily and not only once a week; the daily theater program; more small ads; more ads, there are only very few offers and demands among the small ads; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

More literary contributions, short stories, novelettes, etc.:

The should publish more good essays and short stories; now and then some novelettes instead of the long novels; good short stories; short stories but with sense - there must be a beginning and an end to them - short funny news and stories similar to those published in "das Beste" (the best of Reader's digest); perhaps short stories, sometimes funny and sometimes sad to suit every taste, people are not always in the same mood; the contributions in the feuilleton could be of a higher standard and have a meaning; etc.

More political news and reports:

It should offer more political reports, some interesting event which you would find in the "Tagesspiegel" or "Kurier" are not in the NZ; political news in the way as the big Swiss papers, for the "Neue Zuericher Zeitung" offers them, if possible by different agencies; reports from parliament in news style; international reports, sociologic problems; reports from newspapers all over the world, I mean more notices taken over from foreign papers; some more news about parents' attitudes toward the school reform; etc.

More and better editorials and comments:

Then I miss an editorial which deals with the topical events in a concentrated form; since Wallenberg has gone there is no longer a writer of editorials of repute, you get the feeling as if the NZ was waiting for directions from Washington, they obviously lack a superior personality in the editorial staff, the news is not tinged but it's incomplete - there should be more and more specialized information about the internal political situation of the Federal Republic - the NZ has a timid attitude toward the State Department, every time some American interests are at stake you feel that they cease to be objective in their opinion, personally I don't think that is really so bad but what I want is to be well and concisely informed; I miss a really good editorial such as Roger published in the "Tagesspiegel" and it should be on the front-page, too; contributions of world-wide views in the same style as the "Times" and the former "Vossische Zeitung", big articles about world events from the historic point of view; similar articles to the one in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine" on 21 March 1953 "Adenauer won the round" (Die Runde ging an Adenauer) or "Voices of the Others" (Stimmen der Anderen); etc.

More good novels:

More novels belonging to the universal literature, the NZ should select their novels more carefully, they should have a higher standard; they should bring a fine novel; more of things like the latest Hemingway and other books of literary value in a few but long serials; novels such as Hemingway's "The Old Man and the Sea"; etc.

More contributions by German writers - not only by foreigners:

More German authors; novels by German authors - more about German authors and more by German authors; they should publish good German novels; complete short stories, better novels, it's not necessary that they are always written by foreign authors, they could be written by German authors for a change; they should publish more short stories and novelettes and by German authors, not only by foreigners; novelettes and essays by German writers; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D



R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from precoding page)

Berlin local politics:

Political happenings in Berlin, counter measures against the chicanery from the East; a column "Where the Shoe Pinches"; articles of political importance about happenings in Berlin should be printed under the heading "Berlin Local News in a Capsule" much in the same way as the "Welt" which started this make-up a year ago; perhaps the reports from the Berlin Senate should be published more often and in a more impressive manner; more reports and news about Berlin and its local life, shortcomings in the administration should be criticized; more about the sessions of the Berlin Senate and in a more concentrated form; more about the bills which are discussed in the Senate - reporters should approach the members of the Senate and inform themselves about the bills so that the public will learn the content of really incisive laws and measures - the reports of the sessions should be more extensive and easier to comprehend to get better relations between the people and the Senate; more political affairs of Berlin, more about the parties, their attitude toward the problems of Berlin so that you learn which of them takes the right view; etc.

37

More about the East Zone and the East:

They might safely offer more about the East Zone, many people still can't imagine what things are really like; they should offer more about Russia and the Eastern problems, they offer more information about the East; etc.

2

More articles and reviews about film, theater, music and art:

Good articles about music, for instance, about real jazz, more reviews of our bad films; etc.

2

More letters to the editor:

The section "Letters to the Editor" could be enlarged, its somewhat poor; it doesn't show the general opinion of the readers; of letters to the editor; they also should publish more letters by Berlin readers; etc.

2

The feuilletton should be enlarged:

The feuilletton should be still more enlarged, for instance, they should publish a series of articles about the Eskimos as in the "Morgenpost"; Hans Kasper might appear more frequently - some witty political remarks in that line; etc.

2

More puzzles, games and jokes:

The puzzle section could be enlarged, one more charade could be added; more small puzzles, quizzes; more chess problems; etc.

2

More pictures should be offered:

A picture supplement on Sundays; pictures of topical interest, sports pictures, as for pictures of topical interest I might add that the pictures in connection with Stalin's death were somewhat poor - I missed pictures of the new leaders of Russia; more pictures of really great artists; more fashion pictures on Sundays, the "Tagesspiegel" offers more of them; pictures from foreign countries and landscapes; etc.

2

Other suggestions:

More short articles, the long articles you don't even start to read, because you haven't got the time for them; about Germany, seen from the German and not from the American point of view (I am thinking of the Ruhr and Saar problems); they should publish more about history so that the common people get to learn the historical connections and get an idea of history - that we shouldn't repeat such a mistake as was made in 1933; etc.

5

No opinion/No answer:

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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V. NEUE ZEITUNG READERS PASS THE WORD ALONG -  
THEY RECOMMEND THE PAPER TO OTHERS

- 31 -

RESTRICTED

# TWO-THIRDS OF SUBSCRIBERS HAVE CALLED ATTENTION OF OTHERS TO THE NEUE ZEITUNG ...

A majority of NZ subscribers indicate their favor of the NZ by talking about it to others. Various characteristics of the NZ's policy, coverage and treatment of news have motivated two-thirds (66%) of its subscribers to mention them to other people. Two things have been pointed out most often by NZ readers - the objectivity and reliability of what is printed by the NZ, and the calibre of its feuilleton section. Aside from the feuilleton, no one kind of articles or news has been recommended more often than others by the NZ's subscribers.

Fewer than 3 in 100 subscribers have called the attention of others to something about the newspaper which is negative.

"Did you ever point out something about the NZ to other people? What did you point out, can you give me an example?"

## POLICY AND EDITORIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEUE ZEITUNG:

(335)

The NZ is more objective, impartial, more reliable, more truthful: 19%  
The NZ is very detached, it's the most objective newspaper there is in all Berlin; I stressed its objectivity, we don't like unfair criticism, the NZ is high-minded, tolerant, it respects other people's point of view; I pointed out that the NZ doesn't carry cheap sensations like the "Telegraf" does, for instance, it's more objective, too; I always tell people that I consider the NZ to be a positive and earnest newspaper, that it's not a boulevard paper, that it doesn't publish any item unless its authenticity is proven; I stressed that you can accept the news the NZ prints as true, they never disseminate any incorrect information; that shortly after the war when everybody kept denouncing us Germans, the NZ showed a very reserved attitude, while the "Tagesspiegel" joined in the chorus against us; that it's unprejudiced and moderate, especially in political matters; etc.

The NZ is more comprehensive, more varied and more voluminous: 7  
Its comprehensiveness, that it reports in detail about the development in all fields; that the political section is very detailed, I told my friends and acquaintances that especially the presidential election in the States, the EDC-treaty, the events in Moscow, the new Russian government and Stalin's death were discussed in detail; I stressed that many Berlin correspondents are on the staff of the NZ; the news service is very comprehensive; I pointed out what's necessary to know in the political sector; I mentioned that among other things the NZ publishes detailed reports on the Bundestag sessions in Bonn, it's thorough, it quotes the speakers, thus you can keep tab on what's going on, if only a survey is given this may easily be subjective, I pointed out, too; that the NZ gave a very detailed report on Mr. Ruter's trip; that topical subjects are dealt with so thoroughly, what did you find in the "Telegraf" about the Bundestag debate, for instance? - what was published there was pretty poor compared to the papers to be well informed; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

The NZ has a high level and a fine style:

I pointed out that the intellectual standards of the NZ are high, that its tone is always reserved; my friends read the "Morgenpost" I told them that only spiritually poorly endowed people read this paper, that they should read the NZ which has a higher level; I stressed that the intellectual level of the NZ is high, in every field, to be sure; I said that it meets all requirements of a high-class paper, that is, good style, no narrow-minded views; I pointed out that you are kept well informed of developments in the political field when you read the articles in the NZ, they really have a high level; generally, the high standards of that newspaper, its style; etc.

The NZ's news service is faster, more topical, better informed:

I pointed to the NZ's fast and accurate reporting; that the political news is very up-to-date, some items are published at an earlier date by the NZ than by other papers, I'm thinking of local news; I consider the NZ to be one of the best informed papers; I pointed out political articles which inform people about what's going on in the world shortly after any event takes place; etc.

The NZ publishes more information from abroad (shows cosmopolitan point of view):

That you can read a lot about developments abroad, you don't find so much information in other papers; its world-wide character, I told my friends that it's a good thing to see German affairs in relation to developments throughout the world, what's worth knowing is published by the NZ; the excellent political section, the outstanding report about world developments, you get informed about every field, your outlook is immeasurably widened; etc.

The NZ pays careful attention to developments in the East - it takes a definite stand in regard to the East:

I pointed out various reports to friends of mine, very instructive reports from the East Zone which help you form an opinion on how things stand over there; I showed the report about that ill-starred building project in the Stalin-Allee to my relatives who live in the East; I stressed that the NZ shows a definite attitude toward the East; etc.

The style of the NZ is easily comprehensible and lively:

Its tone is more intimate, it isn't so conservative; the articles aren't so high-sounding and scientific as those published in the "Tagesspiegel"; I told my brother-in-law who is a reader of the "Tagesspiegel" that that paper is too esoteric, too highly political while the NZ is more intimate in character, that's why it's more in my line, it means less effort for me to read it; I said that I like it better than the "Tagesspiegel", the NZ isn't so conservative, it's more flexible; etc.

The make-up of the NZ is better, it prints more pictures:

The type of the NZ is more pleasant to the eye than that of the "Tagesspiegel", for instance; I pointed this out to some people I know, I also said that the whole make-up of the newspaper is good; I stressed that the make-up of the NZ is superior to that of other papers, I'm thinking of the way the pages are arranged; I pointed to the ample picture material published in the Sunday issue; etc.

The political line the NZ takes is appreciated:

We sympathize with the political line of the NZ as it embodies the ideal of democracy most clearly; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

## CONTENT OF THE NEUE ZEITUNG:

The cultural section of the NZ is good (Feuilleton, reviews novels, literature):

19%

The feuilleton is better; the feuilleton, film and theater reviews; its belles lettres section is superior to that of other papers; art critiques and theater reviews; the stories in the feuilleton section, the reviews of Friedrich Luft are rather destructive, but that's good, especially as far as German films are concerned; in no other newspaper is the feuilleton so excellent as in the NZ; I pointed out that the literary contributions are of a very high level; I mentioned the feuilleton, you get well acquainted with contemporary authors, with literature, you are introduced to today's trends in the field of literature; to the literary editorials by outstanding journalists; the reviews of new books; yes, I told my daughter that there are a lot of interesting things in the NZ, and that the novels are always very fine; etc.

Political commentaries and editorials published in the NZ are good:  
I pointed to the political editorials, the commentaries on foreign policy, everybody can learn from them; quite often I agreed with the views expressed in commentaries on current issues and advocated them when meeting friends and acquaintances; etc.

3

The NZ brings excellent articles on scientific subjects (sciences research, techniques):

3

The scientific articles of the NZ; a series of articles on atomic research was very interesting as well as instructive, articles about cancer research, too, you won't find such detailed articles in any other paper; I often discuss with some people I know the relativity theory that's sometimes mentioned in the NZ; in regard to scientific contributions, it's superior to any other paper; etc.

The commercial section of the NZ is good:

2

Articles on economic policies; after having read the commercial section of the NZ, I passed on some information I had found there to friends and acquaintances; etc.

The local news section of the NZ is good:

1

The local news section; I told some friends that the page with Berlin news is very comprehensive and clearly arranged; yes, I said that the NZ brings a lot about developments in Berlin; etc.

Generally positive commentaries:

9

I can't cite an example, I just recommended the NZ as it is to friends of mine; once I discussed the NZ with friends of mine, I told them that I'm very satisfied with this paper, I told a friend of mine who was about to cancel his subscription that the right thing for him would be to take some backwoods paper if he didn't like the NZ; yes, I said to some colleagues of mine that the NZ is one of our best newspapers; formerly I subscribed to the "Tagesspiegel", but I didn't like it and that's why I changed over to the NZ, some of my friends have followed my example and are subscribing to the NZ now, too, I had given some copies of the NZ to them so they could form an opinion of it and afterwards they subscribed to it; etc.

The staff of the NZ is outstanding:

2

The way some staff members of the NZ write is very much in my line, I'm thinking of Herr Grasser, Herr Stuckenschmidt, and Herr Polgar; Herr Luft and Herr Grohmann make up an efficient team; the reporting of individual journalists, foreigners included, is very objective; yes, of course, I always point out the articles by Herr Zivior; articles by Herr Salter; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

The NZ isn't too expensive:

On the whole, this paper isn't too expensive; considering what's offered, the price is low; etc.

14

Negative Commentaries:

The NZ is too pronouncedly pro-American:

Yes, I said the same I'm now telling you, partly I criticized the NZ, partly I recommended it, I griped about the pro-American attitude; what I criticized was that it's one-sided as far as politics are concerned, just as some other papers, it's pro-American in its views; etc.

1

Other negative commentaries:

I criticized those scribblings that are meant to be drawings, those drawings by Frau Luft, she doesn't know anything about perspective; I told my daughter that I didn't like those art pictures, that I consider these pictures to be abnormal, looking at them always make me quite mad; I didn't like that the novel "My Cousin Rachel" was condensed in such a way that it was more or less ruined; I said it was a pity that they carried so few ads of business firms; I criticized about it that its democratic attitude wasn't so evident in its articles any more; the news isn't detailed and topical enough; etc.

1

Haven't pointed out anything to others:

32

No opinion/No answer:

2  
125%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

TWO-THIRDS OF SUBSCRIBERS HAVE RECOMMENDED THAT OTHERS READ THE NEUE ZEITUNG ...

Further indication of favorable reactions to the NZ is the fact that two-thirds of NZ subscribers have recommended the NZ to other people.

"Have you ever recommended to other people that they read the NZ?"

Yes	67%
No	33%
	100%

Most of those who had not recommended that others read the paper said that they "hadn't had the time...or opportunity" to do so, or they believe that it is presumptuous to tell others what newspaper they should or should not read. Two smaller groups said either that it simply had not occurred to them to recommend the NZ, or that their friends and relatives already read it.

"Why not? Did you have a special reason for that?"  
(Asked of those respondents who answered "No" to initial question.)

(109)

Haven't had the opportunity (for lack of time or of contact with other people):

35%

For want of time; it's only that I didn't have the opportunity; I didn't have any reasons against the NZ, it just didn't happen; I don't talk to many people; because I don't often come in contact with people; I don't have much contact with other people; etc.

I refuse to recommend a newspaper - everybody has to decide for himself which newspaper he wants to read:

27

That's a matter of taste - everybody should read what he likes; I don't do that, I've made it a point not to do this, I won't recommend a newspaper to anybody; that's no use, people will only read the newspapers they like; because everybody has his newspaper and won't allow himself to be influenced; because all my acquaintances have a sufficiently independent mind to decide for themselves on this matter; because they might read newspapers which they like; I always mentioned that I read the NZ, why should I recommend it? I've no order to do so; that's not in my line, people should read what they like; nowadays everyone reads what he likes best, I won't make propaganda, that's a principle; I'm a taciturn sort of person, whether I feel happy or irritated, I won't let other people know; etc.

It didn't occur to me to recommend the NZ:

17

It never occurred to me to recommend it; it just didn't occur to me to recommend it - I don't have any reason; I didn't have any special reasons; etc.

Friends and relatives read the NZ already:

16

I haven't had the opportunity or, better, I had no motive for it because those people with whom I talked about the NZ are already reading it; they all read this paper; the people we know and with whom we talk about such subjects read the NZ themselves; my colleagues read it already; my relatives read only the NZ; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Friends and relatives read another paper (which they like): . . . 10%  
My colleagues are already provided with newspapers; all my acquaintances have newspapers; all my acquaintances read the "Tagesspiegel"; etc.

Because the NZ is too expensive: 3  
Our friends are rather poor, they can hardly afford to buy a daily newspaper now and then; etc.

Because the NZ is an American newspaper: 2  
Because it's too much like an American newspaper, if you have read a German newspaper for a long time it would appear strange to you, the articles, as far as arrangement and style are concerned are so different from other dailies; etc.

Other answers: 1  
I never noticed anything so outstanding in it that would have led me to recommend it; etc.

No opinion/No answer: 1  
112%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



RESTRICTED

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VI. A WEEKLY NEUE ZEITUNG ---  
WHAT DO BERLIN DAILY SUBSCRIBERS  
SAY ABOUT THE IDEA?

- 38 -

RESTRICTED

## R E S T R I C T E D

THE IDEA OF A WEEKLY NEUE ZEITUNG GREETED UNFAVORABLY BY MOST PRESENT READERS ...

Receptivity to the idea of a weekly edition of the NZ is low among people who now subscribe to it daily. A series of questions was put to them which invited their open response to having the NEUE ZEITUNG published once a week similar in format and content to the present Sunday issue. Told of such a possibility they were then asked, "What would you say to that?" Virtually all (94%) reactions were negative. Most subscribers then went on to explain their disapproval of the idea.

"If the NZ would be issued once a week only, made up as a weekly similar to the present Sunday issue, what would you say to that?" (Asked of all subscribing to the daily edition.)

	(279)
I would welcome this change	2%
I would continue to subscribe to the NZ	4
I would regret this change, I would think it a pity	26
I wouldn't like the idea, I would turn thumbs down on such a change, I wouldn't agree to it	49
I would discontinue the subscription	19
	100%

As may be seen below in subscribers' explanations, two thirds (66%) volunteered that because they want daily news from the NZ, a weekly edition would be unsatisfactory.

The NZ wouldn't be so up-to-date any more (daily information demanded):

I like to hear new and topical things every day, even if it's presented in brief form; I want to be informed about what's going on in the world; I wouldn't like it if such a change was made as I want to get information daily; the NZ wouldn't be so up-to-date any more; I want to be informed day by day; that you hear news every day, right after a thing has happened, that's what is stimulating; the NZ wouldn't be so topical any more; it's bad enough that there is no Monday issue, if there would be only a Sunday issue, all news would reach people too late; I'm used to reading my paper every morning; I would feel I'd get bad service; for I need a daily; I want to have my paper every day; then I would have to go without a daily, you want to read your paper day by day, such a change is out of the question as far as I am concerned; I want to read a daily; I need my paper in the morning and day by day; etc.

I would subscribe to some other newspaper:

In that case I would read some other newspaper, people want their paper at breakfast time, I would be very sorry if it came to that, for I appreciate the NZ; then I would take some other newspaper in addition, I think it's not enough to read a paper once a week, even if I may skip the political section quite often, I do want to have a look at it now and then; in that case I would subscribe to the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung"; I would have to subscribe to some other daily; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

The NZ would be too voluminous, people wouldn't manage to read it thoroughly any more:

7%

I would regret such a change, you would never finish reading it; no, it would be too much for reading it at a time, as it is, the daily portion you have to digest now is quite enough; for me the paper would be too crammed then, when you tackle such a weekly, you'll never get through with it; you won't get through with it in a day, and after a day or so many things are no longer topical; etc.

There is no (I can't think of any) other newspaper of an equally high level which could replace the NZ:

5

I would be at a loss to find a paper which could take the place of the NZ, there is no other good newspaper in Berlin; I appreciate the NZ, there are other dailies, of course, but none of them can compare with the NZ; in that case I might subscribe to another newspaper and this would perhaps provide a type of information which isn't in my line, it might not have such high standards and might judge things from a party political point of view; there is no newspaper of equal value to serve as a substitute; I really can't think of any Berlin paper similar in its kind which could replace the NZ, which has such a high level, above all as a daily; etc.

The NZ would lose its present character, it couldn't accomplish its task any longer:

5

I believe the NZ wouldn't be up to its task any longer; if the NZ would be turned into a weekly, its character would be changed completely, I think many people would discontinue their subscription in that case; it would no longer be a daily, and it's obvious that it couldn't reach the intellectual level of an outstanding monthly, either; then its articles wouldn't be detailed enough any longer, it would be just as superficial as the other weeklies, as a weekly the NZ can't possibly offer as much as it does in its present form as a daily newspaper; it would be done at the expense of the good reputation the NZ enjoys; etc.

I would turn to some other source of information:

1

In that case I would listen to the news over the radio; etc.

Other commentaries:

3

I expected things to turn out that way, in that case there unfortunately would be one more weekly, there are already too many of them as it is; for financial reasons; in that case a brief survey on the week's news would have to be given, political developments should be presented in more detailed articles; but only if there would be a page offering news in condensed form; I guess in that case the feuilleton section would be even more comprehensive and better; during the week I often don't get around to reading it, anyway; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

 $\frac{12}{113\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

05244

OVER HALF SAY THEY WOULD NOT SUBSCRIBE TO WEEKLY ...

To clarify the question of whether or not the people would continue their subscription, all who now take the daily NZ were asked: "Would you then continue to subscribe?" This question was necessary because a great number of answers to the open question only implied the likelihood of continued subscription.

"Would you then continue to subscribe to the NZ or not?"

Continue subscription	(279)
Not continue subscription	34%
Q.A. ...	55
No opinion	8
	3
	100%

By asking people for a specific answer — either "Yes" or "No" — to the probability of their subscribing to a weekly edition a larger proportion of affirmation answers were found than might be inferred from the first open replies. But nevertheless a majority of 55 per cent state explicitly that they would not go along with a change-over to a weekly paper.

Further demonstration that the NZ is an important daily source of information to its readers is the finding that daily dependence upon the newspaper is the single most-often given reason by those who say they would not have a weekly subscription. The importance of other reasons is limited when compared with the fact that 73% of those answering the question said they must have their newspaper daily. Another 21% specify this same factor in other words, namely, that the "Neue Zeitung" would no longer be timely.

"Why wouldn't you continue to subscribe to the NZ then?"

(155)

One wants to get daily information and that can only be given by a daily newspaper:

73%

Because I want a daily paper and not a weekly one, I want to be informed about all the daily events; in our time when things move so fast you have to have daily information and that won't be the case with a weekly paper; I want to get daily information, all the more so as I am a businesswoman and don't even find time to listen to the radio-news; then I would look for another newspaper because I want daily information on all that happens; because I want to read daily what's going on in the world; because I want to have my newspaper every day to be well informed about everything; because I want to get daily reports; because then it won't give me the daily new any more; because that's not enough, they couldn't possibly bring all the news of the week in a Sunday paper, too much would have to be left out; I want to have a newspaper every day; I won't get sufficient information from a weekly paper; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D



(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because then the NZ would no longer be timely, the news would be out of date (general):

21%

I could not read until Sunday what has happened at the beginning of the week, that's nonsense; the things that will be in the weekly edition I would have read already in the "Telegraf" or "Tagesspiegel" and they would have lost all interest for me; I think that's impracticable, what's the use if I get the news eight days later; I don't want to read, after days, a compilation of news I've already heard about or read of in other papers; because then the news would be outdated; in such a paper many things would be outdated; that won't be sufficiently up to date for me; because the news would be much too late; because the events are then no longer topical; etc.

Besides of the NZ weekly edition one would then have to subscribe to a daily paper, therefore it's too expensive:

9

Because I can't afford a daily paper in addition to a weekly and I have to have a daily; I would have to buy a daily newspaper and that would be too expensive, but I must have a daily paper; because then I would have to subscribe to another daily paper and two papers are too expensive for me; I won't be able to afford it as I would have to subscribe to another daily paper; because then I won't have a daily paper and I can hardly afford one as it is; you can't afford to subscribe to two papers; etc.

The NZ would then be too voluminous and one could no longer read it from cover to cover:

8

You can't read so much at a time, it's far better to read the news in portions, so to speak; that would be too much news at the same time, I wouldn't be able to digest it; if you have to read so much at the same time you don't remember so well; because then it's no longer a daily but a periodical with innumerable pages; I would then be interested in the literary section only and that would be much too much to get through; because you wouldn't have the time to read all that; it would be too much for me to read all that at a time; I can't read such a voluminous paper all at one time; moreover, I would possibly have to get up at 5 o'clock in the morning to open the door to the news-boy because the paper would be too big to be pushed through the slot of the letter-box; etc.

The informational value would diminish (general):

4

Because that won't be enough information for me; because I want a newspaper not so much for entertainment but for quick information; etc.

Other reasons:

5

No opinion / No answer:

120%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## R E S T R I C T E D

## Appendix

TABLE I

"Do you read the "Neue Zeitung" every day or only sometimes? (Do you get around to reading the NZ every day?)"

Every day	81%
Sometimes	5
Sundays only	14
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE II

"Which daily papers do you read?" (Asked of all NZ subscribers.)

<u>Paper read in addition to NZ:</u>	<u>% of Readers</u>
Der Tagesspiegel	18%
Der Kurier (CDU)	12
Der Telegraf (SPD)	10
Der Abend	9
Berliner Morgenpost	6
Der Tag (CDU)	3
Die Welt	3
Bildzeitung (Bild) (West German)	2
Other West German newspapers such as Frankfurter Allgemeine, Rheinischer Merkur, Abendpost, Deutsche Zeitung	2
East Berlin or East Zone newspapers: Tägliche Rundschau, Berliner Zeitung, Nachtextpress, Berliner Abend	2
Spandauer Volksblatt (SPD)	1
Montagsecho (FDP)	1
Berliner Stimme (SPD)	1
American newspapers such as Christian Science Monitor, New York Herald Tribune, New York Times, Stars and Stripes	1
Nachtdespeche (SPD)	*
Frankfurter Nachtausgabe (West German)	*
Other newspapers	-

TABLE III

"Why would you prefer the NZ?"

	<u>No. of Men giving each answer</u>	<u>No. of Women giving each answer</u>
Because it is objective, impartial and reliable	(27)	(9)
Because it's of a higher standard and is superior in style	(18)	(9)
Because it's more extensive and more varied	(17)	(10)
Because it's better informed and more up-to-date	(13)	(9)
The cultural section is better	(8)	(9)
The economic section is more extensive	(6)	(3)
The local section is better	(4)	(1)
The make-up of the NZ is better	(3)	(1)
Feuilleton is interesting	(1)	(1)
Pitt the youth-reporter is interesting	(1)	(1)
The women's page is interesting, fashions, women's problems	-	(1)
Other reasons	(3)	(1)
No opinion / No answer	(9)	(7)
	<u>(110)</u>	<u>(62)</u>
	(67)**	(41)**

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Above figures add to more than total because some people gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

Appendix .

## TABLE IV

List of Comments

(and if you could read only one newspaper, which one would you prefer then?)

"Why would you prefer the .....?"

....."Morgenpost"

It is easier to understand for working class people than other papers, it presents things in a brief form not so detailed as the "Neue Zeitung," the head-lines make reading easy; the "Morgenpost" pays special attention to the Neukoelln district, and that is very useful for me for professional reasons; because it carries a special page that deals with Neukoelln matters so that I can inform myself about what is going on in Neukoelln, furthermore it carries much more ads than other papers - another paper that suits me is the "Neue Zeitung."

.... "Der Tag"

Because it is a paper particularly concerned with Berlin affairs; for purely national reasons: so that the profits the paper makes go to the German economy.

.... "Der Tagesspiegel"

Because its editorials deal with fundamental issues, and because these articles are printed on the first page - the "Tagesspiegel" carries a special column with advice for home and garden ("Haus, Hof und Garten"), the novels they offer are of a higher standard, too, it carries more good photos on topical subjects; I especially like the extracts from foreign papers, above all those from Swiss papers, in my opinion the Swiss papers offer the best and most authentic information, I consider these articles under the heading "Die Meinung der Welt" (Opinion of the World) to be very valuable, they are very detailed and straightforward; it carries good editorials that express solid ethical and political views while the attitude of the NZ is just neutral; because it carries more local news, the NZ goes deeper into politics, that is difficult to understand for a woman, furthermore, it offers very nice novels while the novels in the NZ usually are depressing stories from America and things like that; because in the belletristic field it carries more interesting things than the NZ, its novels are better, i.g. "Desirée" or the current one "Zwillinge am Doenhoffplatz" which is of special interest to me as an old Berliner; because it carries more ads, furthermore, it offers a comprehensive commercial section that interests me; because I'm subscribed to the "Tagesspiegel," it is the most neutral newspaper of all; firstly because I have been a subscriber to the "Tagesspiegel" for a long time, and secondly because I think that it carries more information for the dependents of war victims than the NZ does.

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

Appendix

..... "Der Kurier"

Because I'm used to the "Kurier," I know where to find the individual sections, I read it rather often because I get it gratuitously; its political standpoint and the way it is arranged suit me; because it carries the most important things in a brief form, that's useful there is no time for leisurely reading, furthermore, I got the impression that the "Kurier" isn't so strongly influenced by the occupation powers than the other Berlin papers are.

..... "Der Abend"

Of all daily newspapers "Der Abend" carries the most detailed reports on sports and sportive events which I'm interested in for professional reasons; because it's cheap, I haven't got a job and must be careful spending my money; because of its brief and clear-cut news and its make-up that's done in the way of boulevard papers; because "Der Abend" offers the best novels and pleasant short stories.

.... "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung"

I have to study the comprehensive commercial section of this paper as I'm in the banking business; because it deals thoroughly with current economic problems, unfortunately I can't afford to subscribe to this paper; I get better informed about West German matters through the FAZ than through the NZ, the NZ offers good articles about the American and European situation but the FAZ offers better reports on German internal affairs.

.... "Telegraf"

It is easier to comprehend than other papers, it doesn't require such a broad knowledge as the NZ; I'm subscribed to the "Telegraf" out of business considerations; for political reasons, I'm a member of the SPD; because its stand comes near to that of my party.

.... "Berliner Stille"

My husband would most likely prefer this paper because he is a member of the party that backs this paper.

.... "Die Welt"

Because I'm used to it, it's my line.

..... "Deutsche Zeitung"

It is a thoroughly German paper of a high standard judging things dispassionately.

R E S T R I C T E D



## R E S T R I C T E D

TABLE V

"Can you tell me for what reasons you read the "Neue Zeitung?"

	Men (119)	Women (108)
<u>Because it is objective, independent and reliable in its reporting:</u>	37%	30%
I used to read the "Telegraf" but it is mixing too much in politics, I prefer neutral newspapers so that I can form a judgment of my own; because its political commentaries are objective, you realize that no political party stands behind it; we subscribed to the NZ three years ago because it seemed to be the sole paper that was independent in its political views; the NZ is neutral, its political news are unbiased; because its political news are not so one-sided as that of other papers, it's more objective and neutral; because its political stand is neutral, it doesn't favor a special trend; its political information is objective and not sensational and puffed up; I consider the NZ to have the least political tinge of all newspapers; its report aren't meant to stir up people; the NZ is the most objective and least inflammatory paper of all; because of its fair attitude; it does not exaggerate things as other papers do; because it is matter-of-fact; it doesn't carry as much false news as the "Telegraf" for instance; you needn't fear that the NZ revokes its news the following day; because its news usually corresponds to the facts; etc.		
<u>Because of its good style and high standards:</u>	21	25
Because there is no other Berlin paper with such a high level; the level of the NZ nearly reaches that of the former "Vossische Zeitung" which I used to read; its intellectual standard suits me, its philosophical treatises are very interesting; because of its high standards, it meets our requirements, its good articles arouse interest in our children who are supposed to study at the university later on; because of its high standards, it's no boulevard paper; I like the style of its articles; because it is the most valuable of all Berlin papers; in my eyes the "Tagesspiegel" is too bombastic, it uses too many foreign expressions; its style is best of all newspapers; because the style of the NZ is not like that of a tabloid; etc.		
<u>It is well informed, its reports are topical and cover a wide area:</u>	16	5
It gets the best information in Berlin; I consider it to be rather well informed; you learn what goes on in the rest of the world; we used to read the "Tagesspiegel" for a time, but it didn't satisfy us, the news of the world was a bit poor, the NZ offers more in this field; etc.		
<u>Because of the local news:</u>	14	29
It suits me particularly because of the local news; because it reports so many things about Berlin as it was in the past; etc.		

(Cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

Appendix

	Men	Women
<u>Its political tendencies suit me:</u>	8%	5%
It expresses a clear-cut and right political tendency; its outlook suits me, I agree with the editor's views; its outlook is anti-nazistic; so are its readers judging from their remarks; for so it's simply the paper, it's open minded and helps us to overcome our national pride so that we can achieve a European Union at last; it doesn't look at political developments from too narrow a standpoint; its political views show more broad-mindedness than those of other papers; etc.		
<u>It provides us with information about the US:</u>	8	-
I'm interested in news from America and I find it in the NZ; reading the NZ I get to know the American point of view from good authority; because it represents the voice of America; I'm very satisfied with the NZ, the American working methods described in it have been of great use for my own enterprise; because it has an American tinge, that is in my line, America is the only nation that helps us after all; I sympathize with the US; etc.		
<u>Because it is comprehensive and varied:</u>	4	3
Because it offers a big variety of material; because it brings comprehensive information from all branches of knowledge; just because the NZ is so comprehensive we read this newspaper; those who offer much will offer something to everybody, this slogan can be applied to the NZ, it is very varied and offers so much that one doesn't need an additional paper; because of its comprehensive Sunday issue; etc.		
<u>Because of its good editorials, articles and commentaries:</u>	4	2
I happened to buy a Sunday issue and found it excellent especially as far as its independent political commentaries are concerned; its political articles are instructive and interesting; because the political section offers a lot so that one can form a clear picture of the situation; because the NZ carries a bit more about political matters than other papers do, its articles let you think about what you've just read; etc.		
<u>Because of other sections:</u>	3	2
Because of the articles in the supplement for women, I also read the page "Die vier waende;" the supplement for women is very nice; because of the English lessons it offers; because of the "letters to the editor;" etc.		
<u>Because of its commercial sections:</u>	3	-
I'm mostly interested in its commercial section; etc.		
<u>Other reasons:</u>	15	19
If you consider what they offer its price is very low; for professional reasons, I'm working with an advertising agency and every Sunday I lose my temper when I notice that the NZ has got an ad more than I have, or I'm pleased when they got one less; I'm so used to the NZ by now that it never occurs to me to read any other paper; etc.		
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	25 158%**	24 144%**

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## TABLE VI

"In what respect does the NZ differ from other West Berlin papers? And in what other respect?"

The NZ is more objective, more to the point, more impartial, more neutral, more reliable, more authentic:

55%

Because it keeps out of party strife; it isn't a party organ such as the "Telegraf" is; it's an objective paper; it's very clear-headed, it makes a point of being neutral in political matters, it's very objective; it differs in that it doesn't represent any of the political parties in Germany, it doesn't air any party squabbles, you find something from every field in it, it's not a gossip sheet, it's a serious newspaper; it doesn't stand for any party line as does the "Telegraf", for instance; the NZ isn't such a scandal sheet as some of the other papers, it doesn't stir up people the way the others do; it's more responsible than other papers, it doesn't print anything spiteful or unfair; the headlines of the NZ aren't so sensational, it's less tendentious, too; the NZ is more objective than other newspapers; it's more level-headed and objective than the "Tagesspiegel" or the "Telegraf", it's more responsible; it's objective, it doesn't attack anybody; it's more authentic than other papers, above all in regard to political news; because it's strictly objective regarding political affairs and other things, too, it's non-partisan and independent; etc.

The level of the NZ is higher:

26

Its standard is higher, regardless whether political articles or art reviews are concerned; the level of this paper is higher, it never prints any gossip; the level is superior, it makes considerable intellectual demands on its readers, it isn't out to land scoops and to offer sensations to its readers, the NZ reflects a high intellectual level, it's above those trivial everyday sensations; compared to other Western newspapers, the standards of the NZ are higher; it's more fastidious; it's the newspaper that has the highest cultural level; it's high-minded, it reminds me a little of the "Times"; etc.

The NZ is more detailed, more comprehensive, more varied:

18

The NZ is more detailed; it's the most varied of all newspapers, it's more detailed in all fields, and it's the most extensive paper, too; its reports are very detailed; in that it offers plenty of reading matter; it's much more voluminous than the "Telegraf" for instance, the Sunday issue brings more than any of the other papers does; just think of its size, it proves it's the most voluminous paper of them all; it's more varied in every respect; it's varied and comprehensive; it goes more to the bottom of matters, it's not so superficial; the NZ offers you many hours' entertainment; etc.

The make-up of the NZ is superior:

14

It's more clearly arranged, the type is clear and easy to read; the make-up is more refined than that of other papers, just take the pictures published in the NZ, they are much better; in its make-up; in its size and its clear print; the pictorial material is more tasteful; etc.

The cultural section of the NZ is of a higher level, is more detailed, better in quality:

11

The cultural supplement is better; in that the feuilleton of the NZ is good; its literary section is more extensive; the short stories are excellent; it publishes a greater number of literary contributions; the NZ publishes the greatest number of interesting articles about cultural matters and high-class literature; as to news about cultural developments, the standards of the NZ are higher; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

- A-6 -

R E S T R I C T E D

## R E S T R I C T E D

The NZ is more open-minded, more far-sighted in its reporting, its news service is world-wide:

10%

It's more openminded than the other papers; the NZ has more world-wide interests and views, it isn't concerned with Berlin affairs only; it's more open-minded towards the problems of this world; it's a supra-national newspaper, it's large-minded, contrary to the other newspapers; it's more liberal in its views about world problems in general and political matters in particular, it's free of any subaltern spirit, it's large-minded; it affords its readers a more composite picture of the world than other papers do, compared to the NZ, the "Kurier", for instance, is just a provincial newspaper; the NZ reports on international developments; as the NZ has world-wide connections, it offers more news from abroad; it's broad-minded; etc.

The NZ is an American newspaper, it reflects the American outlook on things:

9

The outlines for this paper are given exclusively by Americans; in the NZ a strong American influence makes itself felt, that's no so with the other papers; it has a pro-American tendency; the NZ pursues purely American interests, everything hinges on that basic fact, it expresses American views in all matters, in spite of this the paper has a high standard; the American influence sets it apart from the other newspapers, you feel they make propaganda; in that the NZ expresses American opinion on German democracy; it publishes more material on America than do the other papers; it differs in its heading: an American newspaper, that makes people realize that the NZ is published by Americans, you notice the American outlook on things throughout the paper, that doesn't bother me because I have sympathies for the US, I just state a fact; as it is an American-sponsored newspaper, the NZ aims at making us familiar with the American mentality; etc.

Its contents and style are well composed and easily comprehensible:

5

Its style is superior, its tone is cultured and high minded; its style is clearer, more pleasant; the mode of expression is cultured; its tone is always tactful; its articles and features are much better written than those published by the "Morgenpost" or the "Telegraf", for instance, I mean they are more easily comprehensible and more natural; the NZ is much more attractive and amusing than any other West-Berlin daily; it's more lively than the "Morgenpost" and the "Tagesspiegel"; every reader can understand the NZ; etc.

The NZ is better informed, more topical, it has a faster news service:

4

Because it's up to the minute, in my eyes the NZ is the most up-to-date paper; it's up-to-date in its news service, too; the NZ publishes some news earlier than other papers; it offers the most important developments in concise form, and its news service is the fastest of them all; as a rule you find news earlier in the NZ than in other paper which often bring them a day later; it's more topical in regard to political developments; it publishes everything more speedily; it's among the first papers to print some piece of news that's interesting to us Berliners; etc.

Political topics are treated in greater detail, more material on political developments is published than in other papers:

4

Above all, as regards political matters, the NZ publishes more extensive and more detailed material; the main difference, I guess, lies in that the NZ writes more about political matters, it's more detailed in this field, other papers mention things like that only briefly; in the political field it's as comprehensive as no other paper; through its detailed reporting about political developments; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

- A-7 -

R E S T R I C T E D



The NZ carries fewer ads:

It publishes not so many ads as the "Tagesspiegel", for instance; other Berlin papers depend on ads to carry on; the other papers carry more ads; the NZ handles fewer ads than other papers do; etc.

The NZ wants to sell American views:

It's a little americanized, everything American is stressed rather strongly, often they go rather far in blowing their own trumpet so that I come to think: Ye Gods, you'd better stop that big talk; it has a strong American tendency, everything American is presented in rather a favorable light just as "Die Welt" has an English and "Der Kurier" a French tinge; it's obvious that this newspaper isn't edited by Germans only, I think some articles are rather peculiar; etc.

The NZ offers detailed articles from the fields of science, research and technics:

The NZ carries really good articles about science, without playing up sensations, articles about atomic research and things like that; it publishes more about scientific matters; all instructive articles about scientific matters are much better than those in other papers; you find more material from all branches of knowledge in the NZ; in the field of international research; the NZ carries the most numerous interesting articles on sciences; etc.

The editorial staff of the NZ is more capable:

Because the NZ has the most capable editors; through this outstanding staff, I'm thinking especially of Mr. Luft, the critic; etc.

The NZ shows a different political tendency:

It's anti-Nazistic in its political views; it's not so conservative; etc.

The NZ publishes better commentaries and editorials:

In that it gives preference to contributions dealing with serious problems over mere news; etc.

The NZ carries a more detailed commercial section:

Its commercial section is more comprehensive than that of any other paper; it brings more detailed market reports; etc.

The NZ carries a well composed local news section:

The NZ offers only important news from the Berlin scene; etc.

Other comments:

It appears at an earlier hour; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## R E S T R I C T E D

## Appendix

TABLE VII

"If you want to describe the NZ to somebody, which adjectives would you use then?"

	Men (186) 48%	Women (149) 37%
Many-sided, comprehensive, detailed, copious		
Objective, impartial, neutral, to the point, tolerant, fair, earnest, solid	43	43
Topical, true, informative, well informed	39	24
Of a high intellectual level, of high standards, in good taste, cultured, instructive, educative	31	42
Good, very good, excellent, first-rate, agreeable, pleasing, satisfactory	16	26
Interesting	13	15
Clearly arranged, handy, tastefully made up, lucidly illustrated	13	13
Open-minded, generous, West European, universal American	6	3
Entertaining	6	1
Lively, modern	5	5
Other attributes	4	4
No opinion / No answer	3	5
	4	4
	231%**	222%**

TABLE VIII

"What do you read first in the NZ?"

	Men (186) 40%	Women (149) 39%
Political news and reports, the political section	16	12
The whole front-page	15	9
Headlines and headings	12	16
Local news, "Berlin page"	6	1
Editorials and political commentaries	4	1
Foreign policy at home and abroad	3	1
Home affairs, Berlin local politics	3	1
Sunday pictures	2	3
The whole second page	2	2
Economic reports and news	2	-
Photos, pictures, illustrations	1	3
The whole newspaper	1	3
Arts (fine arts)	1	2
Sciences and techniques	1	1
Sports	1	-
Reports and news from the East Zone	1	-
Weather forecast, etc.	1	-
Ads	1	-
Feuilleton	-	5
Brief cultural news	-	3
Women's problems	-	2
Puzzles	-	2
Fiction	-	1
Literature	-	1
Film, movie-column and film reviews	-	1
Letters to the editor	-	1
Daily accounts	-	-
All of the third page	-	-
Non-political reports, travel reports, people and countries	-	-
Theater, theater reviews	-	-
Music, reviews of musical performances	-	-
English course	-	-
Church news	-	-
No particular habit	-	-
Other answers	-	-
No opinion / No answer	-	-
	110%**	109%**

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

TABLE IX

"Would you then continue to subscribe to the NZ or not?"

	Men (163)	Women (116)
Continue subscription	33%	35%
Not continue subscription	58	52
Qualified answer	7	8
No opinion	2	5
	100%	100%

List of Qualified answers

That depends on the make-up of the weekly paper;  
perhaps, I would have to wait and see whether it's still satisfactory  
in the new form;  
I would have to wait and see what it's like and how much it costs, I  
might try;  
that's very doubtful, that would depend entirely on it's new form, but  
I would have to subscribe to a daily paper in any case;  
I would try and see what it's like;  
that would depend on the other paper I would subscribe to, how much that  
one would offer and whether it would come up to my requirements;  
perhaps for some time just to see what it is like but whether I would  
keep it?  
that would depend on whether I would find a suitable substitute which  
offers also a Sunday issue;  
for the time being just to see what it's like, in the long run I would  
prefer a daily newspaper;  
that depends on its price;  
that would depend on my financial situation whether I could go on sub-  
scribing to it, that's merely a matter of costs;  
if it maintains its present standard and keeps its editorial staff and  
its foreign correspondents;  
that all depends on what they would offer, I would have to see a copy  
before I could decide; first, I would have to wait and see what it looks  
like and what it offers, it would have to bring detailed reports about  
art, science, politics in the form of editorials - and even then I don't  
know whether I would subscribe to it because I would have to take a daily  
newspaper in addition to the NZ and that's a matter of price - in any  
case, I have to see it first;  
that all depends on what it would look like and what it would offer;  
yes, for some time to see what's left of the old NZ, but if I don't like  
it I shall cancel the subscription;  
I would go on subscribing to it and keep it as a second paper in addition  
to a daily if its attitude isn't too stubborn;  
first of all I would have to see it and if I like it I would perhaps go  
on subscribing to it;  
that depends on its costs and what it offers because I would have to  
subscribe to a daily paper in addition to it;  
that seems to be very doubtful as I would have to take in another paper  
because I want daily information - if I like the Sunday edition of that  
one - if not I might fall back on the NZ;  
if its price won't be too high - I couldn't afford more than 30 Pfennings  
for a copy - I shall go on subscribing to it.

TABLE X

"Do you also read periodicals and pictorials?"

Yes	78%
No	22
	100%

"Which ones do you read?"

Periodicals and pictorials for light reading (Weltbild, Quick, Stern, Revue, IBZ, Kristall, Spiegel, Das Beste, etc.)	65%
Radio magazines (Hoer zu, Radiorevue, etc.)	14
Women's magazines, fashion magazines, publications about home economics and gardening (Elegante Welt, Brigitte, Madame, etc.)	12
Political publications (Der Monat, Frankfurter Hefte, etc.)	8
Cultural periodicals (Westernmann's Monatshefte, Merian, Atlantis, etc.)	4
Scientific journals (Medical journals, publications on history, Kosmos)	3
Trade journals, periodicals for business and industrial groups, technical publications (Lebensmittelzeitung, etc.)	2
Youth literature, publications about educational problems (Welt der Schule, Erziehungskunst, etc.)	2
Church periodicals (Christ und Welt, Sonntagsblatt, Kirchenzeitung, Christengemeinschaft, etc.)	2
Labor publications, publications dealing with social problems, periodicals for refugees and expellees (Welt der Arbeit, etc.)	1
Sports publications (Motor und Sport, Sport-Kurier, Totozeitung, etc.)	1
Other publications (Circulating libraries, publications for veterans, official gazettes and papers, periodicals for occultists, periodicals for members of secret societies, publications for emigrants, periodicals for lawyers, foreign magazines, etc.)	5
No opinion / No answer	1
	120%**

(No. of cases): 335

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



TABLE XI

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"Do you subscribe to one or more of the periodicals and pictorials just mentioned? (... apart from a circulating library ...)" (Asked of all respondents who answered "Yes" to initial question.)

Yes, one	14%
Yes, several (how many?)	5
No, don't subscribe to any	57
No opinion	$\frac{2}{78\%}$

"Which ones do you subscribe to?"

Periodicals and pictorials for light reading (Weltbild, Quick, Stern, Revue, IBZ, Kristall, Spiegel, Das Beste, etc.)	9%
Political publications (Der Monat, Frankfurter Hefte, etc.)	3
Women's magazines, fashion magazines, publications about home economics and gardening (Elegante Welt, Brigitte, Madame, etc.)	2
Radio magazines (Hoer zu, Radiorevue, etc.)	2
Trade journals, periodicals for business and industrial groups, technical publications (Lebensmittelzeitung, etc.)	1
Youth literature, publications about educational problems (Welt der Schule, Erziehungskunst, etc.)	1
Scientific journals (Medical journals, publications on history, Kosmos, etc.)	1
Church periodicals (Christ und Welt, Sonntagsblatt, Kirchenzeitung, Christengemeinschaft, etc.)	1
Labor publications, publications dealing with social problems, periodicals for refugees and expellees (Welt der Arbeit, etc.)	*
Cultural periodicals (Westermann's Monatshefte, Merian, Atlantis, etc.)	*
Sports publications (Motor und Sport, Sport-Kurier, Totozeitung, etc.)	*
Other publications (Circulating libraries, publications for veterans, official gazette and papers, periodicals for occultists, periodicals for members of secret societies, publications for emigrants, periodicals for lawyers, foreign magazines, etc.)	3
No opinion / No answer	$\frac{-}{23\%**}$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\*Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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EAST ZONE VIEWS ON THE  
JUNE RIOTS, FOOD AID, AND CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

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EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

## INTRODUCTION

The current East German food distribution plan in West Berlin has provided another of the occasional opportunities to conduct sample surveys of attitudes and opinions from among large numbers of East Zone residents. Between August 6th and 15th the Evaluation Staff Office of Public Affairs, conducted a series of three surveys the results of two of which are herein reported.

Interviews for the present study were gathered on a random basis at three food distribution points in West Berlin - Schoeneberg, Willmersdorf, and Charlottenburg - which together encompassed residents from all the Laender of the East Zone. It was deemed advantageous to focus exclusively on East Zone residents since the opportunities to study their opinions are few, and East Berlin opinion is always more or less available for study. Findings in the present report are based upon 436 to 876 cases, depending upon whether the question was included in one or two of the three surveys conducted.

It was thought desirable to approach respondents after they had received their food package in order to avoid interviewing them in line with the unfavorable situation of other East Germans looking on. The only disadvantage to this procedure was that it added somewhat to the extent of disinclination to be interviewed (approximately one in ten), as some subjects had an understandable desire to hurry home after wearisome hours standing in line awaiting food. Outright objection to being interviewed appeared only rarely.

Interviewing was conducted as usual by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff. Few of the respondents raised any question about auspices and it was obvious that most were under the impression that the inquiry was sponsored by the food distribution authorities.

It should finally be appreciated that the sampling of East Germans falls below, of course, ideal standards. Nonetheless, drawing as it does from such a large and diversified representation of East Zone residents - many of whom travelled hundreds of kilometers to West Berlin - it is likely to provide a useful approximation of East Zone opinion. In the absence of anything nearly as good it is worthwhile utilizing less than perfect indications with the caution always, of course, that conclusions are tentative and subject to revision as better information comes to hand. The composition of the obtained samples employed in the present study is indicated in Appendix A. It will be noted that the samples gathered in the two successive surveys do not differ greatly, and that in the overall the distribution of population characteristics in a very general way approximates what might be expected of the East German population.\*

\* With the exception of Laender - disproportionate numbers, as would be expected, come from regions closer to West Berlin.

## SUMMARY EXCERPTS

I. Reactions to Western Handling  
of June 17th Uprising and Appraisal of Results of Riots

- ... To the extent that the present sample may be taken as indicative, East Zone Germans give strong majority indorsement to the Western handling of the June 17th demonstrations. Only 13 per cent in the present study state that Western actions were not right or but partly right, and only an additional 10 per cent have any criticism to voice whatever of the manner in which the West responded to the East German uprising.
- ... That the June uprising has been successful in achieving some results is the opinion of two in three among the East Germans sampled. In no population group do more than a third take the position that the riots failed to achieve any results.
- ... When judgment is focused more explicitly on morale repercussions of the riots - changes among the people as a consequence - the positive heavily predominates. Six in ten East Germans (61%) had some favorable change to point to. Only 7 per cent spoke of negative changes in attitudes, 4 per cent of partly negative, and the remainder saw no change or voiced no opinion.

II. Evaluation of Western Success  
in East-West Struggle and of American Policy Toward Russia

- ... Present returns suggest the opinion to be widespread in the East Zone that the West has been having the better of it recently in the worldwide East-West struggle. In no population group does more than a marginal one in five give the palm to the East.
- ... A majority in the present sample (54%) register satisfaction with American policy toward Russia - a two to one preponderance over the 12 per cent dissatisfaction and the 13 per cent partly dissatisfied. In no population sub-group does satisfaction appear to be outweighed by dissatisfaction. Comparative figures suggest that American policy toward Russia achieves higher favor in the East Zone than in the West.
- ... The minority expressing dissatisfaction in whole or in part largely express the opinion that the U.S. should get tougher with Russia - even for some to the extent of using force.

III. Views on Key Political Issues -  
EDC, Free Elections and Neutrality

- ... Whatever the imminence of a Four Power conference, it is the strongly preponderant opinion among the East Germans sampled that efforts toward EDC should go on unabated, rather than be postponed as a possible hindrance to reunification.
- ... Additionally suggestive of a predominant Western orientation on issues relating to a Four Power conference and German reunification, is the indication that the most of the East Germans sampled give obviously approving interpretations of Western motives for insisting on free elections in the East Zone before any German reunification.

(Cont'd on next page)



- ... The one problem element in the otherwise predominantly favorable picture of East Zone attitudes emerging from the present inquiry, relates to views on a neutral Germany as a price for German reunification. Though opposition is somewhat greater in East Germany, the indication is that there just as in the West the point of view preponderates that a neutral Germany should be accepted if Russia insists on such a condition as a basis for German reunification.
- ... So apparently in East Germany just as in West Germany support for EDC and Western policy in general does not mean Germans are unwilling to forego this course if it appears that reunification can be obtained at the price of neutrality.

#### IV. Reactions to the Food Aid Program

- ... Awareness of the existence of a food relief program was most generally obtained thru listening to RIAS - thus adding to the many indications of this station's preeminent position as a news source in the East Zone.
- ... Almost three quarters of the East German food recipients tested were aware of the fact that America was the source of the food aid.
- ... That American food aid is motivated primarily by humanitarian considerations is the opinion of most of the East Germans sampled in the present survey. Only a minority focused on political considerations and more often than not in terms that indicated approval.

I. REACTIONS TO WESTERN HANDLING  
OF JUNE 17TH UPRISING AND APPRAISAL OF RESULTS OF RIOTS

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PREDOMINANT APPROVAL OF WESTERN HANDLING ...

To the extent that the present sample may be taken as indicative, East Zone Germans give strong majority indorsement to the Western handling of the June 17th demonstrations. Only 13 per cent in the present study state that Western actions were not right or but partly right, and only an additional 10 per cent have any criticism to voice whatever of the manner in which the West responded to the East German uprising.

"Do you feel that the way the Western Powers acted after these riots in the East Zone was right or not?"

	West Germany* (625)	West Berlin* (199)	East Zone (436)
Was right	67%	86%	77%
Was not right	7	10	8
Partly/partly	-	-	5
No opinion	19	3	10
Not aware of riots	7	1	-
	100%	100%	100%

IF "Acted right":

"Did the Western Powers in this affair neglect to do anything they should have done in your opinion? (What?)"

Nothing neglected	59%	76%	63%
Something neglected	6	8	10
No opinion	2	2	4
	67%	86%	77%

In general, it will be noted, East German views concur in the present respect with opinion in the West, being slightly more favorable than among West Germans, and slightly less favorable than among West Berliners.

Among important sub-groupings in the East German sample, similarity is more marked than difference in extent of favorable reactions, and in no group with the apparent exception of residents of Mecklenburg falls to below majority status.

	No criticism	Some criticism (Not right, partly right, right, but something to criticize)	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	56%	34%	10%	216
Women	71	12	17	220
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	63	23	14	337
Beyond elementary	64	25	11	97
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 28 years	67	21	12	147
30 - 49 years	59	29	12	199
50 years and over	65	16	19	90
<u>City Size:</u>				
Village	65	17	18	142
Small town	63	24	13	136
Middle town	60	25	15	106
City	61	32	7	50
<u>Land:</u>				
Brandenburg	72	20	8	197
Sachsen	73	18	9	67
Sachsen/Anhalt	56	23	21	48
Thuringen	64	7	29	28
Mecklenburg	41	38	21	95

\* These Western figures emanate from a late July survey and are hence quite comparable time-wise to the Early August East Zone returns.

The minority who voiced criticisms commented in the following vein:

IF "Not right" or "Partly/partly":

"In what respect did they not act rightly?"

IF "Something neglected": "What?"

East Zone

If necessary, the Western Powers should have intervened with military force:

7%

Most of the workers would have welcomed it if the Americans had also intervened when the Russian tanks came, we really expected them; now, in my opinion, they should have met the Russians who started the business with military force; they should have attacked straight away, the Americans should have prevented the Russians from interfering, should have presented the Russians with an ultimatum; the Western Powers should have put their foot down before the Russians interfered, then we would have been freed, they should have given us arms; just like the Russians they should have intervened in the fight, the Russians would have taken alarm at that and taken to their heels; the very moment when the Russians were shooting the Western Powers should also have fired; they should at once have approached the Russians with full force to give a change to the state of affairs, with tanks at once, too, so that the Russians can see that they are being opposed, and above all, that the executions should not be permitted; it is high time that the Western Powers start using the same language as the Russians, you don't make headway with the Russians with timidity; etc.

They should have stood up more energetically for the people and have given them more moral support:

5

They should have given us more help, there must certainly be some ways and means, without having to risk a military conflict; the Western Powers should have organized the riots from over there, then the strike would not have failed, so we were without leaders and everybody did as he thought best at the moment; in any case, they should have given more support to the demonstrators than it would have been at least a quick success; in any case, the Americans should have given more support to the East Zone and Berlin; some immediate measures, as for instance the summoning of the UN, might perhaps have impressed the Russians and have given moral support to the demonstrating workers; they should have backed us up in our demonstrations; perhaps the workers could have been supported with money so that they would have been able to carry on the strike to the end; etc.

The Western Powers (UN) should have exerted more pressure upon the Russians to keep them from interfering:

4

The Western Powers should have exerted political power on the Soviets to make them moderate their measures during and after the riots; I don't want to criticize, but perhaps the Western Powers should have demanded that the Russians were to keep from interfering with the incidents of the 17th of June just as completely as the Western Powers; they should have protested energetically so that the Russians wouldn't have been able to interfere, for after all it was only a purely German affair which was no concern of the Russians at all; the Western Powers should have presented the Russians with an ultimatum asking them not to interfere because it was only a purely German affair; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

They should have made better use of the situation, for negotiations, etc., 05264  
23

They should have used the opportunity and have asked them to negotiate about the withdrawal of all foreign powers from Germany; they should have tried to ease conditions in the East Zone by diplomatic negotiations; they should have insisted that the borders were opened, otherwise they did not leave anything undone; perhaps they should have made better use of the weakness of the Russians, perhaps they would have succeeded to bring about free elections; etc.

They should not have released the arrested Communists: 1

The Communists like Nuschke should have been kept in the West for punishment; they should have acted more energetically against the Russians and should not have released Nuschke; they should have interfered more energetically, Nuschke should not have been released but should have been treated as a hostage; etc,

The Western Powers could have done more, but you can understand their way of action: 1

In the East they thought that the West would help, but one must see that this would have led to a war; we expected that they would have given us more help and would liberate us, but, of course, we don't want a war either, it's better to try to settle it amicably; We couldn't understand that the Western Powers did not interfere more energetically in order to bring about an overthrow, but on the other hand we said it's right for them to first wait and see what will be the results of the incidents of June 17; the people had been more hopeful that this would be the day of liberation, but on the other hand, the Western Powers want to avoid bloodshed; etc.

The Western Powers are guilty of the incidents, too, because they made too much agitative propaganda: \*

I believe the West is not quite so innocent about it, our people would not have dared to make such a row all by themselves, the West has rather incited them; because they are responsible, too; the Western Powers and their speakers are too provocative and carry quite a nice bit of guilt of those incidents, they plotted the whole thing and then got afraid of the Russians and our Volkspolizei (people's police); etc

Other answers: 3

The West should have defied the Russians before; yes, perhaps they should have made it quite clear that for the time being they can only help by giving food, by that many would have been saved from prison; they should not have carried out the free food program by force after it had been refused by the Russians - even though the need was great, still everything would have collapsed the sooner, and the stronger the oppression, the sooner the end would have come; etc,

\* Less than one half of one per cent. 237



## TWO IN THREE JUDGE RIOTS TO HAVE ACHIEVED RESULTS ...

That the June uprising has been successful in achieving some results is the opinion of two in three among the East Germans sampled. In no population group do more than a third take the position that the riots failed to achieve any results.

"If you recall once again the demonstrations and riots of the 17th of June, did these incidents, in your opinion, lead to any achievements or not?"

## East Zone

(876)

Yes	68%
No, did not	25
No opinion	<u>7</u>
	100%

	Yes	No, did not	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	74%	22%	4%...100%	457
Women	61	30	9	419
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	66	26	8	672
Beyond elementary	73	25	2	201
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	66	28	6	268
30 - 49 years	71	24	5	419
50 years and over	64	26	10	189
<u>City Size:</u>				
Village	60	30	10	276
Small town	62	32	6	279
Middle town	80	16	4	217
City	77	18	5	100
<u>Land:</u>				
Brandenburg	66	29	5	371
Sachsen	75	21	4	140
Sachsen/Anhalt	70	22	8	96
Thuringen	65	19	16	56
Mecklenburg	67	27	6	210

The gains attributed to the riots by those who see favorable repercussions are listed below in order of frequency of mention: 03266

IF "Yes": "What achievements did these incidents lead to?"

East Zone

The government has come to realize that the East Zone people are not behind them:

14%

They proved to the SED that the people don't want them; the Pankov rulers have come to see that nobody's backing them; that the East Zone government has come to realize that the workers are not backing them; the result is that the government realized that the people are not for them; this made the people become more cheerful, it has dawned on the government that the people are simply fed up; this made the government aware that all of us are against them; our government is getting to be more and more afraid. That makes us feel freer and more secure; the government is aware that we won't put up with everything; etc.

The people have become more outspoken and bolder:

14

People dare to speak their mind more freely; you now dare to express your opinion more freely; people speak their minds and don't fear the government any more; there is no more so much pressure on people. You can express your opinion once in a while without getting arrested at once. People have become more self-confident, they don't let themselves be forced to do just about everything any longer; we realized that workers are a power to be reckoned with once they recognize what they can do. The Kremlin suppressed the whole affair, otherwise the government would have had to resign; afterwards people had more courage and a new drive to tackle things again; people have realized that the masses can revolt against the system. The present calm is only passing, another riot will come; because of them the terror has lessened somewhat, we can express our opinion more freely; we've all come to recognize that we aren't so powerless after all as we used to think, formerly you've hardly dared to believe that such a riot would be possible at all; etc.

The government has had to become more yielding:

10

Their power is partly broken, they are no longer as impudent as they used to be; the government has become more yielding, they see that the workers in the East won't put up with everything; the government is no longer so unyielding, they know now that their power won't last forever, and therefore they are more cautious; the government and the Russians as well had to give in to the workers and to draw in their horns; conditions have somewhat improved over there. We now have a little more freedom, the functionaries are no longer so strict; the workers in the East Zone say, something good did come out of it, the functionaries have toned down somewhat, there's less big talk; till August 1, they let us live more freely and in peace, the functionaries are a little more subdued; the East Zone government boys have slunk off and lie low for a while they had to give in to the demands of the workers; etc.

You can buy more food:

8

Pressure was exerted upon the government, one can notice that because of this food was put on the market which had always been available; we can now buy some food again, and my children don't have to work so much in the County House any more so we can till our fields. Now we are also allowed to keep half of our eggs; the food situation has improved a little bit; ration cards are issued more generously now; you can now get a little bit more to eat, nothing else has changed; more vegetables are offered now, there is really more meat available in the Eastern sector, meat is no longer substituted by fish; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

The world's attention was drawn to the bad living conditions in the East Zone:

6

That all the world has come to notice our bad living conditions, for we are treated worse than the colonial people of former times; the world's attention was called to the needs of the Zone and of the satellite states; the whole world has come to notice how we suffer in the East Zone, and that nothing that was said before, is exaggerated; the eyes of the West were opened to the misery of the people in the Zone, it became apparent that it's absolutely necessary to help at once; that the attention of the world public has been attracted. An appeal to the world; besides, all the world has seen that we want to be free; that the outer world has come to help us, for instance with the free food project; etc.

Wages, pensions were increased, prices reduced:

6

We now get higher wages; partly wages were increased, controls are no longer so strict; there was a small increase in wages in our shop; in some cases there was an improvement, for instance, the prices in the HO (government shops) were reduced; we are in the same wage group again as on the 1st of April. There was no raise in the lower wage groups; etc.

Norm requirements were lowered:

6

Norm requirements have become less strict; norms were lowered; the strict laws were relaxed, norm requirements were lowered; no more stepping up of norm requirements; there are relaxations in nearly all points, the pushing up of norm requirements was stopped; increased norm requirements are set aside. Until now this is the only improvement; lowering of norms; etc.

The true attitude of the East Zone people has been shown to the Western world:

5

The world has seen the true attitude of the Zone; they saw that we are no Communists and so they will help us I hope; the Western world has seen that we stand by them; the East Zone leaders really made fools of themselves. The West knows that we are backing the West; the West has come to see that 99% think differently from what the newspapers tell about them; the West thus has found out what the people think; etc.

You can buy more goods (other than food):

3

There are more goods available in the HO shops; right after June 17, there were more goods available in the HO shops; a few things have changed, there are more goods available in the HO (government) shops; you can buy a little bit more; the retail shops are regularly supplied with textiles; etc.

There were several relaxations:

3

We have some advantages, generally things are somewhat easier for us; that some things did change, the situation has improved; it has become somewhat better; there were several relaxations for the people; that now we have some relaxations; reductions in taxes and relaxations in political matters; etc.

Prisoners were released, no more arrests:

2

In some cases prisoners, sentenced because of offenses against the country's economy, were released; persecution of the middle class has been stopped to about 70 per cent, not so many arrests any more; offenders against the country's economy were released; in these matters the East Government has come to its mistakes and tries to appease the people; through pressure exerted by the people a number of prisoners became free; they released prisoners; there were several relaxations, some who had been imprisoned were released; some prisoners were released but no political offenders; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Relaxations in interzonal traffic:

That one may go to West Berlin, controls no longer are so strict; issue of interzonal travel permits; even in the East Zone interzonal passes have been issued; interzonal travelling has become easier; we can visit our relatives in the Bundesrepublik; more interzonal travel permits are issued; etc.

Quota requirements were lowered:

Our masters had to give in, quota requirements were lowered, practically nothing more happened; the government reduced quota requirements; quota requirements for farmers were somewhat lowered; etc.

The desire for Germany's reunification was expressed again:

That the idea of a reunification of Germany has become a vital issue once more; one became a bit closer to reunification; that the Western Powers support reunification more strongly now than they did before; that we want free elections; international, for instance, suggestions made by the U.S. to Russia, concerning free elections; etc.

Other answers:

That the Russians saw that it can't go on like this, that the longing for freedom is far too great; the fight against the church has been stopped; all people know now that they are bound closely together; I should not say anything about it but if, as you say, the thing remains secret then I want to say that we were told to act with so much bravado and overlook one or two things. These are the orders after the demonstrations of the 17th of June (member of the people's police); the worker has come into his right for once; the government made concessions but now they try to go back on them; etc.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## COMMENTS OF MINORITY SEEING NO ACHIEVEMENTS ...

The minority who saw no favorable developments emanating from the riots commented in the following vein:

"If you recall once again the demonstrations and the riots of the 17th of June, did these incidents, in your opinion, lead to any achievements or not?"

IF "No, did not": "What's the reason, in your opinion, that these incidents did not lead to any achievements?"

East Zone

Demonstrations were suppressed by force of arms:

13%

Because the Russians operated with tanks; it was the Russians fault. If they had not come with their tanks, the SED would be done for; the intervention of the Russians, the unarmed population was helpless against force of arms; the Russians came with their tanks, therefore the revolt could not spread; because the people did not know what to do as the Russians had tanks and we had nothing; because we have no arms in the East Zone and the Russians intervened at once; we could not do a thing, they were right behind us with their guns; because everywhere streets were barricaded and we had no means to chase the government away. The Russians, besides, imposed martial law; because the Russians intervened; because the Soviets intervened;

Demonstrations were not well organized:

4

Strikes and riots were not organized well enough. So the Russians got the upper hand again; it was not planned thoroughly enough. It was not organized properly; the workers had not prepared the demonstrations properly. That is why they haven't been effective; workers without leaders are an undisciplined crowd. On the 17th of June we lacked capable leaders, able to overthrow the government; that the facts about the riots didn't get known fast enough in the East Zone, also that there was no fixed date for all uprisings - here in Thuringia we were a bit too slow. It came so quickly and we were too far out of the way and could not participate; there were no capable leaders. It was badly organized, it should have been better organized; etc,

The East Zone government is still too severe:

2

It's the government, they are stricter than ever. They just don't want to be overthrown; because the functionaries are so brutal and mercilessly throw everyone into jail who opposes the government; the SED-government wants to force their views on people, that's a fact, they don't dream of helping us, even if they make so much big talk about it; they are just stronger and more powerful than the people; etc.

The Russians supported the DDR government:

1

the Russians back up the East government and won't tolerate a change for the better; Grotwohl's government is still too firmly established. They got Russian support and we can't do anything against them; nothing has changed so far, because the Russians don't want it. They just want to keep the DDR; the Russians support the DDR government, for about a week now we came to realize that all hope for a new course of the government has to be given up. Slowly and surely they return to their old practices; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

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The Russians suppress the people in the East Zone and exploit them:

1%

I don't believe that the government can help us in any way as the Russians take away everything anyway; because you can't negotiate with the Russians. At first they make promises, then they keep to their old motto: to force everyone to submit to their slave system; the Russians don't want to help us. They go on suppressing people; the Russians still take away too much. First they should leave Germany, then things can get better, all the occupation powers should be made to leave Germany, of course, the Americans as well, for all the occupation powers live at our expense; etc.

The demonstrators lacked unity:

1

Because the demonstrators didn't agree among themselves; the people did not quite stand together, all of them; the workers are still too undecided, they have not yet agreed on a joint course of action; the strike should have been continued, the workers should have agreed among themselves; etc.

The West should have given more support to the demonstrators:

1

I don't have an insight into the matter, but I believe that maybe the Americans should have helped; because the Western Powers gave us such little support. They should help the demonstrators; the people let themselves be intimidated again. Perhaps the people should have got more support from the West; they lacked capable leaders, perhaps the Americans should have intervened that would have helped matters. The demonstrators should have been assisted; etc.

The East Zone government has not kept its promises:

1

Because Grotewohl did not keep the promises he had made; the government did give many promises but they haven't lived up to them so far; the government has certainly given us promises but they've kept few of them; well, the government gives promises, but they simply are no longer in a position to keep them; etc.

Other reasons:

2%

The trade unions have failed. If they had supported the people everything certainly would have turned out more satisfactorily; if you want better living conditions, you've got to work harder. So everything is as it was before; because in my opinion the demonstrators were still too slack, the government's representatives should have been arrested, since nothing can be expected from them; during those days I was in a region where nothing happened. I don't have the impression that anything was achieved because the SED did not resign; I think we let ourselves be intimidated too soon because we thought that it would not be of any use anyhow; the workers could not see the strike through because they had no money and got no help; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

3  
29%

- Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## MINORITY SEE UNFAVORABLE REPERCUSSIONS OF RIOTS ...

Questioned as to what may have become worse since the riots, the majority had nothing to report. Minorities, however, spoke of increased difficulties along the following lines:

"And thinking of the period since these incidents in June: what in the East Zone has become better since and what has become worse?"\*

## HAS BECOME WORSE:

East Zone

Nothing has become worse:

63%

Nothing is worse than before; no, nothing has become worse, everything really is already bad enough; I wouldn't say so; everything has remained just the same; etc.

There is generally less freedom now, you are watched more closely, general distrust, fear:

12

They put more informers in the shops than before; the activity of the informers has increased; the government's distrust of the people of the East Zone has increased since the free food program got started; the situation in the East Zone may still be called tense. You are living on top of a volcano and have to have 20 eyes and ears to protect oneself against dangers. Denunciation is growing and flourishing; one has to be even more cautious in the shops; the political oppression has increased; everything has become more critical; etc.

Renewed travel restrictions:

10

Now it is still harder to get a travel permit; there is a stricter limit on ticket distribution again; nothing except the travel restrictions; there are no tickets to Berlin, nothing else has become worse; we then got travel permits and tickets without any difficulties, now everything is much more difficult; travel restrictions. That means another limitation of freedom; etc.

Police controls have become more severe:

7

Controls have become more severe; passport- and train controls have become more severe; that we are again controlled so strictly in the train; more controls in the trains, too; the controls by the Volkspolizei (people's police) at the border have become more severe;

Food supply has become worse (less and worse food):

4

We didn't get any margarine afterwards; the meat supply; worse food; we get neither meat nor sausages any more; even in the HO you can now hardly get sugar any more for 1,40; food is getting worse and worse and getting less, too, because all the food is thrown at people (of East Berlin) to quieten them down, and the people in the Zone are starving the more; etc.

Legal measures are carried out more strictly than before:

3

Even more people are arrested than before; we are a little bit more afraid when we are listening to radio programs from the West, that's very severely punished; legal measures are carried out more rigidly, everyone that took part in the riots of June 17, is prosecuted; the law has become more tyrannical and terrifying. More arrests; they are now starting to use pressure again. In the newspapers and in the radio the names of those are announced who are known to have fetched the gifts from West Berlin; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

\* Since remarks on what has become better merely tend to reiterate the achievements cited in the preceding question, they are omitted.

Other answers:

Restrictions in electricity are imposed again; it's getting worse every day just because we don't have the "Kaiser"; they withdrew my orphan's pension and that of many other women, because I've got a job; no, nothing has become worse than before. But in Schwerin they opened a shop for the intelligentsia with lower prices for the intellectuals. Workers are not allowed to buy there; after the strike skilled workers were dismissed and replaced by unskilled ones. Thus it happened that in our meat factory spoiled meat was distributed and many people got sick; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

4  
108%

- Some respondents gave more than one answer.



MAJORITY SEE MORALE IMPROVEMENTS AS A RESULT OF JUNE RIOTS ...

When judgment is focused more explicitly on morale repercussions of the riots - changes among the people as a consequence - the positive heavily predominates. Six in ten East Germans (61%) had some favorable change to point to. Only 7 per cent spoke of negative changes in attitudes, 4 per cent of partly negative, and the remainder saw no change or voiced no opinion.

"And have you noticed any changes among the people in the East Zone since the incidents in June?"

East Zone

(876)

Yes, positive changes	61%
Yes, partly positive/ partly negative	4
Yes, negative changes	7
No changes	26
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

	Positive changes	Partly positive/ partly negative	Negative changes	No change	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	63%	5%	9%	21%	2%	457
Women	58	2	5	32	3	419
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	59	3	6	29	3	672
Beyond elementary	66	8	9	17	-	201
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	63	4	6	24	3	268
30 - 49 years	61	4	8	25	2	419
50 years and over	56	3	7	31	3	189
<u>City Size:</u>						
Village	56	2	9	29	4	276
Small town	59	4	6	28	3	279
Middle town	65	5	7	22	1	217
City	66	7	7	20	-	100
<u>Land:</u>						
Brandenburg	61	3	9	25	2	371
Sachsen	56	7	4	32	1	140
Sachsen/Anhalt	57	3	8	28	4	96
Thuringen	55	4	9	27	5	56
Mecklenburg	66	3	6	23	2	210

The types of morale changes that were noted as a consequence of the June riots are tabulated below:

"And have you noticed any changes among the people in the East Zone since the incidents in June?"

IF "Yes": "What changes have you noticed among the people in the East Zone?"

#### POSITIVE CHANGES

East Zone

People have become freer in their speaking and bolder in their actions:

35%

We aren't so afraid any more, we talk freely; we have been backed up morally, you hear people grumbling in the public now; more courage, one feels bolder now; everybody has become freer and bolder in some of their views; people breathe more easily now, once more they dare to express their opinions more freely; they have become more plucky, they won't put up with everything any more; they have become more courageous, they take greater risks; demonstrations occur more often now, people have become bolder; they speak up more freely, they aren't so down-trodden any more, there are more discussions; freedom of thought and speech spreads; the will to resist and fighting spirit have grown stronger; people have become freer somehow, the farmers are more plucky than they used to be, they don't turn in so many products as before; there is more criticizing; they express their opinions freely; etc.

People have become more hopeful:

16

People have been backed up, they have more hope; people look ahead more hopefully; many have been encouraged, for they came to realize that something can be achieved; they are more hopeful and have faith once more; they breathe more easily now, they think: this was the beginning, now things are bound to improve; undoubtedly people are more hopeful now, workers have become more self-confident and more responsible; we feel freer and more cheerful, everything had been so grave and uncertain before, people have vented their feelings at least, now they have quite a different outlook on life; everybody has picked up now courage; people believe the incidents of the 17th of June will be repeated and the day of liberation will come; because of the incidents of the 17th of June people have become more confident and more cheerful, they are glad that the government is rather shaky; etc.

People now know that the West has not forgotten the East Zone:

4

Somehow we are more hopeful that things will improve, we can see by the help we have received after the 17th of June that we have not been forgotten, this gives us new hope; the West proves day by day that they still care for us; we have grown more hopeful, the echo the riots had all over the world proves that people now realize that these developments are the result of utmost misery, above all, we place great hopes in America because if anybody can take the yoke off our shoulders, it's the Americans; we hope for a reunification, the food gift action has made people very happy; the food relief has made them freer and more hopeful; because these gifts prove to them that West Germany hasn't forgotten them; people begin to enjoy life again because they know that through the riots the world's attention was drawn to them; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Many people hope for new riots which will force the government to resign:

Everyone is waiting for another day like June 17th, so that the big-wigs can be thrown out finally; people are practically waiting for another riot to start; every hour we are waiting for something to happen - everyone has got a rucksack or a bundle at hand, because they want to be ready when another riot starts as that on June 17; people will be pleased if there are some more riots, they hope they'll thus get rid of the slave-drivers; generally people have become more hopeful and quite definitely count on a new outbreak of demonstrations; etc.

Confidence in one another has grown:

The workers have become somewhat more hopeful because they know that all of them have the same opinion; now you can recognize your political friends more easily than before because the people took courage and are no longer quite so much afraid; because they know quite well now that everyone feels the same way about the situation; there is a greater unity among the buddies in the shop, you can talk things over and can have more confidence in each other; all of us dare speak up more often now, are not so cowed any more; etc.

Increased resistance against the government and the party:

More outspoken opposition to the regime; people have become much more furious than before, they are now all the more against the Communists; people are annoyed, and hate the SED-party even more; the SED government has to resign soon; etc.

Other positive changes:

Several people with big salaries have become more timid, they don't talk so big any longer; people who used to be die-hard Commies don't believe in the cause so firmly any more; many party members have quit the party and have thrown away their party cards; some members of the people's police aren't so rude any more, they are more civil now, I guess they're scared; not many people go to the meetings any more, quite a few guys fear that people whom they've tormented will take revenge for that; many of the SED have had a change of heart, they think quite differently now; they don't wear their party badges any more; etc.

PARTLY POSITIVE - PARTLY NEGATIVE CHANGES

After the demonstrations people have become even more mute, but in their hearts they have more hope; people have become somewhat more hopeful, but also more cautious; they don't let themselves be ordered around so much any more, they've become obstinate - nobody feels free; workers have become less willing to work; etc.

NEGATIVE CHANGESIncrease of fear due to measures taken by the East government:

They are still more frightened; those many arrests and the severe sentences sending people to the penitentiary have intimidated people even more; they've become still more reserved and frightened than they were before, they don't trust the government that acts in a rather inconsistent way; nobody dares to say anything; people have become even more cautious because the activity of the informers has increased; they've become still more cautious, the informers are lying in wait, at your job, in the movies, in the trains; they are even more depressed because the rioters of June 17 did not succeed in doing away with the SED; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

Disappointment at the inefficacy of the riots:

4%

At first joy and hopes for a change, but then disappointment because everything remained as it had always been; directly after the 17th of June, people were very hopeful for a reunification of Germany, but now they have lost some of their hope; during the first days you could talk freely, but now everything is the same again as it was before; great hopes on June 17 - disappointment now; etc.

05276

Other negative changes:

But many of them also complain about the Americans because they gave us no military help; etc.

81%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.



II. EVALUATION OF WESTERN SUCCESS  
IN EAST-WEST STRUGGLE AND OF AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA

ALMOST ALL SEE WEST AS ACHIEVING GREATER RECENT SUCCESSSES ...

05277

Present returns suggest the opinion to be widespread in the East Zone that the West has been having the better of it recently in the worldwide East-West struggle. In no population group does more than a marginal one in five give the palm to the East.

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success lately: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	West Germany (625)	West Berlin (199)	East Zone (440)	
Communist powers	10%	15%	3%	
Western powers	44	68	75	
No opinion	46	17	22	
	100%	100%	100%	
	Communist powers	Western powers	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	3%	82%	15%.,100%	241
Women	2	67	31	199
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	2	74	24	335
Beyond elementary	3	80	17	104
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	4	76	20	121
30 - 49 years	2	78	20	220
50 years and over	2	68	30	99
<u>City Size:</u>				
Village	2	75	23	134
Small town	3	74	23	143
Middle town	2	75	23	111
City	4	78	18	50
<u>Land:</u>				
Brandenburg	3	77	20	174
Sachsen	3	74	23	73
Sachsen/Anhalt	4	71	25	48
Thueringen	4	75	21	28
Mecklenburg	1	75	24	115

Reasons given for ascribing greater success to the West in recent East-West developments are tabulated below. Not the least interesting indication is the appreciable proportion of East Germans who apparently view the Korean armistice as a success for the West.

IF "Western Powers":

"In what respect have the Western Powers had more success lately?"

East Zone

21%

Armistice in Korea:

Peace in Korea means a success for the Western Powers, the Communists didn't manage to occupy the whole of Korea, after all; the party that's pursued a genuine policy of peace has had more success, the developments in Korea especially have served to make this plain, it would have been easy for the Americans to overrun North Korea, they preferred to solve the problem through negotiations, though; they've managed to hold their ground and to realize their aims, just think of Korea; in that Communist aggression has been checked wherever it occurred, I'm thinking, above all, of Korea; it's thanks to the Western Powers that a truce based on American proposals has been concluded, in the East Zone press the credit goes to the Peace League; I think it's thanks to Eisenhower that an armistice has been brought about in Korea, he had promised to settle the problem and he has lived up to it, through this he's gained great prestige throughout the world; etc.

Success through unity, strength, and a policy of peace on the part of the West:

16

The Western countries are united among themselves, while the Russians have enemies in their very own country, Russia today looks like Nazi Germany in the years 1944-1945; the political power of the Western Powers increases day by day, negotiations between individual countries have led to quite positive results, the front against Communism gets ever stronger; I don't know much about things like that, people over there live in security and peace, that's why they are united; unity makes for strength, if this weren't so the Russians would have made much more trouble for people; everybody is against Bolshevism, the Russian government is divided as it is, the West, however, pursues a clear-cut policy; that aggressive policy of the Russians always results in a setback, the diplomatic way of handling things that's typical for the Western Powers always leads to positive results; just take the Korean conflict; because they don't proceed in an unreasonable way and they don't use force, thus they'll always achieve better results in the end; the Atlantic Treaty means a success for them, for it's a powerful alliance of the countries of the free world; etc.

In the West there is freedom and humaneness:

10

They are stronger because they've got freely elected governments, a democratic system in short, that's all I've got to say to that; success is all on the side of the West because in the West people enjoy freedom and the West promises freedom to all; in that it has become known throughout the world that people in the Western world lead a free life in contrast to people in the East; they are more popular everywhere as they don't oppress any nation, they have more prestige and that's certainly a success; the Americans let all countries manage their affairs the way they want to, while all those countries in the East have to take directives from the Russians; the Western Powers act in a humane manner and that's why they are more successful; we nurses know that it's thanks to the Christian Western Powers that we can once more go about our job peacefully and nobody bothers us; etc.

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The standard of living in the West is higher - the West is stronger economically:

9%

In the years since the end of the war all countries closely connected with the West have recovered, nations live well and are healthy, the West produces inventions for the benefit of mankind, it will win in the fight against the UDSSR; the Russians exploit every nation while the West sees to it that people fare well, they even supply stuff to them to give a boost to trade and commerce, they want people to be prosperous and content, and that's the advantage they have over the Russians; they know how to bring prosperity to all nations; the West and all countries in the West live well and make progress in reconstruction, they eat well, they can even aid the Eastern countries, nations everywhere feel respect for the Western Powers, nowhere is there ill feeling against them; because the West's economy is much more highly developed than that of the East and that's why they are stronger in military respect, too; economic conditions in the West are more favorable, there's prosperity, in the East people starve; in that the money market is stable, currencies of the Eastern countries are not as solid as those in the Western countries; etc.

The East has fewer followers (loses an ever increasing number of followers) - the West has more followers (wins ever more followers):

8

Ever more people turn their backs on the East, in my opinion Communism has lost the game just everywhere; all over the world the advance of Communism has been checked, Thuringia which used to be the red heart of Germany is now altogether opposed to Communism; it's not so much due to the policy of the Western Powers as to the conduct of the Russians, they've made ever more enemies of people; in all Western countries Communism is suffering setbacks; reconstruction work sponsored by the West and efforts to better the lot of the individual are so valuable a success that it has a very far-reaching effect, people come to realize that the West is full of good will, that's why they fully support the actions and plans of the West, they turn ever more decidedly away from the East; because they act in a more humane way, that's how they win followers, the Russians are too rigorous; the whole world backs the West, for it's obvious that people who live in the East are being harried all the time; etc.

The West is always ready to help (food relief action in Berlin):

8

I think so because they help everywhere, first in Korea, now over here, the Russians do no such thing, that's why they don't have so many friends; the Western powers don't want us to perish, it's a success of Western policy that we can collect those parcels now; the food relief action is proof for that, in that way they show their strength to the East, they demonstrate how to make people content, because in helping the people they've won their confidence, quite the opposite is true of the Russians; they've given economic aid everywhere and that's why all those countries now stick by them; they'll win many followers through this food relief project; because wherever conditions are miserable, they move in and help; because they always support and assist people; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

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East Zone

Change of course of the new Russian government - conciliatory attitude of the Russians:

5%

Russian policy is a proof for this, Malenkov shows a more conciliatory attitude now because his fears of the strength of the Western Powers have increased; the Russians are coming round now because they have to, they've been forced to yield by the tactics applied by the Yanks, they are more willing to negotiate now; in that they carry their point time and again with the Russians, West Berlin, for instance, has not been cut off, and that means a great deal to us; the Church was allowed to hold services again, that's a success for the West, the Russians got scared; if the Western Powers had not demanded repeatedly that we be released, "Red Hilde" would have sent us to the gallows; the Communists are continually easing up on their demands, I only can tune in to East Zone radio stations, but the hidden meaning of their words is they are ready to negotiate; through their measures in the Cold War, I mean the food relief, the Western Powers have forced the Kremlin to adopt a new course, to act differently; etc.

Riots in the East Zone - and elsewhere:

4

The revolts in the East Zone can undoubtedly be put down as a success of the Western Powers; the demonstrations have meant a considerable loss of prestige for the Communist powers; people in the East are discontented everywhere, a 17th of June may easily repeat itself; there's unrest in all Communist countries, guerilla groups are formed whose aim it is to defeat Communism, while the Western world gets stronger all the time; everywhere in the Eastern territories riots have broken out, it's become plain that people everywhere despise the Russians; there were uprisings in the Communist countries which have shown that the Commies are unable to manage things properly; etc.

Success in regard to European cooperation:

4

The fact that the integration of Europe is making headway is a success for the West, the Coal and Steel Pool as well means a big asset; in that the European countries have drawn up a treaty for a European defense community; because at long last they come together, though progress towards a European defense community is still pretty slow; etc.

Four Power conferences:

3

They go all out to arrange a Four Power conference because they want to secure peace for the whole world, that's quite an asset in my eyes; the Western powers have things under control throughout the world, the coming Four Power conference will add to the success they've had so far; in that the Soviets accepted the proposal to hold a Four Power parley; etc.

Stream of refugees moving West:

2

Just take all those refugees streaming into the West, that's a success for the Western Powers, no doubt; they are more popular than the Russians, all of the people living in Russian-occupied areas want to flee to the Western countries and to Germany; the influx of refugees in the West in itself is proof for this, people will always move to places where life is pleasant, and they will always quit if living conditions are miserable; etc.

Other comments:

7

They've been successful in elections in Italy and France; when a group of journalists wanted to travel to Russia, the Russians gave the green light; in their attitude and in their policy generally, I can't give any examples, I don't occupy myself much with politics; etc.

No opinion / No answer:2  
99%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer



## DISSENTING COMMENTS ...

Arguments advanced by the three per cent who judge greater Communist success in the last few months are too few to categorize and are merely listed below. Pro-Communist indications, it will be noted, are minimal.

## IF "Communist Powers":

"In what respect have the Communist Powers had more success lately?"

"Unrest in France, I mean the strikes, and the riots in Italy just occur to me, so it seems the Communist Powers have had more success, after all, for I can't think of anything the Western Powers could show to balance the record."

"Through stubbornly saying "Nyet" in all negotiations the Communists have achieved much more, that's quite plain."

"Through their chicanery and delaying tactics, besides the West really should have got much tougher way back to bring about a reunification of Germany."

"In influencing people, in taking in the younger generation, they've managed to get the FDJ members into their camp, these boys now think just the way the Russians do."

"The truce in Korea, that's what the Communist Powers have been fighting for."

"Just read the last speech of Malenkov and you know all there is to know."

"The Commies have got the upper hand once more, and it's the same with everything else, the Western Powers are yielding all the time, and the East puts on airs, they behave as if they'd have the whole world under their control."

"Right now it looks to me as if the West proceeds too slowly and as if they underrate the Russians, as to diplomatic developments, the Americans have got behind."

"They've managed things in Korea in such a way as to prevent a spreading of the war."

"The Western Powers are more decent, no doubt, but the East always achieves its ends, in Korea as well as in the East Zone they've got their way."

PREPONDERANT SATISFACTION WITH AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA ...

A majority in the present sample (54%) register satisfaction with American policy toward Russia - a two to one preponderance over the 12 per cent dissatisfaction and the 13 per cent partly dissatisfied. In no population sub-group does satisfaction appear to be outweighed by dissatisfaction. Comparative figures suggest that American policy toward Russia achieves higher favor in the East Zone than in the West.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with American policy towards Russia?"

	West Germany (625)	West Berlin (199)	East Zone (440)		
Satisfied	38%	45%	54%		
Dissatisfied	11	19	12		
Partly/partly	22	28	13		
No opinion	29	8	21		
	100%	100%	100%		
	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Partly/ partly	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	56%	15%	15%	14%	241
Women	51	10	10	29	199
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	55	12	9	24	335
Beyond elementary	52	13	26	9	104
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	58	9	10	23	121
30 - 49 years	50	14	16	20	220
50 years and over	58	12	10	20	99
<u>City Size:</u>					
Village	58	12	9	21	134
Small town	52	8	13	27	143
Middle town	50	20	15	15	111
City	58	10	20	12	58
<u>Land:</u>					
Brandenburg	58	10	14	18	174
Sachsen	52	14	16	18	73
Sachsen/Anhalt	52	23	10	15	48
Thuringen	51	14	21	14	28
Mecklenburg	50	10	10	30	115

Reasons for voicing satisfaction are listed below and indicate that American policy is at the same time commended by some for its firmness, by others for its conciliatoriness.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy towards Russia?"

IF "Satisfied":

"Why are you of this opinion?"

East Zone

Because America is firm in its policy:

15%

They don't mince their words when addressing the Russians, they fight Communism; the stand America takes is clear, it faces the Russians determinedly; they really show the Russians some fight; because the Americans oppose the Russians, they make them understand that they can't do just what they please; because ever since Eisenhower took office, the Americans haven't put up with so much as they did before; because America is following a decisive course; because the American government exerts pressure on the Russians and follows a clear-cut course; they drive the Russians into a corner, they make it plain to them that they won't get away with just everything; American policy is firm towards the Soviet Union; the Americans firmly maintain their policy towards the Russians; etc.

Because America tries to settle differences amicably-- avoids war:

14

Because the Americans try to settle differences amicably and try to avoid war; because the Americans try to get the Russians to accept their proposals without risking war; because America is not engaged in any aggressive action against Russia and it doesn't intend to start anything like that, either; because in spite of everything they always try to settle things amicably; it's quite right the way they proceed, for aggressiveness won't get them anywhere; time and again they have declared their willingness to negotiate, and they will always be ready to negotiate; whatever the Americans say or do is all right, they always keep things under control and never use force, I like that; because they negotiate with Russia time and again, they don't use force; they've succeeded in preventing an armed conflict; etc.

Because America follows the right course (general answers):

7

I just feel they are following the right course, that's why I'm satisfied, I can't give any specific reason; the Americans always size up a situation correctly; up till now all they did turned out to be good and right for us; on the whole I don't care much about politics, all I have to say to that is that America goes about things in the right way; because everybody can see that the Americans are full of good will, I can't think of any other reason; I'm just content, that's all, I don't have anything to criticize about American policy, those Yanks are doing a good job; I'm satisfied, I can't put it into words why that's so, I don't know much about things like that; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

Because America acts in a humane, democratic way (general answers):

Because the Americans think and act in a much more humane manner than the Russians who are just brutes; because the Americans act in a democratic manner, and I think that's the right way to act; the Americans behave in a civilized way, they are decent, and that's a good thing, one has to gain a moral victory over one's opponents; because the Americans have more compassion, if they are in control, everything is done in an orderly fashion; I'm satisfied with everything the Americans do, because America is a democratic country; my heart goes out to the Americans as they are always willing to help and always find a good solution to a problem, so I guess that holds true in politics, too; etc.

America tries to solve the German problem:

Because America sincerely wants a peace to be concluded soon but does not want Germany to have disadvantages through it; they keep making efforts to bring about a reunification; because they request the Russians time and again to go along on a German reunification; I guess some day they will liberate us from Russian rule, this will take time, it won't come about so soon as we hope; American diplomats are very efficient, they will achieve favorable results in the Germany issue also; etc.

Because America proved its willingness to help through the food relief scheme:

Because they gave us food parcels and the Russians didn't like that; I have more confidence in the Americans, if they tell you to come and collect food stuffs, you can be sure these foods are right there to be distributed; they always tackle things the right way, just take the gift parcels, this action proved to the Russians that the East Zone isn't forgotten; that food relief was a very good thing, without it we would all have starved in the Russian-occupied Zone; the Americans try to improve things, the parcels we receive prove it; because they supply us with food stuffs and that makes the Russians sore; because they help us as good as they can, they won't let the Germans perish, they made that quite plain to the Russians; etc.

America followed the right course in Korea:

What they've done here was right, in Korea they've been successful; in Korea the Americans forced the Russians to lay down their arms; up till now they've proved to be right in the course they've taken, just think of the Korean affair; etc.

America could be even firmer with the Russians:

It's a prudent policy they are pursuing, maybe it would be wise to exert a little more pressure; they are against the Russians and reject their system, but they should be still a little more forceful; etc.

Other reasons:

I can't yet decide, we have to wait for the outcome of a new Four-Power conference, maybe after that something can be said on this point; whenever injustices occur, the Americans should intervene; because social problems are settled in a more satisfactory manner, the standard of living under the Americans is higher; because the Americans are sincere, they keep their promises; America and Russia quarrel about us, America wants to feather its nest, too, I don't have anything to criticize about American policy; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



DISSATISFIED MOSTLY FEEL U.S. SHOULD PURSUE MORE FORCEFUL POLICY ...

The minority expressing dissatisfaction in whole or in part largely express the opinion that the U.S. should get tougher with Russia - even for some to the extent of using force.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy towards Russia?"

IF "Dissatisfied" or "Partly/partly":

"Why are you of this opinion?"

East Zone

21%

The U.S. should get tougher with the Russians:

They should get much tougher with the Russians, it's just because they haven't been tough with them up till now that they are so bold and nothing gets done; they are over-cautious, they should put more steam on the Russians; the best thing would be if the Americans would chase the Russians away, the Americans should get tougher with the Russians, they should give proof at last that they aren't as weak as the Russians think they are, with such a course of action I would be satisfied; the Americans should get tougher with the Russians, they should throw the Russians out so that we can return to our homelands, we are refugees, our home used to be in Pomerania; they should proceed with more vigour and should force the Russians to give in; it's necessary to get tough with the Russians; it's high time to act more determinedly otherwise the Russians will think the West can be trifled with, they'll come to suffer from megalomania; the Americans don't proceed energetically enough, everything develops too slowly; they are too tolerant and underrate Communism, they should make even more exacting demands; etc.

The Americans have been too trusting of the Russians in the past:

It took them too long to realize how badly the Russians have deceived and cheated them; negotiations about the Germany issue should have been started at an earlier date, it took the Americans too long a time to size up the situation correctly, they believed the arguments brought forward by the Russians; etc.

Other reasons:

The Americans are just as good or as bad as the Russians, in politics they are even worse than the Russians are, they are crooks in the disguise of gentlemen; the Americans are pretty short-sighted, especially now under Eisenhower, and they act accordingly; they don't help us sufficiently, they think we can see how we get out of this sorry mess all by ourselves; we can't do anything but wait and see what's going to happen, in the field of politics developments take a long time, a rash action may lead to war; etc.

26/10

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

III. VIEWS ON KEY POLITICAL ISSUES -  
EDC, FREE ELECTIONS AND NEUTRALITY

MAJORITY HOLD PROSPECTIVE CONFERENCE SHOULD NOT ARREST EDC EFFORTS ...

Whatever the imminence of a Four Power conference, it is the strongly preponderant opinion among the East Germans sampled that efforts toward EDC should go on unabated, rather than be postponed as a possible hindrance to reunification.

"Two persons are discussing what would be better for the future of Germany.

Herr Schulze: If there is any chance for a Four Power conference on Germany, we should postpone all efforts toward creating a West European defense community as otherwise the chances for a reunification of Germany would be hindered.

Herr Maier: We should continue our efforts for a West European defense community regardless of any plans for a Four Power conference for the stronger we get the more we can achieve.

Whom would you be most likely to agree with?"

	West Germany (629)	West Berlin (199)	East Zone (440)
Postpone EDC efforts	28%	21%	19%
Continue EDC efforts	48	72	66
No opinion	24	7	15
	100%	100%	100%

	Postpone EDC efforts	Continue EDC efforts	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	21%	74%	5%...100%	241
Women	17	57	26	199
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	18	65	17	335
Beyond elementary	21	71	8	104
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	23	62	15	121
30 - 49 years	20	70	10	220
50 years and over	12	63	25	99
<u>City Size:</u>				
Village	16	61	23	134
Small town	18	69	13	143
Middle town	25	62	13	111
City	16	82	2	50
<u>Land:</u>				
Brandenburg	19	60	21	174
Sachsen	14	75	11	73
Sachsen/Anhalt	23	67	10	48
Thuringen	36	57	7	28
Mecklenburg	17	71	12	115

Reasons for opposing postponement of EDC efforts were along the following lines:

IF "Continue EDC efforts":

"Why do you oppose the view of Mr. Schulze?" (Postponement)

East Zone

Only a strong West can win concessions from the Russians:

28%

To find a solution for the European defense problem is more important than anything else, only if Europe is united are we in a position to enforce reunification; the stronger you are, the better is your chance to hold our own against the Russians, the West has to get strong first of all; the only way to deal with the East is to face them firmly; Schulze does not realize that Russian moves are never inspired by humane considerations, they knuckle under only if they sense power and strength on the other side, we have to hold on to the defense treaty to be in a position to put the screws on the Russians; irresolution and an over-great keenness to negotiate shown by us will be construed by the Russians as weakness on our part; only if we apply power politics will we get anywhere with the Russians, if the West would yield, they'd just make more exacting demands on the West; postponement would be unreasonable, the West must be strong before it enters into negotiations; Herr Schulze is a Social Democrat, he takes the same line like O. Lenhauer does, while I'm convinced that Adenauer's policy is the wiser course, for the Russians must have visible proof of the strength of their opponents, that's the only way to impress them; etc.

A European defense community is necessary to guarantee Germany's security against Russia:

13

To postpone efforts towards creating a West European defense community would mean to endanger our security, we must make a clean sweep as soon as possible; I'm all for strengthening our position through a European defense community, for the Russians are well armed, too; the Russians go all out to sabotage all defense measures taken by the West, but Germany needs defense forces, it must be strong, therefore the West European countries must unite in a defense community, if Germany is left to its own devices it will fall victim to Russian expansion; if we can't defend ourselves, we'll be sunk, absolutely finished, I tell you; even the most pure-hearted person can't live in peace if his neighbor won't leave him alone, as a German saying goes, that pacifist attitude of Schulze just means that he's scared; after a reunification the Soviets might easily regain influence on Germany, they might even occupy the country once more; I'm all for a West European defense community, for with all those People's Police units the East is pretty strong, therefore the West has to be prepared; etc.

Negotiations with Russia, or a further postponement of decisions, will have no results:

11

We've been sitting back for a long time now and this doesn't get us anywhere; it's no use to wait and see, for the Russians won't go into a Four Power conference anyway, if we go on this way, we'll perish, because that would take too long a time, for we have been doing just this for the past eight years, in that way another eight years will slip by before anything happens; it's been proven that negotiations never lead anywhere and that they only serve to maintain the status quo; in that case we'll never get out of the whole sorry mess, nothing over comes of conferences; we'd keep negotiating and postponing decisions forever, and a reunification would never come about; because in that case it would take ten years to bring about a reunified Germany, they would negotiate interminably and we want to get beyond the negotiation stage, after all; etc.

(Cont'd on next page

- 26 -

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A further postponement would weaken Germany's position, Russia would gain valuable time:

Because it would mean to throw the chance for an early reunification away, the longer we wait with organizing a European defense community, the more time passes in which the Russians can strengthen their position; because it would mean we'd be weakened and the Russians would exploit the situation for their own ends; if we put off organizing the defense community Communism is given time to get still stronger; because all the Russians do is stall for time, while they rearm in their own country, if there should be a clash some day the others would wake up to the fact that they haven't got a thing, and that mustn't happen; I'm sure basically Schulze wants all the best for Germany, but I'm considering the position we're in, over-great restraint is out of place as it means giving a boost to the Russians; the longer it takes to realize reunification the harder it will get for us to get rid of the Russians; etc.

Reunification doesn't hinge on a rejection of the European Defense Community treaty:

Whether or not there is going to be a reunification of Germany does not depend on postponing the creation of the defense community as Herr Schulze thinks, once the Russians are against a thing nothing will make them change their minds, we shouldn't let them intimidate us; there is no guarantee whatever that the Russians will o.k. a reunification of Germany if West Germany does not join the European defense community; I don't think we'll jeopardize a reunification of Germany if we'll declare for a Western military alliance, on the contrary, people don't want to have anything to do with the Russians any more, they try to escape to the West; etc.

Other comments:

A nation must be strong and united, otherwise it won't be so powerful; if we don't bolster Western defense, the East Zone will have no confidence in the West any more; talking about Herr Schulze, he's a type that's scared to death or who has a situation for life he doesn't want to lose, his attitude proves his want of character, he's slack; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



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## DISSENTING OPINIONS ...

The few who opposed continuance of EDC efforts argued as follows:

IF "Postpone EDC efforts":

"Why do you oppose the view of Mr. Maier?"  
(Continuing of EDC efforts)

East Zone

Remilitarization will stiffen Russian resistance - impede a conference:

They should see to it that the Russians get more accessible, as long as there is any talk of remilitarization they'll remain stubborn; the more the Federal government is tying itself to the West and proceeds with plans to establishing an army the wider the gap between East and West will grow; we have to negotiate at last and we'll get to that if we stop rearming; if West Germany continues with its present policy the Russians will never agree to a Four Power conference; because Maier opposes a Four Power conference and the course he favors endangers an agreement between East and West because Russia would sabotage it; etc.

Schulze is right, reunification is more important (general answers):  
Herr Schulze holds the right opinion; reunification is the most important thing; etc.

Defense efforts will lead to bloodshed:

We can do without soldiers for that is what these defense communities really mean, all we have to lose is our wretched lives; nothing can be achieved by force, it would only result in bloodshed and we don't want that to happen again; if the Western Powers get stronger all the time there will be a clash one day; for us that means war; etc.

A military alliance with the U.S. would prevent or delay reunification:  
Then the prospects of a reunited Germany would be delayed, in my opinion, reunification comes first of all; because through such measures reunification would be endangered even more than it already is; because reunification would never be brought about, they just have to negotiate first; etc.

Other answers:

A European defense army won't come about anyway, the French are opposed; by all means reunite East and West Germany first of all so that we can drive the Russians out in a joint effort; reunification would put us in a position to decide our German affairs ourselves and that's the one right thing to do; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WESTERN INSISTENCE ON FREE EAST ZONE ELECTION BEFORE ANY REUNIFICATION  
INTERPRETED APPROVINGLY BY MOST ...

Additionally suggestive of a predominant Western orientation on issues relating to a Four Power conference and German reunification, is the indication that the most of the East Germans sampled give obviously approving interpretations of Western motives for insisting on free elections in the East Zone before any German reunification.

"As you may have heard, the West insists free elections be held in the East Zone before a reunification of the whole of Germany. Why do you believe does the West insist on free elections in the East Zone before a reunification of the whole of Germany?"

East Zone

Because the real opinion of the people in the East Zone has to be ascertained:

Because first of all the West wants to learn what people really think - who is in favor of Communism and who is against it; so that people in the Zone can speak openly since now there is no freedom here; so that the German people can decide which course it wants to take, a decision like that can only be made by the masses; to find out what sort of political attitude people in the East Zone really have; the people are to express their opinion in a free election so as to give a proof that they are in favor of reunification; to learn about the true opinion of the people and to get to know whom they will have to deal with; in order to learn about the opinion of the East Zone people, they want to act according to the will of the people; because then people can express clearly what they want and the will of the people is the deciding factor; by free elections the Americans want to see whether we are more in favor of the East or of the West; etc.

Because the West wouldn't negotiate with any government that isn't elected and approved by the people:

That's evident that they can't negotiate with any government that isn't freely elected; only if a government is freely elected you can be sure that it would represent people's real opinion and spread it, so we have to have a government that is a real representation of the people if they negotiate about the reunification; the people must be represented by an authoritative government in order to negotiate about the reunification, a government elected by the people, I mean, so that the East Zone will get a government which has authority to enter into negotiations; our present government wasn't elected; that's why they have to have a new government to negotiate with about reunification; they couldn't negotiate but with a government elected by the people; it's because they want to talk about reunification only with a government that got into power by free elections; etc.

Because the present government wasn't elected by the people but appointed by the Russians:

These Pankow people don't represent our opinion nor are they typical for our political structure and the West seems to know that very well; that's only fair because we in the East don't have a freely elected government but one appointed by the Russians; we haven't elected Pieck and Ulbricht and would elect quite another sort of men, the Western Powers also don't seem to have a very good opinion of these obedient servants to Moscow who advocate Communist instead of German interests; this government of ours wasn't elected by us, they were just forced upon us and when we'll have free elections now Ulbricht and Pieck may pack up and hit the trail; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

Because the West knows and wants to show it to the world that the East Zone people are on the side of the West:

That they can show the Russians how many people there are in favor of the Western course; so that everyone may see that the people is all for the West; because then the Russians would have to withdraw because they won't get a single vote; because they know for certain that we all would vote for the West; so that the West has a proof that East Germany wants to side with it; because the West knows that the majority is on its side and the Western Powers feel safer if they know how many people are for the West; etc.

Because the West and the East German people know that free elections would overthrow the DDR-government:

Because that's a good thing, we're looking forward to it because the gentlemen of our government would have to go; that people can express their opinion and that would be the end of the DDR-government; I don't think much of elections but we want that Ploetzgang to go to the devil and that can't be done without elections; etc.

Because free elections are a prerequisite for reunification:

Reunification can only be achieved by free elections; elections for East and West Germany must be held in order to get an all-German government; free elections would show the world that we all want to be reunited, it can only be brought about as a result of free elections; first of all they have to hold free elections otherwise there won't be a reunification; because otherwise reunification won't be possible; etc.

Because elections must be held before a government could be formed:

If we form a government first and elections were held afterwards we'll never get a freely elected government; elections must be held before reunification so that the Russians won't have anything to say in the negotiations; because if elections would be held before (a reunification) all people in the Zone would really vote for the West, it would be unfavorable if they would hold elections afterwards because then many people would have changed their mind; because there would be 100% of votes for the West; etc.

Because free elections have to be held under all circumstances:

There have to be free elections; so that we can live in freedom; they want to help us, they know that we live under a burden, free elections would set us free; etc.

Other answers:

Because the Ivans exploit the East Zone; we all hope to get a representation of a Christian attitude then everything will be all right, people who are so hard-hearted can't stay in power any longer; that's what Herr Schulze actually wants, I always think that it's wrong to let things take their course, we must have an opinion of our own and elect our speakers and political leaders ourselves; the Russians try to establish the so-called National Front in the West also, free and secret elections as before 1933 have to be held to prevent them from doing so; etc.

I don't care about elections:

I don't care about elections, I want decent food; even without elections we should be sure that all people are in favor of the West, therefore one should set about a reunification right away, I don't know why they want elections first; etc.

Negative commentaries:

The reunification issue has nothing to do with free elections, that's a matter of the foreign policy of the great powers, besides they should negotiate with those who are in power even if they don't like the government; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

- \* Less than one half of one per cent
- Some respondents gave more than one answer.

13%

8

7

4

1

3

1

\*

7  
103%

The one problem element in the otherwise predominantly favorable picture of East Zone attitudes emerging from the present inquiry, relates to views on a neutral Germany as a price for German reunification. Though opposition is somewhat greater in East Germany, the indication is that there just as in the West the point of view preponderates that a neutral Germany should be accepted if Russia insists on such a condition as a basis for German reunification.

"Supposing Russia would agree to a reunification of Germany through free elections only on condition that Germany would remain neutral and would not be allowed to enter into an alliance with either West or East, would you under these circumstances be more for or more against an immediate reunification?"

	West Germany (625)	West Berlin (199)	East Zone (440)
More for reunification	55%	42%	52%
More against reunification	21	52	39
No opinion	24	6	9
	100%	100%	100%

Group breakdowns in the present instance depart from the general uniformity they have shown on other questions. Though the numbers of cases are too limited for conclusiveness, there is the suggestion that it is most distinctly among youth and among village residents that neutralist propensities most predominate over opposition to such a basis for German reunification. On the positive side there is a suggestion that opposition to German neutrality is greatest vis-a-vis support among East Germans of more advanced education - who can of course be expected to exercise disproportionate weight in any East Zone decision-making.

	If neutrality a condition, more for re- unification	If neutrality a condition, more against reunification	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	52%	43%	5%...100%	241
Women	51	34	15	199
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	54	35	11	335
Beyond elementary	44	51	5	104
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	56	34	10	121
30 - 49 years	54	40	6	220
50 years and over	43	41	16	99
<u>City Size:</u>				
Village	59	31	10	134
Small town	46	40	14	143
Middle town	53	42	5	111
City	50	46	4	50
<u>Land:</u>				
Brandenburg	57	31	12	174
Sachsen	49	44	7	73
Sachsen/Anhalt	50	44	6	48
Thuringen	50	46	4	28
Mecklenburg	47	44	9	115

So apparently in East Germany just as in West Germany support for EDC and Western policy in general does not mean Germans are unwilling to forego this course if it appears that reunification can be obtained at the price of neutrality.

\* It should not be overlooked that to the extent a pro-Western bias is assumed in the present East German sampling, the present adverse indication is conservative and can well be greater.



## REASONS FOR OPPOSING NEUTRALITY ...

Only reasons for opposing neutrality as a price for reunification happened to be gathered in the present study. These cluster around the themes indicated below:

IF "More against reunification":

"Why would you be against it?"

East Zone

23%

Because the danger of Russia invading Germany would be greater:  
Because I fear that in that case Russia might occupy Germany once more at any time; a neutral Germany would be at the mercy of the East; Germany must be permitted to conclude treaties because Russia is so near and is sure to try an attack; as I just said, because then Germany would fall a victim to Communist expansion; a neutral Germany would be unprotected and Russia would regain its influence very soon; we don't want to be neutral because then the Russians would force us to side with them; if Germany would be neutral the Russians would catch us again within the next two or three years, we must be part of the European community otherwise things will go wrong - we must be backed up by the power of the European community; if somebody is in favor of neutrality it's always because he is afraid of a gun, so that's nothing but inactivity; if we would agree to it the Eastern "liberators" would be back in no time; because otherwise the Russians want everything for themselves and they will get it very quickly if Germany is neutral - you never know their plans and all of a sudden they might change their course; neutral and without an army of our own we would be entirely unprotected - and then, that won't be a reunification in freedom but we all would be lost because Russia would be certain to invade us; etc.

Germany cannot exist on its own:

That won't work, then we wouldn't have any trade and commerce; then there wouldn't be any economic progress; we have to trade with the other countries, we have to have an export trade, we can't exist all alone; because in case of Germany being neutral there would be great economic difficulties - we are still too poor to recover economically just by our own work; all nations want to trade with their neighbors, that brings an economic profit for the individual also, we can't be neutral; and what would come after it? Germany was never able to live merely by itself and now less than ever; etc.

Because Germany needs support by the Western Powers (general):

Because Germany can't live without the West, you can see that already now; then the Americans won't be able to help us and that's no good because we are so poor and need help; because we cannot live without support and real help can only be expected from the Western side; because we cannot live on our own right from the start, we still need help; Germany cannot get along without help and this help can only be given by the West; because Germany can and must not be neutral, it has to take sides with the West - neutrality is simply not possible; etc.

Germany's geographic location doesn't permit neutrality:

It's impossible that Germany is neutral because of its geographic location; because Germany cannot be left to rely on itself - its the center of Europe and can be attacked from all sides - that's why it needs an honest partner and that is America; then Germany would be a buffer state and cut off from any help whatever; neutrality is an impossibility for Germany because of its central position; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

6

Other answers:

We have to keep out of war - there is sufficient misery here and widows and orphans; Germany would be open to any outrages; Germany must have its freedom - otherwise it would be isolated and unfree, just as it was; we promised to accept the Contractual Agreement and so we can't just say that we want to be neutral - that would be false to our word; once Germany is reunited it must be able to decide for itself with whom it wants to conclude treaties - without any conditions forced on it; it won't help at all if we are not united; if the condition for reunification would be neutrality and military defenselessness it would only be a sham-success; the moment Germany is reunited we would have finished with Communism and the East or, better the whole of Germany would automatically take sides with the West; etc.

No opinion/No answer:\*  
44%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## IV. REACTIONS TO THE FOOD AID PROGRAM

## AWARENESS OF PROGRAM MOST OFTEN VIA RIAS ...

Awareness of the existence of a food relief program was most generally obtained thru listening to RIAS - thus adding to the many indications of this station's preeminent position as a news source in the East Zone.

"How did you hear about the West's food relief for the East Zone?"

East Zone	
(876)	
Via RIAS	68%
Through acquaintances	23
Via NWDR	17
Through the press	2
Via British radio stations	1
Other sources	3
No opinion/No answer	-
	<u>114%</u>

© Some respondents cited more than one source.

## WIDESPREAD AWARENESS OF AMERICAN ORIGIN OF FOOD AID ...

Almost three quarters of the East German food recipients tested were aware of the fact that America was the source of the food aid.

"Where, in your opinion, does the food come from that is being distributed here to the East Zone people. (Who supplies it, that is to say, who pays for it?)"

America	72%
West Germany	32
West Berlin	13
Western Powers	2
Red Cross	1
Foreign countries	1
American army supplies	*
Other sources	2
No opinion/No answer	4
	<u>127%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**MOST SEE HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS AS MAIN MOTIVE FOR AMERICAN FOOD AID ...**

That American food aid is motivated primarily by humanitarian considerations is the opinion of most of the East Germans sampled in the present survey. Only a minority focused on political considerations and more often than not in terms that indicated approval.

"What do you think is the reason America gives this food to the East Zone?" (Asked of those mentioning America as source of program.)

East Zone

For humanitarian reason - America wants to relieve the distress in the East Zone:

64%

In the first place it certainly is a humane gesture, I don't consider these relief measures to be anything but an act of compassion on the part of the prosperous Americans; the Americans help out of genuine compassion, that's not only my opinion but that of all of us; for humanitarian reasons, the wealthy Americans support the poor Germans, I don't see anything but charity in this action; America knows that we are destitute, that's why they help us, I think that America is always willing to help, I'm thinking of the air lift during the blockade of West Berlin; they helped in the past, too, I remember that when I was a child Quaker agencies supplied free meals; I don't believe what the DDR-government says, that they want to cheat us, I think they do it out of pity; the Americans always help needy people all over the world, since the 17th of June they definitely know that we are wretched, needy and starving, that's why they help us just as they help people in Korea; America has always offered a hand when there was a crisis; simply because they want to help people; because the major part of the population leads a wretched life and the Americans are willing to help these people; they want to help us, we have been starving for too long a time; because we have nothing to eat; to ease the misery in the East Zone; shops over there are empty and we are suffering from hunger, that's why they want to help us; because they know how poor this year's crop was, they want to keep us from starving; they know how things are in the East Zone, they want to help people and want to relieve distress, America is a democratic country and supports all suffering nations; because they are so rich, and we have nothing to eat, therefore they want to help us; etc.

America wants to make propaganda for its own cause - wants to get people on their side:

8

This action is an effective means of propaganda against the East and for the West; it may have some objectives in mind regarding foreign policy, I mean, they want to gain our friendship; besides, I believe that the Americans want to make propaganda for themselves; they want to offer something to people to win their sympathies; to get the East Zone people on its side; this action has a political background: America wants the whole population in the East Zone to side with the West;

America wants to back up people in their fight for freedom:

4

To support us in our fight for freedom, to lift up our spirits and strengthen our morale after the riots; to strengthen the East Zone population's morale in order to prevent them from getting under Ivan's rule; to convince people that they are not left alone in their misery; if the East Zone people see that the Americans support them they might rise up again against the East Zone government very soon; because the West knows that we can only stick out over there if we got enough to eat and they keep telling us to stand our ground; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

- 35 -



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America wants to show that they practice what they preach:

I believe that the West wants to prove that it doesn't just talk big but offers real help; above all, to demonstrate to people in the East Zone that they are concerned about them, they want to prove that they are not the way they are depicted throughout the Zone; they want to demonstrate that they do a better job than those guys in the East Zone; in order to prove by deeds their willingness to help and their solidarity with others, it's not just so much talk; etc.

America wants to fight Communism:

To check Communism; to bring us quick help and to put an end to the East Zone regime; America wanted to expose Russia; their efforts to help us are honest, but there are political motives, too, they want to force Russia to withdraw from East Germany because it is unable to manage its Zone; etc.

Because otherwise the foods would have spoiled:

To get rid of surplus food; America and the Federal Republic has got more than we have, if they don't distribute their surplus food stuffs, they'll have to burn it or throw it away as it spoils when stored for too long a period; etc.

America has political reasons (without exact indication):

Maybe they give food out of friendship - maybe out of political considerations; it's an act of charity, but I believe that also political considerations have been taken into account, the Americans certainly won't help us out of mere charity; etc.

Other reasons:

It probably has something to do with the coming elections in West Germany; they want to demonstrate to the East Zone people that the West has got everything, that its people live better, and that, furthermore, it is in a position to support others; it has no choice other than to support Germany including the East Zone unless it wants us to be gobbled up by the Russians one day, America needs Germany as a market for its goods; if we don't get anything to eat we'll be starved when free elections are held, that's why they help us; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

APPENDIX A: Composition of the East Zone Sample

05365

05238

	TOTAL (876)	Survey A (436)	Survey B (440)
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	52%	49%	55%
Women	48	51	45
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	77	78	76
Beyond elementary	20	22	19
<u>Age:</u>			
Up to 29 years	31	34	28
30 - 49 years	48	45	50
50 years and over	21	21	22
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	5	6	5
Businessmen	7	5	8
White-collar workers	16	14	18
Skilled laborers	20	22	18
Semi-skilled laborers	11	12	10
Service	2	1	3
Farmers	5	5	5
Housewives	21	22	19
Retired, pensioners	8	7	9
Students	2	3	2
<u>City Size:</u>			
Village	31	33	31
Small town	32	31	33
Middle town	25	24	25
City	12	12	11
<u>Land:</u>			
Brandenburg	43	45	40
Sachsen	16	16	17
Sachsen/Anhalt	11	11	11
Thuringen	6	6	6
Mecklenburg	24	22	26

05366

05299

**FURTHER SOUNDINGS OF EAST GERMAN OPINIONS  
ON CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES**

Report No. 186

Series No. 2

September 18, 1953.

CONFIDENTIAL

SECURITY INFORMATION

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## INTRODUCTION

05300

The present report continues an analysis of current East German rank and file political thinking based upon sample surveys conducted among the hundreds of thousands of East Zone residents drawn to West Berlin in connection with the food distribution program. Food is a rather unpolitical attraction and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that the varying shades of East Zone opinion ought to be fairly well represented among the horde of food seekers, except for what is likely to be a relatively small minority of Communist functionaries and diehards.

Interviews were gathered on a random basis at seven of the eight food distribution points set up in West Berlin for the second phase of the food distribution program. One point was omitted as the situation was such that the privacy needed for interviewing was almost impossible to obtain. Findings in the present report are based upon 448 cases and are exclusive of East Berlin opinion since only East Zone residents were focused on for study.

The results of two of the earlier surveys have already been reported.\* The present study presents findings emanating from two further surveys conducted respectively between August 29th and September 2nd, and between the 3rd and 7th of September.

As in the earlier surveys respondents were approached after they had received their food package in order to avoid the unfavorable situation of other East Germans looking on. The only disadvantage to this procedure was that it adds somewhat to the extent of disinclination to be interviewed (approximately one in ten), as some subjects have an understandable desire to hurry home after wearisome hours standing in line awaiting food. Outright objection to being interviewed appeared only rarely.

Interviewing was conducted as usual by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff. Few of the respondents raised any question about auspices and it was obvious that most were under the impression that the inquiry was sponsored by the food distribution authorities.

The caution is repeated from the earlier report that the sampling of East German opinion in these studies falls considerably below ideal standards. Nonetheless, drawing as it does from such a large and diversified representation of East Zone residents - many of whom travelled hundreds of kilometers to West Berlin - it is likely to provide a useful approximation of East Zone opinion. In the absence of anything nearly as good it is worthwhile utilizing less than perfect indications with the caution always, of course, that conclusions are tentative and subject to revision as better information comes to hand. The composition of the obtained samples employed in the present study is indicated in Appendix A. It will be noted that the samples gathered in the two successive surveys do not differ greatly, and that in the overall the distribution of population characteristics in a very general way approximates what might be expected of the East German population.\*\*

\* Report No. 185, dated August 27, 1953 entitled "East Zone Views on the June Riots, Food Aid and Current Political Situation."

\*\* With the exception of Laender - disproportionate numbers, as would be expected, come from regions closer to West Berlin.



I. Judgments on the Adenauer Government and EDC

- ... That the prestige of the Adenauer government is currently high in the eyes of East Germans is rather strongly suggested by the findings of the present study.
- ... And even if the returns are considerably discounted in the interests of caution on the score of sampling, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that there is at least as much approval of Adenauer's activities among East Germans as among residents of the Bonn republic.
- ... Along with the general expression of satisfaction with the activities of the Adenauer government, was a strong endorsement of West German participation in European defense.

II. Current Political Party Preference

- ... The preponderant preference among the East Germans sampled was for a CDU victory in the West German elections.
- ... And more significantly, in the event of free all-German elections the suggestion from the present study is that East Germans would vote preponderantly for the CDU rather than the SPD.
- ... This situation marks a distinct departure from July 1952 indications of preponderant SPD preferences.

III. Attitudes Relating to  
a Four Power Conference and the Problem of German Reunification

- ... The idea of a Four Power conference holds no less appeal in East Germany than in the West, judging from the 97 per cent voiced by the East Zone residents sampled in the present survey.
- ... But East German desire for negotiations does not appear to be so strong as to make any larger proportion approve of discussions that would have present East Zone government leaders speaking for the population.
- ... Additionally suggesting that East Germans are not likely to be interpreting the West's insistence on free elections as a mere delaying tactic, is the disclosure that only about the order of one in ten appear to have any doubt that America is really for the reunification of Germany.
- ... As to the results of a possible Four Power conference, East German expectations appear to be distinctly on the pessimistic side, with three in four voicing the view that any agreement on reunification is unlikely.
- ... Should a Four Power conference come to pass and turn out to be a failure the recommendations of the East Germans sampled preponderantly revolve around the use of more forceful measures, including outright war. As many as four in ten (38%), however, urge continued effort at negotiations and avoidance of war.
- ... More direct suggestion that East Germans are prepared, if need be, to go to extreme lengths to achieve German reunification emanate from a six in ten figure in the present sampling for the proportion who would advocate the use of force to attain reunification should all other means fail.

SECURITY INFORMATIONIV. Attitudes Toward Further Demonstrations

- ... Six in ten (62%) among the East Germans questioned in the present study advanced the opinion that repetition of the June 17th demonstrations is likely to occur.
- ... Opinions appear to be somewhat divided as to whether or not further demonstration would redound to the benefit of the East Zone population. The preponderant view, however - voiced by half - is that further demonstrations would be good.

V. Appraisal of Recent East Zone Relaxation Measures

- ... Finally, it is worth briefly noting that among the East Germans who at the time of the present survey were aware of the East Zone relaxation measures, the preponderant opinion was (1) that the relief measures would not in fact be carried out, and (2) even if they were, the condition of the East Zone population would be little if at all improved.

## SECURITY INFORMATION

## I. JUDGMENTS ON THE ADENAUER GOVERNMENT AND EDC

## WIDESPREAD SATISFACTION VOICED WITH ADENAUER GOVERNMENT ...

That the prestige of the Adenauer government is currently high in the eyes of East Germans is rather strongly suggested by the initial findings of the present study.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?  
(IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied?)  
(IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53 (448)	West Berlin July 53 (199)	West Germany July 53 (625)
Very satisfied	58%	34%	18%
Fairly satisfied	28	50	54
Dissatisfied	2	8	13
Very dissatisfied	*	2	2
No opinion	12	6	13
	100%	100%	100%

Even if the East Zone returns are considerably discounted in the interests of caution on the score of sampling, it is hard to avoid the conclusion of at least as much approval of Adenauer's activities among East Germans as among residents of the Bonn republic. And this latter extent was enough, it will be remembered, to reelect Adenauer's administration with the greatest margin in recent German history.

In no population grouping of the East Germans sampled, it will be noted below, does dissatisfaction reach as high as one in five.

	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Dis- satisfied	Very dis- satisfied	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	56%	33%	2%	1%	8%...100%	270
Women	60	22	2	*	16	178
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	60	27	1	-	12	336
Beyond elementary	52	31	4	3	10	112
<b>Age:</b>						
Up to 29 years	55	33	3	1	8	112
30 to 49 years	54	30	1	1	14	226
50 years and over	67	20	3	-	10	110
<b>City Size:</b>						
Village	57	32	1	-	10	135
Town	59	27	2	1	11	247
City	54	25	3	2	16	61
<b>Origin:</b>						
Brandenburg	53	33	1	*	13	290
Sachsen	54	29	5	-	12	66
Sachsen/Anhalt	79	12	2	-	7	43
Thuringen	64	13	5	9	9	22
Mecklenburg	78	18	-	-	4	23

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

SECURITY INFORMATION

## WIDESPREAD ENDORSEMENT OF GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

In line with their general expression of satisfaction with the activities of the Adenauer government the East Germans sampled strongly endorsed West German participation in European defense.

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53	West Berlin July 53	West Germany July 53
Very much for it	66%	50%	22%
Somewhat for it	21	28	31
Very much against it	4	9	21
Somewhat against it	4	6	12
No opinion	5	7	14
	100%	100%	100%

Again, it will be noted, the figures raise the possibility that attitudes may even be more favorable in the East Zone than in West Germany or West Berlin.

Among population groupings opposition to German defense participation nowhere exceeds the order of one in ten.

	Very much for it	Somewhat for it	Very much against it	Somewhat against it	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	73%	17%	4%	4%	2%...100%	270
Women	55	28	4	3	10	178
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	66	21	4	4	5	336
Beyond elementary	65	23	5	2	5	112
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	66	20	6	4	4	112
30 to 49 years	66	22	3	5	4	226
50 years and over	65	22	4	1	8	110
<u>City Size:</u>						
Village	74	16	1	4	5	135
Town	63	24	4	4	5	247
City	66	21	8	2	3	61
<u>Origin:</u>						
Brandenburg	66	22	3	4	5	290
Sachsen	60	23	5	6	6	66
Sachsen/Anhalt	70	12	9	2	7	43
Thuringen	68	23	9	-	-	22
Mecklenburg	78	18	-	-	4	23



...II. CURRENT POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCES

PARTY PREFERENCE IN THE BONN ELECTION ...

Though East Germans are not at present in a position to vote, their political preferences are nonetheless interesting for their intimations of what may occur should free elections come to pass.

The first important indication is that the preponderance of East Germans, sampled as of prior to the Bonn election, expressed a preference for a CDU victory. Only among Thuringers (for whom the number of cases is too soant to be more than barely suggestive) was the SPD not left behind, and in this instance did not do more than hold its own.

"Aside from which party you would like to see in power in the East Zone - which party would you like to see win at the next elections for the Bundestag in West Germany?"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53 (448)
CDU/CSU	45%
SPD	27
FDP	3
DP	1
NDP	*
RHE	-
KPD	*
Other parties	1
None	1
No opinion	22
	<u>100%</u>

	CDU/CSU	SPD	FDP	Other parties	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	45%	32%	3%	3%	17% ...100%	270
Women	46	18	3	1	32	178
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	45	27	1	1	26	336
Beyond elementary	47	24	11	4	14	112
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	44	25	4	4	23	112
30 to 49 years	42	31	2	2	23	226
50 years and over	52	20	4	2	22	110
<u>City Size:</u>						
Village	40	30	1	1	28	135
Town	48	25	4	2	21	247
City	48	31	3	3	15	61
<u>Origin:</u>						
Brandenburg	42	28	2	2	26	290
Sachsen	50	23	5	6	16	66
Sachsen/Anhalt	51	28	7	-	14	43
Thueringen	36	36	9	5	14	22
Mecklenburg	61	18	4	-	17	23

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## PARTY PREFERENCE IN ALL-GERMAN ELECTION ...

The second and more significant revelation relates to East German party preferences in the event of free all-German elections. To the extent that the present sampling is representative of East German opinion, the indication is again that the CDU would win. This situation marks a distinct change from a July 1952 indication of preponderant SPD preferences among East Germans.

"Supposing all-German elections would come about to which all parties in East and West Germany would be admitted: to which party would you personally give preference?"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53 (448)	July 52 <sup>o</sup> (241)
West CDU/CSU	45%	23%
SPD	29	38
FDP	4	10
East CDU	*	*
East LDP	-	*
SED	-	*
Other parties WEST:	3	7
Other parties EAST:	-	*
None	1	-
No opinion	18	22
	100%	100%

These findings are of no little importance and should they stand up in further studies will call for revisions in the assumptions of many as to political party preferences in East Germany.

The CDU lead is not clear in all population groups, but is only reversed among residents of Thueringen (for which it must again be cautioned the number of cases are but a handful).

	West CDU/CSU	SPD	FDP	East CDU, East LDP, SED, other parties East	Other parties West	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	44%	34%	5%	1%	4%	12%..100%	270
Women	44	21	3	1	2	29	178
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	44	29	1	-	3	23	336
Beyond elementary	45	28	13	3	4	7	112
<u>Age:</u>							
Up to 29 years	47	24	6	1	2	20	112
30 to 49 years	39	35	4	*	3	19	226
50 years and over	52	20	5	1	4	18	110
<u>City Size:</u>							
Village	42	30	2	1	4	21	135
Town	48	27	5	1	2	17	247
City	38	34	7	-	5	16	61
<u>Origin:</u>							
Brandenburg	43	30	2	-	3	22	290
Sachsen	42	26	8	1	6	17	66
Sachsen/Anhalt	56	28	7	-	-	9	43
Thueringen	32	45	13	-	5	5	22
Mecklenburg	61	17	9	4	-	9	23

\* This East German sampling conducted in connection with an exhibition in West Berlin also included East Berliners, whose views however were similar to these of East Zone respondents.

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR PREFERRING THE CDU ...

Reasons for preferring the CDU ran in the following vein:

"For what reasons would you give preference to the CDU/CSU?"

East Zone

Because it was quite successful in West Germany:

12%

"The last four years showed what he and his party have done for the people."

"Because we know and have seen their achievements, even if there is unemployment in Berlin and West Germany people are well off."

"Because they have great achievements in the political, economic and social field."

"They have done a lot for the people and for Germany, you can see that this party is successful."

"The West-CDU has had great success, they have mastered all the difficulties which result from a Post war and succeeded in regaining sovereignty for the Federal Republic."

"The CDU has had much success in the West."

"West Germany has recovered and regained its position under the CDU government. I don't know how good the other parties are but the CDU was certainly successful."

"Because I see that they do well."

Because it is the best party (general remarks):

12

"Because it's the one that is most acceptable to me."

"Because I like it better than the others."

"I like this party best of all."

"Well, because it was and is in my line."

"Because it is for justice, I'm all for the CDU."

Because it has a Christian and democratic attitude:

11

"They have a democratic basis, they advocate social principles based on Christian ethics."

"I have always been close to CDU because I was brought up with these principles, namely the Christian and the social principle."

"They are based on the Christian faith and their governmental methods are democratic."

"Because in the CDU there are Christians, the party is not their chief concern but the human being."

"It is a Christian party, all nations in the world have committed so many sins by all this murdering that it's high time to return to God, with regard to politics as well as to other fields."

Because it stands up for the East Zone:

5

"The Adenauer government did a lot to help us."

"Because the party really looks after us and has given us economic aid out of the Federal reserves."

"Because Adenauer has stood up for the East Zone and German reunification."

"Adenauer stands up for the East by trying to establish a European army which would never be needed for the West."

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## SECURITY INFORMATION

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East Zone

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34

Because it is successful with the Western Powers:

"Adenauer is the right man, everybody knows that, he had a great success with the Western Powers."

"It's quite a lot it has achieved and it's held in great esteem by the Allies."

"Adenauer is a man who knows how to handle politics - he is sure to get along with the Allies, they know that he knows his job, he's proved that in the past."

"His course of close attachment to the West is the right one."

Because it advocates a firm attitude toward Russia:

1

"The CDU is in favor of a firm attitude toward Russia and that's the right one, a yielding or weak attitude will induce it to ask for more all the time."

"Because it is for a firm political attitude and that's the right thing to do to make something of an impression on the Russians."

"It has proved more than all the others that it is against the Communist regime - it fights Communism with the strongest available means."

Other answers:

4

"Because I believe that the CDU is capable of handling political affairs the peaceful way."

"Its program is a feasible one, it doesn't have to trim its sail to the wind as, for instance, the SPD does."

"The government has to be run by a party of intellectuals, of course, workers must be represented as well but the leading positions have to be filled with well-educated and well-trained personalities and such people are available in the CDU."

"Because it's the only really democratic party."

"We can't all be rich but they respect a man as a human being, workers also can stand up for their rights."

"Because up to now the CDU stood up for the working classes."

No opinion / No answer:\*  
48%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## REASONS FOR PREFERRING THE SPD ...

Supporters of the SPD commented as follows:

"For what reasons would you give preference to the SPD?"

East Zone

Because the SPD is a workers' party 'a party for the majority of the people):

16%

"Because I am a worker and I believe that this workers' party attends best to my interests."

"Because I am a worker and I believe that this workers' party looks after the interests of workers."

"Because it's a workers' party, and I stand up for my party."

"Because the SPD does most to better the lot of the workers."

"Because for reasons of class interests the working classes back it."

"Because it is a party which has been a workers' party for a long time."

"In my opinion this party is the most popular one and, above all, it attends to the interests of the working classes."

"I see in the SPD a party which is most seriously concerned with bettering economic circumstances and social services for workers and middle class people alike."

Because the SPD most strives for the reunification of Germany:

2

"It looks to me as if the SPD would fight hardest for a reunification of Germany."

"Because to the SPD the reunification of Germany is the political problem that is the most important of all, and as a party it's more flexible than the CDU."

"I like the program of the SPD, it's clear-cut and for the SPD the reunification of Germany has priority among all issues."

Because the SPD opposes war:

1

"Because the SPD rejects any kind of military aggression."

"The SPD is against any military measures, it wants to employ all possible means to arrive at a favorable settlement through negotiations."

Other answers:

14

"Because the SPD fights for freedom and justice, the SPD doesn't put up with so much as others do."

"The SPD advocates a just cause and it guarantees a sensible policy to some extent, already the name SPD stands for that."

"Because the policy of the CDU is too much oriented towards America, while the SPD stands up for our interests, for German interests that is."

"Because the SPD doesn't go along on just everything as the CDU does, that doesn't mean, however, that I fully agree with the policy of the SPD."

"I support the program of the SPD without any reservations, I reject any influence the churches may exert in politics."

"Because I believe that you have to promote socialism to make people immune against Communism."

"Because I have never been a Communist and I don't ever want to become a Communist, and because I approve of the program of the SPD."

No opinion / No answer:

\*  
33%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## REASONS FOR PREFERRING THE FDP ...

Pro-FDP comments ran as follows (comments merely listed as too few to categorize):

"For what reasons would you give preference to the FDP?"

"It is the party of the 'golden mean,' not too much influenced by the church, and not so one-sided in its party views as for instance the SPD."

"Because it is a party that is influenced neither by church nor by narrow party politics - but only acts according to the claims of reality."

"They stand for the middle course, for the middle classes, they also stand for liberty, and have no dictatorial intentions."

"It seems to me that the FDP is not so strongly oriented towards the churches. Besides I've been listening to the program 'Party talks on the coming elections' for some time, and I agree most with the FDP."

"I like the political course of the FDP because of their non-radical views."

"The FDP program is the best and keeps to the golden mean. Not so much religion as in the CDU, and not so much opposition as shown by the SPD."

"Because it is the most conservative party of Germany in my opinion."

"I like the liberalism of the FDP, no other party has got that."

"My brother is a member of the FDP, and we always talk of the aims of the FDP, so I'm quite well informed about them."

"Because this government advocates the economic interests of Germany in the best way and is against Communism."

"I think I belong to the middle classes though I earn less than any unskilled worker, and I believe that the FDP advocates our interests best."

## PRO-DP COMMENTS ...

"The DP is the only party that has enough courage and pride to hold up a mirror to our former enemies and expose the Nuremberg trials to criticism. It is the only party that really thinks of Germany as a nation and is not taken in by this EDC business."

"This party is genuinely German and has also got enough pluck to tell the Western powers what we don't like about them."

"The DP is the party with the strongest nationalist doctrines and that's what impresses me."

"I am a German, and I'll always be a German, that's the only reason."

"I fought at the Russian front and hate the Russians and the French (I was there during the war, too). The DP is the only decent and completely German party."

"At present, this is the only party in Germany that stands up for national demands and the only anti-marxist party of any consequence."

## PRO-BHE COMMENTS ...

"I come from Kolberg(Pomerania) and I believe that the BHE is the party that will do its best to help us get back to our homeland."

"I owned a large estate in the country of East Prussia and now I live on a dunghill in the backwoods. The BHE tries to promote our rights."

"I come from East Prussia and I think that only this party can advocate our claims in the right way. They stand for our return to our homes."

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III. ATTITUDES RELATING TO  
A FOUR POWER CONFERENCE AND THE PROBLEM OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION

IDEA OF CONFERENCE WIDELY ENDORSED ...

The idea of a Four Power conference holds no less appeal in East Germany than in the West judging from the 97 per cent approval voiced by the East Zone residents sampled in the present survey.

"Do you happen to know whether or not a Four Power conference is planned for the near future? (About when?)"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53 (448)	West Berlin July 53 (199)	West Germany July 53 (625)
Yes	59%	82%	57%
No	41	18	42
No opinion	-	-	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you approve or disapprove of this?" (after all uninformed told the following - "Recently the foreign ministers of the three Western Powers England, France, and America invited Russia to a Four Power conference for some time around September of this year.")

Approve	97%	95%	83%
Disapprove	3	4	3
No opinion	*	1	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

BUT FREE ELECTIONS INSISTED UPON AS PREREQUISITE TO GERMAN NEGOTIATIONS ...

But East German desire for negotiation does not appear to be so strong as to make any larger proportion approve of discussions that would have present East Zone government leaders speaking for the population. Even if such a course meant that reunification would be delayed almost three in four (72%) of the East Germans sampled stated that free elections of East German representatives must be insisted upon.

"Would you approve of the present leaders of the East Zone government representing the population of the East Zone at negotiations on a reunification of Germany with the Big Four

or

should the Western Powers insist that only a delegation of the people in the East Zone formed via free elections be allowed to negotiate about the reunification of Germany?"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53	West Berlin July 53	West Germany July 53
Present leaders of the East Zone government	5%	4%	8%
Freely elected delegation of the people	94	93	68
No opinion	1	3	24
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Freely elected delegation of the people":

"Would you agree to this even if that would mean that a reunification and a peace treaty for Germany would not yet come about, or would you then not agree to this condition of the Western Powers?"

Yes, agree to it even then	72%	68%	42%
No, then not agree to it	19	22	17
No opinion	3	3	9
	<u>94%</u>	<u>93%</u>	<u>68%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Insistence upon free elections of East German representatives prior to any German negotiations on reunification appears to have majority status among all the various population components of the East German sample utilized in the present study.

"Would you approve of the present leaders of the East Zone government representing the population of the East Zone at negotiations on a reunification of Germany with the Big Four

or

should the Western Powers insist that only a delegation of the people in the East Zone formed via free elections be allowed to negotiate about the reunification of Germany?"

IF "Freely elected delegation of the people":

"Would you agree to this even if that would mean that a reunification and a peace treaty for Germany would not yet come about, or would you then not agree to this condition of the Western Powers?"

	Yes, agree then	No, then to it	Approve representation by present leaders	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	76%	17%	6%	1%...100%	270
Women	71	21	4	4	178
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	72	19	5	4	336
Beyond elementary	72	22	4	2	112
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	73	17	8	2	112
30 to 49 years	71	21	4	4	226
50 years and over	73	19	3	5	110
<u>City Size:</u>					
Village	75	18	3	4	135
Town	71	20	5	4	247
City	70	23	7	-	61
<u>Origin:</u>					
Brandenburg	75	17	5	3	290
Sachsen	71	24	3	2	66
Sachsen/Anhalt	63	21	7	9	43
Thueringen	59	32	5	4	22
Mecklenburg	78	18	-	4	23

#### FEW DOUBT AMERICA IS FOR GERMAN REUNIFICATION ...

Additionally suggesting that East Germans are not likely to be interpreting the West's insistence on free elections as a mere delaying tactic, is the disclosure that only about the order of one in ten appear to have any doubt that America is really for the reunification of Germany.

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning the reunification of Germany?"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53 (448)	West Berlin April 53 (491)	West Germany April 53 (376)
I'm sure the United States is for a reunification of Germany	89%	84%	65%
I have some doubts that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	7	10	14
I'm very doubtful that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	1	-	2
I'm sure the United States is not for a reunification of Germany	1	1	2
No opinion	2	5	17
	100%	100%	100%



## MOST PESSIMISTIC ON PROBABLE OUTCOME OF ANY CONFERENCE ...

As to the results of a possible Four Power conference, East German expectations appear to be distinctly on the pessimistic side with three in four voicing the view that any agreement on reunification is unlikely. In no population group does more than a third express optimism.

"Apart from what you may hope for or wish from such a Four Power conference, do you consider it more likely that at this Four Power conference an agreement on the reunification of Germany will be reached, or do you consider it more likely that no such agreement will be reached?"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53	West Berlin July 53	West Germany July 53
Agreement likely	20%	41%	26%
Agreement unlikely	75	52	43
No opinion	5	7	31
	100%	100%	100%

	Agreement likely	Agreement unlikely	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	18%	80%	2%...100%	270
Women	23	67	10	178
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	21	74	5	336
Beyond elementary	18	78	4	112
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	22	72	6	112
30 to 49 years	21	75	4	226
50 years and over	17	78	5	110
<u>City Size:</u>				
Village	12	81	7	135
Town	24	72	4	247
City	21	76	3	61
<u>Origin:</u>				
Brandenburg	20	74	6	290
Sachsen	18	79	3	66
Sachsen/Anhalt	23	75	2	43
Thueringen	18	77	5	22
Mecklenburg	31	65	4	23

## IF A CONFERENCE FAILS? - WHAT THEN? ...

Should a Four Power conference come to pass and turn out to be a failure the recommendations of the East Germans sampled preponderantly revolve around the use of more forceful measures including outright war. As many as four in ten (38%), however, urge continued effort at negotiations and avoidance of war.

"Supposing such a Four Power conference would turn out a failure, what would you like to see the Western Powers do then?"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53	West Berlin July 53	West Germany July 53
Tough reactions	50%	21%	47%
Conciliatory reactions	38	39	34
Indeterminate	-	1	2
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%	100%

	Tough reactions	Conciliatory reactions	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	57%	34%	9%...100%	270
Women	37	45	18	178
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	37	15	336
Beyond elementary	52	42	6	112
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	45	47	8	112
30 to 49 years	52	36	12	226
50 years and over	48	34	18	110
<u>City Size:</u>				
Village	58	30	12	135
Town	45	44	11	247
City	44	38	18	61
<u>Origin:</u>				
Brandenburg	46	41	13	290
Sachsen	51	32	17	66
Sachsen/Anhalt	58	33	9	43
Thueringen	64	36	-	22
Mecklenburg	61	30	9	23

MEASURES RECOMMENDED IF A CONFERENCE FAILS ...

The concrete recommendations, should a conference fail, ran in the following vein:

"Supposing such a Four Power conference would turn out a failure, what would you like to see the Western Powers do then?"

TOUGH REACTIONS

East Zone

They should liberate the East Zone by force.

23%

"Then we've come to the point where something must be done, I mean, then we'll have to do some sword rattling, we'll once more paint the slogan: "Wheels must turn towards victory" on our engines, we'll be glad to help the Western Powers win."

"Then they shouldn't hesitate any more and should start another war, so that the situation is clarified at last, it's no use to wait any longer because the Russians get stronger all the while."

"The European army should take shape at last, we'd be glad to walk in stockings, figuratively speaking, to fit out the soldiers of the European army with shoes, they've got to go into action and it would be a success, even pitch-forks could be turned into weapons."

"Military forces should move into the East Zone, that's it, they've got a surprise coming, for the members of the People's Police will desert, and I'm sure the Russians will do so, too."

"Threatening to use force of arms they should present the Russians with an ultimatum: either war to the knife or the Russians will have to come round."

"I would regret such a development, but in that case they should use force on the Russians, I mean, the Western Powers should take away the East Zone from them by force."

"Then they should use force, I'm in favor of such a course of action even if it would mean I had to join the army once more to fight the Reds."

"In that case the Western Powers should proceed with utmost ruthlessness, they should send the Russians packing, we'll support the Western Powers in any conceivable way, they should make it quite plain that they are in control of the situation."

"Then they should strike the first blow."

"Then they shouldn't dilly-dally any more, we haven't got anything to lose any more, they should tell the Russians that now we'll press our rights by using armed force."

"They should force the Russians to withdraw from Germany, in my eyes, every possible means should be employed."

"They should invade the East Zone and enforce the reunification of Germany."

"They should take the Russians to task, they should put the screws on them, they should even consider war, for the whole world will fight against the Russians."

They should take more vigorous measures:

17

"They should try to make headway by taking aggressive measures, there should be an end to political approaches and friendly talk, I think it would suffice to threaten the Russians with using military means to make them give in, they fear the military superiority of the Americans."

"They should sit back for a while, but not for too long, then they should exert a little pressure, just so much that bloodshed will be avoided as far as possible."

"The Western Powers should employ more rigorous measures, they should use force, but they should try to avoid war, if possible."

"They should present them with an ultimatum, in case they are not willing to leave Germany and to agree to terms laid down at a conference, armed force should be employed to make them come round."

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"In that case the Western Powers should say: It's one thing or the other! - I mean, they should threaten to go to war, as things stand today the Russians can't yet risk war and thus they'll give in, Malenkov isn't sure yet whether the Russians will stick by him or whether they'll desert."

"They should try to get somewhere by taking aggressive measures, that appeasing and easy-going policy should be discontinued, they've tried this line long enough by now, I feel that military threats would suffice to make the Russians knuckle under, they are afraid of the superiority of the Americans in regard to material and equipment."

"The Western Powers should exert pressure, they should threaten the Russians and present them with an ultimatum, if the Russians won't accept the terms of the ultimatum, then we'll have to face the music, I feel they should use force in that case."

"The EDC-treaty should be ratified as soon as possible, a United Europe should be established and Germany should be admitted to the Atlantic Pact community, and 30 divisions should be set up."

#### They should boycott Eastern trade:

74

"They should impose a blockade on Russia, they should cut off the Russians completely and should thus force them to yield."

"They should break off trade relations with Russia and the satellite countries, they'd be sunk without the Western countries trading with them."

"They should exert pressure on Russia in such a way that its economy is weakened, they should break off all trade relations with Russia."

"No shipments from the West to Russia should be permitted, then they'll soon be at the end of their tether, I've seen for myself that seeds, fertilizers and things like that are imported from the West, they themselves haven't got anything."

"They should impose a blockade on Russia and the Communist countries, so that they will all starve, that's all I've got to say to that, I'm no diplomat, after all."

"They should boycott the trade of the Soviet Union, in that way they would turn the steam on them."

#### Others:

3

"In an ultimatum addressed to Russia the Americans should ask the Russians to reveal their plans, consulting the Germans they should examine the Russian reply critically, then they should appeal to all United Nations members to help liberating East Germany from Russian oppression."

"The Western Powers should declare our country to be a colony of the United States, that would be a way out of the whole mess, and the Russians would be the losers, if we'd be completely under American protection, the Russians would be powerless."

"They should keep after them, some day they'll make them knuckle under, I'm sure."

"They should be more firm with the Russians in diplomatic dealing so that they'll have to give in at last, they may even try to corner them."

#### CONCILIATORY REACTIONS

#### They should keep trying to get results through negotiations:

26

"They should negotiate time and again, the Russians simply have to see the light some day."

"They should keep on trying to come to an agreement through diplomatic channels."

"They should show great patience in negotiating, the Russians are sure to come round some day, above all, they shouldn't talk about rearmament all the time, for then the Soviets will become ever more unyielding as they feel threatened."

(Cont'd on next page)

- 14 -



(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

"A new conference should be called, they should try time and again to get favorable results."

"In any case, no stone should be left unturned to bring about reunification."

"They should keep on trying to arrange negotiations until the Soviets will show their colors at last."

"They should plead for free all-German elections and press the others time and again in order to settle the issue amicably."

"America should discuss things directly with Russia without consulting France or England, the more conferees there are, the greater is the danger that no agreement will be reached."

They should try anything short of war:

6

"They should do something, no doubt, but I wouldn't know what, whatever it is, they will do mustn't lead to another war in any case."

"I don't know, there are many courses they could take and I really can't tell which one would be wisest, but there must not be another war."

"I don't know enough about politics to suggest a course of action for them, but they mustn't start a new war by all means."

"I don't know what to say to that, I don't concern myself much with politics, I only feel they should try to save us from a new war, I don't care at all whatever else they may do."

Both sides should yield a little:

1

"By giving in to some of the demands made by Russia they should bring about new negotiations."

"The Americans should yield a little, and they should get the Russians to give in a little, too, then they should suggest a new conference."

Others:

5

"My husband feels it would be best if we would all emigrate to America, the Western countries should absorb us all and should leave the land to the Russians, none if it can be redeemed anyway, but all people who live in the East should be resettled in the West or abroad."

"They should wait and see until reunification will come about all by itself, it seems as if the Russians won't be able to hold their position over here for long, some day they simply will have to give in."

"The conference simply must be successful, it must not fail,"

No opinion / No answer:12  
100%

- FORCE ADVOCATED IF REUNIFICATION NOT TO BE ACHIEVED IN ANY OTHER WAY ...

More direct suggestion that East Germans are prepared, if need be, to go to extreme lengths to achieve German reunification emanates from a six in ten figure in the present sampling for the proportion who would advocate the use of force to attain reunification should all other means fail.

"Suppose the future would reveal that the reunification of Germany could only be accomplished by force, would you then agree to Germany's using force if it would be able to do so, or would you disagree?"

	East Zone Aug/Sept 53 (448)	West Berlin April 52 (189)	West Germany April 52 (1172)
Agree	62%	32%	15%
Disagree	34	60	73
Qualified answer	3	3	2
No opinion	1	5	10
	100%	100%	100%

In no population component of the present sample, it may be seen below, does disagreement with the use of force attain majority status.

	Agree	Disagree	Q.A.	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	65%	31%	4%	*...100%	270
Women	57	38	2	3	178
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	63	32	3	2	336
Beyond elementary	60	36	4	-	112
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	61	34	4	1	112
30 to 49 years	61	35	3	1	226
50 years and over	65	30	3	2	110
<u>City Size:</u>					
Village	73	25	1	1	135
Town	57	37	4	2	247
City	57	36	7	-	61
<u>Origin:</u>					
Brandenburg	63	32	3	2	290
Sachsen	54	41	5	-	66
Sachsen/Anhalt	56	42	2	-	43
Thuringen	77	23	-	-	22
Mecklenburg	74	22	4	-	23

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## IV. ATTITUDES TOWARD FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS

## MAJORITY SEE FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS LIKELY ...

Six in ten (62%) among the East Germans questioned in the present study advanced the opinion that repetition of the June 17th demonstrations is likely to occur. In no population group did more than the order of a third judge further demonstrations to be unlikely.

"All things considered: do you think it likely or unlikely that it will again come to demonstrations and unrest - such as on the 17th of June - in the East Zone?"

East Zone  
Sept 53  
(448)

Likely	62%
Unlikely	29
No opinion	9
	<u>100%</u>

	Likely	Unlikely	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	64%	31%	5%...100%	275
Women	59	24	17	173
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	63	27	10	355
Beyond elementary	59	36	5	93
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	72	24	4	123
30 to 49 years	60	29	11	210
50 years and over	57	31	12	115
<u>City Size:</u>				
Village	67	21	12	178
Town	59	33	8	211
City	59	36	5	59
<u>Origin:</u>				
Brandenburg	64	27	9	307
Sachsen	51	36	13	77
Sachsen/Anhalt	67	33	-	30
Thueringen	60	30	10	10
Mecklenburg	75	17	8	24

## REASONS ADVANCED FOR ANTICIPATING FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS ...

Reasons expressed for anticipating further demonstrations in East Germany were along the following lines:

"All things considered: do you think it likely or unlikely that it will again come to demonstrations and unrest - such as on the 17th of June - in the East Zone?"

IF "Likely": "Why do you believe that to be likely?"

East Zone

Discontent and unrest is ripe:

20%

"Because the workers stand around with their fists in their pockets, they are so depressed and grumble, they'll for sure start riots again soon."

"Because people are terribly mad and they are not as cautious as they used to be, all of them show openly that they are mad."

"Because the workers realized that they are being exploited, they are discontented to the highest degree."

"The workers are restless and angry because there were no improvements for them. Therefore they will rise again."

"People's minds are full of discontent, they only think of their enemies."

"People are angry and indignant about the conditions here."

"They all grumble and after all, one day it will come to blows for sure."

"There is just as much discontent as there was before June 17th, people are not at all quiet, they won't stand everything the government does."

Promised changes have not been made:

19

"They stick to the same policy, only they call it by a different name, but the workers won't stand it, they'll start new riots."

"Because they did not keep their promises and the demands of the people concerning the resignation of the present government have not yet been fulfilled."

"Because the concessions are only a pretext and the pressure increases more and more."

"People are mad with the government, because they made a lot of promises and did not keep any, therefore it will soon come to a clash."

"Not everything the people demanded on the 17th of June has been granted as yet. Therefore I do believe that the people will riot again in order to force the government at last to make life easier for us."

"Because the attitude of the government did not change fundamentally and people are not yet calmed down."

"Because the promises were not kept, now things are just the same as they were before."

"Because there has been no change in the East Zone, workers will again find courage to start riots."

"After June 17th, things got worse. Nothing improved after all, rather things got worse. It cannot go on this way. We'll have to do something to free ourselves."

Anger at measures taken against the Western aid programs:

10

"Because people are furious at the "Volkspolizei" (people's police), that they take away the food parcels they've picked up in West Berlin."

"Because they threaten to fire us if we go and pick up the parcels here in West Berlin, and people won't stand that and therefore they'll blow up again."

"It is especially because of their measures against the food parcel project that they'll bring us on the verge of boiling over."

"They allow nobody to go to Berlin to pick up the parcels, and that makes people even more furious."

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"Because there are still small riots because of the food we get from the West. People's police take the food away at the stations and sell it shortly afterwards. People are mad about that, they will revolt again soon."

"If they keep on slave-driving, don't permit us to travel, imprison people and take away the food parcels we get from the West, there will soon be another riot."

Intolerable political pressure:

9/

"We are under such a pressure and are spied on that it almost cannot be endured any longer."

"Because they continue with forcible measures. But people won't bear that continually."

"People are still kept under pressure. Nobody endures many years of slavery."

"The spy-system has become even more rigid and people will not endure it any longer."

"Controls are getting stricter all the time."

"The stress the Russians put on us will fill the cup to the brim, just as it was on the 17th of June."

Economic injustices:

5

"Because conditions are getting worse and worse in the East Zone, I mean in regard to wages and the standard of living."

"Because our wages are too low, and prices are far too high."

"They are threatening again to increase the working norms."

"Why, they can't go on enslaving the people like that. I'm thinking of the high norms, you simply can't fulfill them, people work themselves just to death."

"Because conditions are still unbearable - the quota requirements imposed on the farmers have been maintained at the same height."

"Because of this norm business, you can't get any quality work done, and then there are no longer any possibilities to earn money. Living costs are too high, far too high."

"There might be another riot because of the financial situation and the high prices."

Food insufficiency:

5

"Because people don't get enough food."

"Living conditions are dreadful, not enough to eat."

"Life can't be continued in a way like that, people are starving. For this reason alone people will put their demands before the government and that won't be done without grumbling."

"Because our living standard is so low, and people are sick of Grotewohl's vain promises."

Because people have seen that the demonstrations were successful:

3

"The demonstrations of the 17th of June have encouraged people and made them more plucky because they have seen that they had success."

"People have seen that the recent demonstrations were successful, now they would do it again to make life easier for themselves - pressure from higher up has become less strong and will get still more so."

"People don't put up any longer with all these things and they have seen that the West is on their side, so it's sure to happen again and this time it will probably be more effective than the first time."

"On the 17th of June workers got a taste for things like that, they have seen that they can take a chance, so the attempt will be repeated to get rid of the yoke once and for all, on the 17th of June we didn't quite make it."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

Reunification and free elections must be achieved:

2%

"If reunification does not come about soon, the workers will demonstrate once more, even if that means danger of life."

"Our reunification has to be achieved after all."

"But, of course, because our top people keep us from any free elections. We want an election, because then everything would be settled."

All those imprisoned for political reasons after the 17th of June have to be liberated:

1

"The political prisoners of the 17th of June should be set free."

"Because workers demand the release of their colleagues who were imprisoned after the 17th of June."

"That's as true as the 'Amen' in church: we have to get our comrades released before they are deported to Russia."

"If only because of the political prisoners whom we want to be released."

The population waits only for a sign from the West:

1

"Because people just wait for the West to give the signal for new demonstrations."

"Because we wait only for the West to offer assistance then we would start again."

"Then there will be a solution from the side of the West, we all wait for that most impatiently - we are more than fed up with things here."

"All of us are furious and just wait for a signal. We hope the Poles would start something, then we could join in. From our own ranks nothing can be expected at the moment or we would be married to the 'red Hilde'."

Other reasons:

1

"I have seen in Erfurt, Morseburg and Bitterfeld and Leipzig that strong units of the people's police are stationed there. Therefore I believe that there are riots still there."

"Because we only demand our rights and things cannot go on the way they do now."

"This too that elections in the East are not to be held under international control, it would not be necessary to have any as we would not acknowledge them anyway."

"There will be local demonstrations but they will never spread as far as the June demonstrations did. We all supported the past demonstrations, because we were of the opinion that the West would give adequate support. It was the business of the allies to get things straight with the Russians, for we Germans lack the authority."

No opinion:\*  
76%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"All things considered: do you think it likely or unlikely that it will again come to demonstrations and unrest - such as on the 17th of June - in the East Zone?"

IF "Unlikely": "Why do you believe that to be unlikely?"

East Zone

People fear that the Russians and the People's Police would intervene forthwith:

14%

"Because the Russians would throw in tanks and guns, we've seen that on the 17th of June."

"They don't dare to, they all fear the Russians who are sure to intervene again."

"Because the Russians and the Vopo would nip it in the bud."

"The Russians and the Vopo are always ready for action, they would prevent any attempt of demonstrations."

"People are still too intimidated, they know that they haven't a chance against the Russian tanks."

"They don't dare to because they would throw in tanks immediately - they all grumble and complain but, as I said, tanks would be there on the spot."

"Because the Russians and the police watch too closely."

"Because people are frightened by the brutal force used by the Russians and they couldn't make another attempt because they are being watched too closely."

Because the East Zone regime has taken stronger counter measures - an uprising would be quelled right at the start:

6

"Because there are increased control measures since the 17th of June."

"Because conditions have changed - all the firms are infiltrated with all that's left of loyal followers of Ulbricht-Grotewohl and they would stop all such activities before they really started."

"Because stronger measures have been taken to prevent more demonstrations - students will be relogated if they take part in demonstrations."

"Workers in the firms grumble but the countermesasures of the government are so strong that they curb the workers' spirit - they all have become far more cautious."

"There are too many spies around who would quell a new uprising right from the start."

"Because the police in the East Zone is on the look-out now and won't let it happen again."

"Their political power is so strong that it might take a long, long time."

People were discouraged by the negative result of the uprisings, they were disappointed because they were not supported by the West as they had expected:

4

"You won't find anybody who would fight tanks and guns with his bare fists as on the 17th of June, the failure was too hard on us and taught us what sort of poor devils we are."

"The negative results of the attempt of the 17th of June have discouraged people in the Zone."

"The East Zone people are once bit and twice shy, they haven't the guts anymore."

"Because it's enough we've been through, we won't do it again. At first we thought that the West would help us and then we had to sweat it out, never again!"

"Too many people lost their lives on the 17th of June - unless we get help from West Germany or America we won't do it again."

"We were too disappointed on the 16th and 17th of June when there was no help from the West and we fear that, if it would happen again, we would be all alone with nobody to support us."

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL SECURITY INFORMATION

(Cont'd from precoding page)

East Zone

Because there is no hope that the government and the Russians will keep their promises, a slight improvement of the situation can be felt:

4%

"If they don't go back on the concessions they've made I believe that it won't come to disturbances again."

"Because people have calmed down and some things have improved, for instance, the food supply and the issue of interzonal passes."

"I believe that the Russians will keep their promises this time, but then that would change people's spirit so that they won't think of being mutinous again."

"Wages have been raised and then the increased norms have been cancelled. And if we get all the food we were promised there is no reason for disturbances."

"If the Russians keep their promises there won't be any more disturbances."

Because the population learned that they are not strong enough to oppose the Russians:

2

"People know that rioting can't be successful, that was proved by the 17th of June, the Russians have all the power and can suppress uprisings."

"Unfortunately we had to learn on the 17th of June that it was of no use - we are too weak without help from the West."

"What are workers supposed to do against the tanks? Workers just can't do anything."

"Of course, people are dissatisfied everywhere but they know now that in this way they won't succeed against the Russians."

"People have learned that they won't achieve anything by rioting as long as the Russians are here."

Other reasons:

1

"Not in the near future but people expect this government gang to disappear."

"The demonstrations of the 17th of June were due to a momentary weakness of the government - they showed how incapable they are. But now they hold the reins again and so it won't happen again."

"Otherwise you would have heard a rumor about it but everything is dead quiet."

No opinion/No answer:

\*  
31%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## OPINIONS LEAN TOWARD FAVORABLE EVALUATION OF FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS ...

Opinions appear to be somewhat divided as to whether or not further demonstrations would redound to the benefit of the East Zone population. The predominant view, however - voiced by half - is that further demonstrations would be good. City people - who probably bore the brunt of the June 17th uprising - appear more often convinced than town and village residents that further demonstrations would be bad for the East Zone population.

"Supposing it would come to new demonstrations and unrest in the East Zone: in your opinion, would that be good or bad for the East Zone population?"

East Zone  
Sept 53

Good	49%
Bad	37
No opinion	14
	<u>100%</u>

	Good	Bad	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	51%	38%	11%...100%	275
Women	46	35	19	173
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	49	38	13	355
Beyond elementary	48	35	17	93
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	51	37	12	123
30 to 49 years	48	37	15	210
50 years and over	50	36	14	115
<u>City Size:</u>				
Village	50	35	15	178
Town	50	35	15	211
City	44	49	7	59
<u>Origin:</u>				
Brandenburg	50	37	13	307
Sachsen	43	42	15	77
Sachsen/Anhalt	54	33	13	50
Thuringen	40	40	20	10
Mecklenburg	54	25	21	24

## WHY FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS THOUGHT BENEFICIAL TO EAST GERMANS ...

East Germans seeing beneficial results in further demonstrations argued as follows:

"Supposing it would come to new demonstrations and unrest in the East Zone: would that be good or bad for the East Zone population, in your opinion?"

IF "Good": "Why would that be good for the East Zone population?"

East Zone

Russia and the East Zone government will not be able to resist the pressure of the population and will be ready to make concessions:

27%

"Then the East Zone government will have to give in more, they must make life easier for us and have to lower prices."

"Because then conditions might be improved, perhaps, after those last demonstrations we could finally get margarine again in the HO (government) shops, and you can get interzonal passports now, and so things might be improved still more after another riot."

"Because then we'd be better off, just as it was after June 17, and now another riot would have an even further-reaching effect of course."

"Because then the Russians would realize that they can't be so bold, and that people are not satisfied with what they've been promised until now."

"Simply because then there'll be relaxations. The pressure has to be obliterated. It needs only a small incident to set things going again, we are all of us on the verge of boiling over. People will release all their pent-up bitterness and then they'll certainly be successful."

"Because thus the Russians will be intimidated and will have to give in, perhaps then there'll be free elections."

"Simply, because the government will make concessions in regard to the supply of food, the working conditions, and wages."

"Even if we'd fail, it still would be good, because we would perhaps get more freedom."

The overthrow of the government might be achieved at last:

13

"Because this might bring about the overthrow of the government, and that's what we all wish for."

"We'd rather stand an end in terror than an unending terror - for new demonstrations would lead to an overthrow of the government, and that would be good in any case."

"Because then they'll realize that people will resist and are not satisfied with anything. The government will realize that, and the people will profit by it because then the SED party bigwigs will have to resign."

"Then the government will be overthrown. Then both our government and the Russians will realize that, in spite of the promises given to them, the German people do not side with them."

"That thereby the East Zone government will be deposed finally."

"I've said already, we'll shake off our yoke completely, then the government will stop off, and we are free."

"We are firmly convinced of the fact that another 17th of June would mean a complete change for us, and that we'd then be better off at last because we'd then chase off the government."

"So that the Russians and Ulbricht will finally realize that we don't side with them. And so our government will have to be overthrown, we think so, and it's quite likely to happen."

(Cont'd on next page)

SECURITY INFORMATION

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

New demonstrations guarantee a reunification of Germany:

8%

"Thus we'd finally achieve the reunification we're all waiting for."

"Then we'd finally have a united Germany, and we'd be free again at last."

"That would lead to a reunification, and the Iron Curtain would be removed."

"This time the riots won't be stopped until the unity of Germany is achieved and we have a new, or the Bonn government, and then we'd have peace in the country at last."

"That would help us to achieve a reunification of Germany."

"Then we'd be a united country again."

The Russians will realize that their position is hopeless and will order the withdrawal of their troops:

2

"Perhaps then they'll withdraw all their troops because they see that they are powerless."

"Because then the Russians would perhaps realize that they can't win the people over to Communism, and then they might give up East Germany more easily."

"All of us think that then the Russians will give up all hopes for a cooperations of the Germans - they'll get out of the country."

"Because then the pressure would be removed. We won't be able to get through without any sacrifices, but you won't win or gain anything if you don't risk something. Another 17th of June, and 'Ivan' will be fed up and he'll slink off."

Other reasons:

2

"I think so because the events of June 17th did help a bit. Perhaps then the West might help even more actively, and the Russians might perhaps give in and start negotiations with the West."

"People in the foreign countries would see that those in the East tell only lies."

"The rest of the world would see that we've made a final, clear cut with the East Zone government. I think that then they would help us to throw the Russians out of Germany so that we'd be free at last."

"Because it is good propaganda in favor of the West, it will again become obvious how much we side with the West."

No opinion/No answer:

52%

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## WHY FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS BELIEVED HARMFUL ...

East Germans seeing harmful results in further demonstrations commented thusly:

"Supposing it would come to new demonstrations and disturbances in the East Zone: would that be good or bad for the East Zone population, in your opinion?"

IF "Bad": "Why would that be bad for the East Zone population?"

East Zone

Any new demonstrations would be quelled with armed force and arrests would increase:

20%

"The Russians would shoot, after that tanks would be likely to come, and against those tanks we cannot do anything."

"For us it means only more sacrifices, they drive up with their tanks and people will be arrested."

"Because the riots would be quelled and the only gain would be new countermeasures taken on the part of the government against the people."

"Because the Russians tighten the thumb-screws at once and proceed with armed force, many persons will be arrested: all that means that it would be a bad thing for the people."

"Because of the armed forces over there, there would occur new shootings. I think of the Communist People's Police and the Russians."

"Because the people cannot defend themselves as they would like to. The Russians will drive up again with their armed vehicles and the riot will be quelled once more. After that the people have to suffer from any new measures the government will take."

"Because the Russians will interfere once more. There will be fresh shooting."

"The result would be a massacre, the Russians would act ruthlessly."

"There would be only disadvantages for the people on account of the calling out of a strong police force."

More rigid suppression would result:

10

"They would suppress us even more than now and would impose new restrictions. That was what happened already this time and next time it certainly will be even worse."

"Because the Russians would be more rigid in their measures and would suppress us even more than they do already now."

"In that case the Russians would only introduce more severe measures. What kind of measures cannot be guessed at, the way the Russian is."

"After a second demonstration, things would tend to become even tougher."

"The people will be even more suppressed."

"We will be even more muzzled."

"New measures would be taken by the government, which would tend to make the bad position of the people still worse."

Without the support of the West no success will come about:

4

"The worker will suffer from it, without support nothing can be gained, a support from the West I mean."

"If we cannot expect a 100-per-cent-help from the West, it would be suicide to risk it once more: for we also never know if the West reacts as fast as would be necessary in such a case. Then all will be transferred to Russia, if it turns out the wrong way as on the 17th of June."

"Alone we can accomplish nothing."

"We people from the Eastern Zone rise against our government and are left without the support of the West. Last time they didn't help us either. Then the Russian tanks will come once more and we will be powerless. Everybody is afraid of that and that many people will be imprisoned once again."

(Cont'd on next page)



(Cont'd from preceding page)

4%

Renewed demonstrations would be useless:

"Because I believe that they wouldn't get through with those demonstrations. In June they shouldn't have given up but gone on at night fall, then the government would have been overthrown. To start anew today is certainly dangerous."

"The Russians should be thrown out as soon as possible. But how? As we don't know how they can be made to leave and as they remain after all, people would have to suffer as bitterly as after the 17th of June riots."

"People haven't got a say in these affairs any longer. At present now riots would bring new restrictions only. Negotiations have to clear the situation now. Negotiations between the Pankow government and Bonn."

That result in a complete separation of the East Zone from the West:

2

"In that case we shall be entirely cut off from the West."

"We should be completely isolated from the West by strict measures."

"Because Berlin will be totally blockaded again, cut off from the Zone, and we shall not be allowed to go to West Berlin."

"In that case the Russians would not only put more pressure on us, but also irrevocably separate the East from the West, and provide for capital punishment in case the respective laws and regulations are violated. The result would be that nobody would be able to get in touch with his nearest relations and friends in the West."

Other reasons:

1

"Well, the Americans and the English will do nothing for us at all, that we have seen after the war, they looked on while all Germans were turned out of house and home in the East. At present it seems as if the Russians would stay forever in our Zone. Yes, I feel hatred against the Americans. Now, admittedly, the Americans begin to supply us with food, but only because they fear that Communism will spread in the West, and that in this case they would lose their markets. That is my personal opinion."

"Because the Americans leave us in the lurch and leave the field to the Russians so they can do with us as they please, arresting and shooting. We did hope already on the 17th of June that the Americans would take active measures because without war there is no chance at all for a reunification, and that was the precise moment."

No opinion/No answer:

41%

① Some respondents gave more than one answer.

V. APPRAISAL OF RECENT EAST ZONE RELAXATION MEASURES

Finally, it is worth briefly noting that among the East Germans who at the time of the present survey were aware of the East Zone relaxation measures, the preponderant opinion was (1) that the relief measures would not in fact be carried out, and (2) even if they were, the condition of the East Zone population would be little if at all improved.

"Have you heard or read of any relaxations or relief measures of the Russian government which have recently been granted in the East Zone?"

East Zone  
Sept 53  
(448)

Yes  
No

49%  
51  
100%

"Do you believe that the Russians will actually carry out these relief measures, or won't they?"

Will carry them out  
Won't carry them out  
No opinion

14%  
33  
2  
49%

"If the Russians would actually carry out these measures - would you then expect that the population will be much better off, somewhat better off or not at all better off in the foreseeable future?"

Much better off  
Somewhat better off  
Not much better off  
Not at all better off  
No opinion

2%  
15  
11  
19  
2  
49%

## APPENDIX: Composition of East German Samples

	<u>Sample A</u> (448)	<u>Sample B</u> (448)
<u>Sex:</u>		
Men	60%	61%
Women	40	39
<u>Education:</u>		
Elementary school	75%	79%
Beyond elementary	25	21
<u>Age:</u>		
Up to 29 years	25%	28%
30 to 49 years	51	47
50 years and over	24	25
<u>Occupation:</u>		
Professionals	3%	4%
Businessmen	4	6
White-collar workers	15	12
Skilled laborers	23	24
Semi-skilled laborers	11	13
Domestic services	2	3
Farmers	7	6
Housewives	21	17
Unemployed	2	1
Retired, pensioners	9	9
Students	2	2
Apprentices	*	1
No answer	1	2
<u>City Size:</u>		
Village	30%	40%
Small town	30	29
Middle town	25	18
City	14	13
No answer	1	-
<u>Origin:</u>		
Brandenburg	64%	69%
Sachsen	15	17
Sachsen/Anhalt	10	7
Thuringen	5	2
Mecklenburg	5	5
No answer	1	*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

THE HICOG SURVEYS

Volume VIII

Reports 187 - 198

Volume VIII

187. <u>An Evaluation of Audience Reactions to the U.S.I.A. Film Magic Streetcar</u> (7 October 1953)	5399
188. The Current Standing of RIAS among West Berlin Radio Listeners: II. Comparative Indices of Station and Program Popularity (29 October 1953)	5448
189. East Zone Radio Listening: Trend and Current Evaluations of RIAS (30 October 1953)	5509
190. The Marshall House Exhibit at the 1953 Berlin Industrial Fair: An Evaluation of West Berlin and East German Reactions (16 November 1953)	5536
191. A Survey Analysis of the Factors Underlying the Outcome of the 1953 German Federal Elections (11 December 1953)	5604
192. West German Reactions to U.N. Airing of Korea Atrocities (28 December 1953)	5676
192S. International Survey on President Eisenhower's U.N. Speech (German Results)	5694
193. German Public Opinion on the Four-Power Conference: With Latest Trends in EDC Thinking (18 January 1954)	5720
194-I. Public Opinion during the Four-Power Conference: I. West German Views on Eve of Four-Power Conference (24 January 1954)	5758
194-II. Public Opinion during the Four-Power Conference; II. West German Reactions to Initial Developments (31 January 1954)	5771
194-III. Public Opinion during the Four-Power Conference: III. Flash Reactions to Eden and Molotov Plans (3 February 1954)	5782
194-IV. Public Opinion during the Four-Power Conference: IV. West German Reactions to Western versus Soviet Proposals (7 February 1954)	5788
194-V. Public Opinion during the Four-Power Conference: V. East German Reactions to Western versus Soviet Proposals (8 February 1954)	5804
194-VI. Public Opinion during the Four-Power Conference: VI. Security Proposal and Other Late Conference Developments (15 February 1954)	5817
195. Who Won the Four-Power Conference? The West German Public State Their Views (11 March 1954)	5837
196. Current West German Political Opinions and Reactions to Recent Developments (12 April 1954)	5862
196S1. The Status of Red-White-Red among Austrian Radio Listeners: I. Preliminary Report for Vienna and Lower Austria (17 May 1954)	5876
196S2. The American and West German Aid Program in the Eyes of West Berliners: With General Indications of Current West Berlin Morale (25 May 1954)	5914
197. The Impact of American Commercial Films in West Germany (14 June 1954)	6008
198. Trends in West German Appraisal of the United States Foreign Policy (15 June 1954)	6064



Hiag. Gyw. 187

AN EVALUATION OF AUDIENCE REACTIONS  
TO THE U.S.I.A. FILM -- "MAGIC STREETCAR"

Report No. 167  
Series No. 2  
October 7, 1953

~~UNCLASSIFIED~~

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

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INTRODUCTION

For the evaluation of reactions to the film the "Magic Streetcar," a sample was drawn from the audiences of three movie theaters in which the short appeared as a part of the regular program without any advance notice that it was to be shown. The three theaters were in Koenigswinter in Rheinland/Westfalen, a town of 8000 inhabitants, in Essen where the theater was in a working class district largely patronized by miners living in a nearby dormitory, and in Munich in a mid-city metropolitan theater.

In making this survey, the Evaluation Staff, Office of Public Affairs, departed from the customary film reaction study in that interviews were made, by appointment, in the homes of respondents the day after the film showing. This made it possible to ask detailed questions regarding reactions to the film, but soon enough after the showing so that the film remained fresh to the audience. This approach has also other advantages over the write-in questionnaire following a film which has been employed in previous surveys. Not only can the interview be longer and more carefully detailed but replies can be recorded precisely by trained interviewers, as contrasted with a tendency to ignore queries or to write in hasty replies which sometimes occurs when the respondent is left on his own. An additional advantage is that in a home interview the ballot could be long enough to include questions on the feature film and thus make the appraisal of the "Magic Streetcar" appear to be only a part of a general movie appraisal.

The sample was drawn at random, that is interviewers were instructed to select every nth patron departing from the theater.

Interviewing in this survey was done by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

SUMMARY

"MAGIC STREETCAR" APPEARS TO LACK GENERAL APPEAL ... judging by results of this survey.

MEASURED BY SPONTANEOUS MENTIONS ... the weight of opinion is not favorable. Queried the day after the short was seen, 27 per cent voluntarily designated the "Magic Streetcar" as a short recently seen that they did not like. In contrast, 16 per cent mentioned it as a film they liked.

MEASURED BY DIRECT INQUIRY ... it does better, but here also negative reactions are frequent. Fifty-five per cent of the total audience when queried directly whether or not they liked the "Magic Streetcar" replied affirmatively, but 45 per cent expressed a contrary opinion, with their predominant view strongly, rather than moderately, adverse.

MEASURED BY READINESS TO RECOMMEND THE FILM ... opinions split. Forty-nine per cent said they would recommend the "Magic Streetcar" to friends and acquaintances, but 44 per cent would not do so.

ADVERSE REACTIONS PREDOMINATE ... among the third of the audience with more than average schooling, rising to strong majorities among the best educated, most articulate leadership groups.

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THE THEME IS UNDERSTOOD ... by most of the audience judging by their comments.

For the most part they saw it as a picture designed to illuminate East-West differences.

AND SUCH FILMS ARE CONSIDERED IMPORTANT ... by the majority.

Seven in 10 said that films like the "Magic Streetcar" need to be shown in Germany.

The better educated elements in the audience tended generally to agree with the lesser schooled on both these points.

THE INFORMATIONAL IMPACT WAS NOT GREAT ... judging by audience reactions.

THAT THE "MAGIC STREETCAR" WAS INFORMATIONAL RATHER THAN ENTERTAINING IN INTENT ... was recognized by seven in 10 of the total audience.

ON THE FILM'S INFORMATIONAL VERSUS ENTERTAINMENT VALUE ... the audience appeared hardput to decide.

On three different queries designed to measure audience reactions to the informational/entertainment values of the "Magic Streetcar" replies tended to split rather evenly.

BUT THREE QUARTERS OF THE AUDIENCE DECLARED THEY PERSONALLY HAD LEARNED NOTHING ... from the film, when queried directly on the point. A quarter said, however, that they had learned something new.

NOR DID THE FILM STIMULATE ANY NEW IDEAS ... to an equally large proportion.

And among the quarter who had been stimulated, some indicated that the effect was negative rather than positive.

NEGATIVE REACTIONS ... on all these points were most frequent among people with more than average schooling, but a large majority of people with only elementary schooling also said they had neither learned anything nor been stimulated by the film.

#### CONCLUSION ...

The theme appears acceptable. The film was liked fairly well by the lesser educated elements in the audience. The upper educated segments definitely disliked it, although they had no objection to the theme or to such films. The problem is to weigh the views of the articulate, opinion leading elements as against the larger but less influential remainder. But even at best, it should be recognized, reactions to the film among the latter tend to be lukewarm rather than enthusiastic.

## I. DO MOVIE-GOERS LIKE THE "MAGIC STREETCAR"?

## MAJORITY THINKS "MAGIC STREETCAR" A GERMAN FILM ...

Before audience reactions to the feature short "Magic Streetcar" are considered, it is worthwhile noting that six in 10 (61%) of the respondents think this is a German production.® In contrast, only 21 per cent say it was produced by the Americans. Also the more sophisticated elements in the movie audience - the better educated upper class - are just as likely as the lesser schooled to hold this view, though, as will be seen as the analysis progresses, they often tend to depart drastically from others in their appraisal of the film.

"Can you perhaps tell me by whom the feature was produced? (That is, whether it was a German, French, American, or English short feature?) (You can make a guess at it.)"

	German	French	American	English	Joint	No	No. of
					produc-	opinion	cases:**
					tion		
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	61%	1%	21%	1%	2%	14%..100%	442
<u>Educational groups:</u>							
Elementary school	63%	2%	18%	1%	1%	15%	275
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	58	-	28	1	2	11	97
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	56	3	32	-	-	9	32
University	63	-	14	3	9	11	35
(Total "above average" schooling)	59	1	26	1	3	10	164)
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	58	*	26	1	3	12	234
Women	64	2	16	2	*	16	207

\*Less than one half of one per cent.

Unquestionably, the generally held opinion that this is a German film should be considered a feather in the cap of its producers. It also makes the analysis of the findings as reported here less complicated: factors of German national pride or pro-or anti-American sentiments can be largely ignored in evaluating reactions to the film. What we have here is, in general, West Germans reviewing what they consider to be a German production.

® Though this question is reported first, it was one of the last questions in the survey, following many of the detailed inquiries on the film, that is after respondents had been spending half an hour or more discussing the film.

\*\* Although the number of cases involved among the better educated groups is small, they gain in reliability because of their remarkably consistent direction throughout the survey. Also, see Appendix C regarding the educational distribution among West German movie-goers.

## SHORT FEATURES IN GENERAL WELL LIKED ...

To furnish a point of reference for audience appraisal of the "Magic Streetcar," people were asked how they liked short features in general. (As stated in the introduction to this report, every effort was made in the initial stages of the interview to conceal any particular interest in reactions to the "Magic Streetcar.") Obviously, if the sample of the audience interviewed expressed a generalized dislike for shorts, this would have to be taken into account in interpreting reactions to the Berlin film.

The great bulk of the audience (82%) express their liking for short features, with little difference in opinions among educational groups. And as will be seen in their specification of types, as many as three in 10 say they prefer documentaries, i.e. shorts more or less serious in purpose. A third like shorts on nature, and a quarter like cartoons, especially apparently Disney's.

"Usually, when you go to the movies, do you like or dislike to have short features included in the program? (Besides advertisements and newsreel.) (Do you like them very much, not so much, or not at all?)"

	Very much	Not so much	Not at all	Undecided
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	82%	8%	8%	2%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>				
Elementary school	81%	8%	8%	3%
Middle and/or High school				
w/o Diploma	83	8	6	3
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	88	3	9	-
University	77	9	14	-
(Total "above average" schooling	82	7	9	2)
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	80	8	9	3
Women	82	8	8	2

"What kind of short features do you usually like best?"  
(Asked of those respondents who answered "Very much" and "Not so much" to preceding question.)

Films about nature, landscape, and animals:

Panorama, landscape; landscape films; nature films; films about nature and animals; films about landscape and buildings; mountain films; plants and animals; animal films; films about mountain climbing; about animal life with photos of nature; etc.

Total  
Audience

33%

Documentary films, educational films:

Documentary films; educational and documentary films, educational films will probably play a more important part here during the next years; etc.

30

(Cont'd on next page)



Total  
Audience

25%

Cartoon films, funny films:

Short features with Micky Mouse; Disney films; cartoon films; nice films advertising quality goods; some of Walt Disney's; only Walt Disney cartoon films; something funny; some films that make you laugh; etc.

About technics and industry:

Technics, manufacturing; films about factories, people at work; buildings; films about industry; technical films once in a while; cartoon films about the manufacturing of goods; etc.

Research, science:

Films about science and medicine; films made up of microscopic photos of nature, etc.; films about medicine; films about research work; films that treat with the results of research work in an intelligible way; about science and research; films about science; etc.

Political and documentary films:

Political short features; documentary films about current issues; the newsreel; ten minutes about America; political films; a short feature like that of today's program; about the differences between East and West Berlin; etc.

About foreign countries (folklore, customs):

Films about the costumes of the different countries, about folklore and that of foreign countries, too; I like best to see something about foreign countries; films with many photos of the scenery, of travels, and other people; sometimes something about a different continent or about Germany, too; about countries and customs; films about travels, expeditions; documentary films; films about mountain scenery and foreign countries; etc.

Other answers:

Films about sport activities; historical films, that is about church architecture; films about skating; informative films; etc.

Everything:

I don't mind which subject is treated, I'm interested in everything; I really don't mind, like to see everything; etc.

No opinion / No answer: $\frac{2}{12\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**"MAGIC STREETCAR" DOES NOT SEEM TO SCORE HIGH IN AUDIENCE APPEAL**

Assuming that liking a film as contrasted with not liking it, is an acceptable yardstick of audience appeal and impact of any given film, "Magic Streetcar" does not appear to score too high, judging from reactions of the sample of the people who saw the short. Not only are there negative reactions on the part of many in the audience as a whole, but the better educated, more articulate elements who make up a considerable fraction of the German "mass" movie audience, express preponderant dislike of the film. This is seen in the following results.

**A QUARTER VOLUNTEER THEY DID NOT LIKE "MAGIC STREETCAR" ...**

In order to get a spontaneous, unprompted measure of audience reactions to the "Magic Streetcar," the first approach was to query respondents, whether they had recently seen any short they did not like. To this inquiry, a quarter (27%) of the total audience voluntarily mentioned the "Magic Streetcar." Negative mentions rise with the amount of education respondents have, reaching as high as 66 per cent of the top educational group, the university trained. Also, as will be noted in the table below, women name the "Magic Streetcar" as not liked as often as men do.

"Can you perhaps tell me a short feature that you've seen lately and that you did not like particularly?"

	Yes, "Magic Streetcar"	Others	None/ No opinion
<b>TOTAL AUDIENCE:</b>	27%	9%	64%..100%
<b><u>Educational groups:</u></b>			
Elementary school	18%	11%	71%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	30	4	66
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	41	16	43
University	66	3	31
(Total "above average" schooling)	40	6	54)
<b><u>Sex:</u></b>			
Men	27	9	64
Women	26	10	64

**FILM VOLUNTEERED AS LIKED BY 16 PER CENT ...**

... That the "Magic Streetcar" comes in for negative mention more often than other shorts could possibly be ascribed to the fact that it was seen the evening before the interview and was thus fresh in the minds of the respondents. But this appears to be only a partial explanation, as results of the next question in the series suggest. Everyone who had not mentioned the "Magic Streetcar" as "not liked" was queried on what short features recently seen had been liked. To this, 16 per cent of the total audience volunteer "Streetcar," as compared with the 27 per cent who spontaneously mention they did not like it.

"Can you tell me a short feature which you've seen lately, and which you liked?" (Asked of everyone not naming "Magic Streetcar" in reply to the previous question.)

	Yes, "Magic Streetcar"	Others	None/ No opinion
<b>TOTAL AUDIENCE:</b>	16%	21%	36%... 73%
<b><u>Educational groups:</u></b>			
Elementary school	21%	22%	39%... 82%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	12	19	39 ... 70
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	6	34	19 ... 59
University	6	8	20 ... 34
(Total "above average" schooling)	9	20	31 ... 60)
<b><u>Sex:</u></b>			
Men	16	25	32 ... 73
Women	16	16	42 ... 74

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BALANCE OF VOLUNTEERED OPINIONS IS UNFAVORABLE TO "MAGIC STREETCAR" ...

Thus, on balance as measured by spontaneous mention of films liked or not liked, the "Magic Streetcar" falls into the minus column in every group, except the lesser educated who vote about fifty-fifty pro and con.

	"Magic Streetcar" mentioned as disliked	Voluntarily mentioned as liked	Balance
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	27%	16%	-11%
<u>Educational groups:</u>			
Elementary school	18%	21%	+ 3%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	30	12	-18%
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	41	6	-35%
University	66	6	-60%
(Total "above average" schooling	40	9	-31%)
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	27	16	-11%
Women	26	16	-15%

MOST OF THE AUDIENCE RECALL THE "MAGIC STREETCAR" AND CAN GIVE SOME ACCOUNT OF IT ...

The fact that more than half (57%) did not mention the "Magic Streetcar" in connection with short features liked or disliked suggests that the picture did not make much impression one way or the other on many in the audience. Apparently failure to mention the film as liked or disliked does not stem from not remembering it. When asked directly whether they recalled the film, almost eight in 10 (77%) claimed to remember it in detail - not perhaps an unexpected result since they had viewed the short the previous evening. Also not unexpectedly, the better educated are most likely to say they recall the film exactly.

"And how about last evening's short feature - Do you still remember the short feature of last evening's program?"

	Yes			No	
	Exactly	Fairly well	A little	Scarcely	Undecided
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	77%	16%	5%	2%	*...100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	73%	19%	5%	3%	-
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	79	13	6	1	1
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	85	15	-	-	-
University	94	6	-	-	-
(Total "above-average" schooling	83	12	4	1	*)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	80	13	5	2	-
Women	74	20	4	2	*

\*Less than one half of one per cent.

WHAT IS REMEMBERED ...

Asked what they remembered about the film, almost everyone was able to supply some details. The main purpose of this query was of course to find out - prior to the next series of questions dealing directly with the film - whether people knew about the film they were to be asked to appraise. It is clear from their statements that the respondents recalled the content of the film quite precisely, although many of them tend to voice their recollections in the rather general way not too uncommon among movie-goers asked to describe any film. It should be noted, however, that about as many people (44%) recalled the "boy meets girl" aspect of the plot as mention the East-West theme, even when all replies (45%) apparently bearing favorably on the theme are added together. (Excluded in this addition is the 15 per cent mention of the more luxurious aspects of West Berlin which appear on reading to smack more of reactions to a travelogue than to an "idea" short.) Also noteworthy in this connection is that as many as 37 per cent took the opportunity in recalling the film to cast brickbats of varying weights at it. They remarked on the allegedly blatant propaganda, stupid theme, the war scars and sentimental Christmas atmosphere, and so on.

"What do you remember best about this film? (What else?)"

Total  
Audience

Remarks on the plot and cast of the film:

44%

The young couple in the streetcar; the whole plot was nice; both of them acted quite well; both of them - it's too bad I forget everything the moment I see it; how those two walk together and by some means or other the streetcar starts to go all by itself; love scene between the conductor and the woman conductor; streetcar story; the girl cried when she saw how things are in the West; "Traumerei" by Schubert is played - their souls unite; people dancing; romance of two employees of a streetcar line; etc.

Differences between East and West:

30

The tremendous differences between East and West which were pointed out very distinctly; East and West are so different; place of action is the East sector; drive through the West sector, contrast like day and night; Berlin as four sector city - the great contrast between the two parts of the city; East Berlin, the differences between East and West; especially the marked difference between East and West; the difference between East and West sector - how amazed the woman conductor was about the things you can get in the West sector; the difference, you can get everything in West Germany, and in East Berlin everything has come to a standstill; well, the ride through Berlin, the contrast East-West; East and West sectors were ingeniously contrasted in regard to photography - it aimed at showing the contrast between East and West sector, conditions there; etc.

Description of life in West Berlin:

15

The magnificent shops in the West; well stored shops in West Berlin; the many restaurants and beautiful shop windows; the magnificent night clubs in West Berlin; the heavy automobile traffic in Berlin; that they pass West Berlin office buildings; how amazed the woman conductor was about things you can buy in the West; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

Total  
AudienceThe exaggerated propaganda (film with marked tendency and not objective):

15%

The propaganda, I don't like this agitation business at all; the story about social security, which is said to be so excellent; that on the whole the brightest side of things was described; this penetrating exaggerated propaganda that's asking too much of a good thing I think; this stupid, naive black-white representation - (proof: laughter in the audience); about the exaggerated propaganda; the two conductors who talk together; the subject was treated with little objectivity as a matter of fact; a one-sided film in which a run-down streetcar shows the magnificent West, well, the East really may look like that, but we know this anyway; that the wealth of Berlin was presented in an exaggerated manner; for instance, people laughed when the streetcar said: "Lodgings are easy to get"; whether it is right or not from the psychological point of view, it was a mistake; those ridiculous conversations, as if you'd get lodgings at once in the West; etc.

Stupidity of the plot, cast, etc.:

9

That the love story was rather stupid; silly love story; that the political intention was mixed up with a sentimental love story; the never ending trip; etc.

Description of life in East Berlin:

8

That the people in the East can't enjoy life at all; streetcar ride through the East sector, the way of life of East Berliners; the wretchedness of people in East Berlin; oppressive atmosphere in the East; ruins and posters in East Berlin; the empty streets in the East; the Russian barricades and signs in several languages; ghostlike town in the East; how many ruins there are still in the East Zone, that people in the East Zone still can't buy much, for instance clothing; etc.

Film about Berlin; drive through Berlin (general answers):

8

That Berlin was shown; I only remember that it was about Berlin; about Berlin, that's what I remember; that the streetcar was shown on its way through Berlin; the drive through Berlin; how they went through all Berlin with the streetcar; it was about Berlin; etc.

The Christmas atmosphere:

8

The scenes of Christmas eve were beautiful; the Christmas song and the lady in the shopwindow who played the violin; that it was at Christmas time in Berlin; the Christmas scene; the Christmas fair; a conductor from the West sector and a woman conductor become acquainted and spend Christmas eve together; that the girl wept on Christmas eve and that everything had been rebuilt there; the comfortable Christmas atmosphere; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



Total  
AudienceUnreasonable/sentimental Christmas atmosphere:

5%

Because it was Christmas and we have midsummer here; very glittering Christmas fair; I had to laugh throughout the whole performance; Silent night, Holy night, you got the feeling you should put on a fur coat; conductor's face was repulsive, Christmas sentimentality; etc.

Account of the problems of the four sector city in Berlin:

4

The split up city of Berlin; in one way people live in the same city but in another they don't; two people work in the same city and are yet far apart; the split between East and West Berlin; the problems arising out of the split between East and West Berlin; the desire to come to the West (the girl would have gone to West Berlin if possible; that one half of a street belongs to the West and the other to the East; the Iron Curtain between East and West; that in spite of the division these two people come together; that two people are kept apart because of the borders; etc.

Good propaganda film:

3

The nice manner, two people were united and propaganda for the West was made at the same time, refined propaganda; propaganda film, showed everything they have and do in the West and don't in the East; a propaganda film, certainly produced by the government in order to show the different states of development in East and West Berlin; etc.

The whole film, everything is recalled:

6

The whole film, I can recall the whole film; the overall impression was good; I can only remember the film as a whole; everything; if I tell you I remember the whole film what's the use of enumerating single impressions; etc.

No recall, because film disliked:

2

Not a special thing, I thought it so bad that I even cannot tell in detail what was bad; I don't want to remember anything, the movie was one of the worst I ever saw, simply impossible; etc.

Other comments:

9

Unimportant flirtation; I can't imagine that there are East Berliners who have never been to the West sector; that we get a new house now, there is so much building going on now; etc.

166%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## IN DIRECT INQUIRY, "LIKING" HAS SLIGHT EDGE OVER "NOT LIKING" ...

Shifting from spontaneous judgments to results obtained from direct inquiries on the film, the "Magic Streetcar" receives a better reception. Asked how they liked the short, half (55%) of the audience rate it from well-liked to very well-liked with emphasis on well-liked. But as many as 44 per cent are critical, with the balance of these judgments distinctly adverse rather than neutral. Here also the less well-educated groups tend to be the most favorable. (The film is liked by 63 per cent of the elementary schooled.) And again the weight of the educated movie-goer opinion is distinctly unfavorable. Women, in this question, are more approving than are the men, voting 61 per cent for liking as against 49 per cent among the masculine audience.

"How did you like this short feature? (Very well, well, not so well, only a little, or not at all?)"

	Very well	Well	Not so well	Little	Not at all	Undecided
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	18%	37%	9%	10%	25%	1%...100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>						
Elementary school	24%	39%	7%	9%	20%	1%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	9	39	16	12	23	1
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	9	35	6	-	50	-
University	3	14	17	14	52	-
(Total "above average" schooling)	8	33	14	11	33	1)
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	15	34	12	12	26	1
Women	21	40	6	8	25	-

... Looking at the net balance of favorable/unfavorable personal reactions to the "Magic Streetcar" in response to the direct question this picture emerges:

	Favorable Liked very well, well	Unfavorable Not so well, only little, not at all	Net Balance
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	55%	44%	+11%
<u>Educational groups:</u>			
Elementary school	63%	37%	+26%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	48	50	- 2%
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	44	56	-12%
University	17	83	-66%
(Total "above average" schooling)	41	58	-17%
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	49	50	- 1%
Women	61	39	+22%

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**"MAGIC STREETCAR" AND "WITHOUT FEAR" COMPARED ...**

Audience reactions to another short dealing with the East-West issue - "Without Fear" - afford a rough comparison with the findings reported above. "Without Fear," also tested in Koenigswinter and Munich (although not in Essen), not only got a more favorable over-all reception than the "Magic Streetcar," but was appraised just about as highly by the better educated as by others.

"How did you like this film?" ("Without Fear")

	Total	Educational Groups			
		Elementary	Middle	Higher	University
Very well	25%	27%	24%	19%	29%
Well	52	50	60	57	34
Not very well	15	15	10	14	29
A little	4	6	2	5	4
Not at all	3	1	4	5	4
No answer	1	1	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

**OPINIONS DIVIDE ON RECOMMENDING "MAGIC STREETCAR" TO FRIENDS ...**

Another test of appeal is readiness to recommend the film to others. On this point, also, the "Magic Streetcar" does not come out too well. Taking the audience as a whole about as many (44%) declined to recommend it as said they would (49%). Again, readiness or unreadiness to recommend is closely related to education, with the better educated showing considerable reluctance to put in a good word for the "Magic Streetcar." But even among those with least schooling, almost four in 10 (37%) voted against recommending the short. Somewhat more women than men would recommend the film.

"Would you recommend this feature to your friends and acquaintances as a film that everyone ought to see, or would you not?"

	Yes	No	Undecided
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	49%	44%	7%...100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>			
Elementary school	58%	37%	5%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	43	48	9
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	28	60	12
University	17	80	3
(Total "above average" schooling)	35	56	9)
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	46	48	6
Women	53	40	7

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RECOMMENDERS SAY FILM INFORMS ABOUT THE EAST ...

The two leading reasons given for wishing to recommend the "Magic Street car" to friends are 1) the film is instructive, and in the same vein, but more specific, 2) it informs one about true conditions in Berlin and the East. Others would recommend the short because it shows the difference between East and West (6%); they like it (5%); it has technical and artistic merit (1%); and so on.

"For what reasons would you recommend this feature?"

(Asked of those respondents answering "Yes" to initial question.)

Total  
Audience

Because the film is informative, instructive, and interesting:

17%

Because it was instructive, the way they talked to each other; because it's instructive; because it is especially informative for our young people; the film is nice and also instructive, for many people don't know about all that; so that everyone can see what it looks like; so that you realize what it's really like; people who don't get to any other place or town can learn quite a lot from this film; because the film is interesting; I think it's right that this film sets many people thinking; etc.

Because it informs you about the true conditions in Berlin and in the East - is a warning against Communism:

16

Because so far you are too little informed about the conditions in the East; so that people in the West can see how hard life is for the people in the East Zone; so that you realize what people in the East have to go through; because it was very instructive and gave information about what it looks like in the East Zone; I would recommend it to someone who doesn't believe what the papers and the radio tell him, so he can now see for himself what it looks like in the East; so that they see for once how our own people in the East are living; it would be quite good if everyone would see what it looks like in the East; so that you always remember this warning picture of the East, you can't show that too often; people should be set thinking and take a stand against Communism in the West; etc.

Because it reveals the difference between East and West:

6

Because it is very good that you see the difference between East and West Berlin for once; because some people don't know this difference between East and West; so that everyone can see the difference; so that people can get an idea about the difference between the East and the West sector; so they see the difference between East and West; because there is such a vast difference, and that people over here can see how they are living over there, for many of them wouldn't believe it otherwise; etc.

Because I liked the film:

5

I liked it; I think it's worthwhile, because I liked it, too; because I liked it; etc.

Because it makes you appreciate the favorable conditions in the West:

2

Every West German should sufficiently appreciate the reconstruction, and not take it as something granted; because it is interesting, and you saw the difference, then you are more satisfied again; so that people over here realize that Berlin makes every effort to recover the look it had when it was the capital; to point out to other people what it looks like in Berlin, the ruins and the reconstruction; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

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Total  
AudienceBecause the film is a good complement of radio and press:

1%

So that people can see what it's like in the East, and that it's different from what they say in the newspapers; because I think that it is certainly worthwhile that my acquaintances know what's going on in Berlin; it is a good complement of what one hears from the radio and the press; etc.

Because the photography, acting, and staging of the film was done efficiently:

1

I would advise every film amateur - and I am one of them myself - to see this film, because it shows that you can achieve something even with little means; that acting was pleasant, and efficiently done, and the film will bring some new ideas to quite a few people; because it presented the situation in such a new way; not such dry stuff; etc.

Because the film reminds everyone that the reunification of Germany must be achieved:

1

Because we are interested in a reunification of Germany - people must be encouraged in their endeavors again and again; people aim at a reunification of Germany; everyone should see that Germany is still split up, so that will teach them a lesson; etc.

Because the film makes you want to help the people in the East:

1

They shall also be urged to join a relief program; when you are well-off yourself, you easily forget about the distress of other people; etc.

Because the film offers a good topic for discussions:

\*

I think I'd like my acquaintances to see the film, too, because then we could discuss it; you'd like to discuss it afterwards, they shall experience themselves how deeply moving this film is; etc.

Other reasons:

4

It would be good if every German would see this film; because you don't see something like this so often; there are some people in the shop that don't behave like they ought to; etc.

No opinion / No answer:1  
55%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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## REASONS FOR NOT RECOMMENDING THE FILM ...

Main reasons for disinclination to recommend the film are: first, the film is not worth recommending as it is sentimental, dull, or simply not liked (16%); and second, it offers nothing new to anyone (13%). Others say that it is too full of propaganda (7%) or that they personally don't like propaganda films (2%).

"For what reasons would you not recommend this feature?"  
(Asked of those respondents answering "No" to initial question.)

Total  
Audience

Because I didn't like the film, it was not well done (was sentimental, dull):

16%

Because it wasn't anything special, I didn't like it at all; because I didn't like it, I didn't get anything out of it; because it was sentimental stuff; because I didn't like it myself; too dull; not interesting enough; I couldn't recommend a film of such low standard; for heaven's sake, I could do better than that, that film is of no importance; I don't think it is so worth seeing, so I wouldn't recommend it; because I thought it was sentimental; because it was a light film, and I didn't like it; for heaven's sake, what should I recommend? - at the utmost, I could show you how to do something in the wrong way; etc.

Because the film doesn't offer anything that's new or worth seeing:

13

There is nothing in it that's new or worth seeing; offers nothing new; because it doesn't offer anything remarkably interesting, after all you know what it's like; besides, you are fed up with talk about Berlin; because they already know about all that; because the radio and the papers keep everyone informed about what happens in the film; because it doesn't bring anything new, if you listen to the radio and read the newspapers you know about all that; you don't miss anything, it's not worth your money; for heaven's sake, not at all, because the film is just nonsense, you don't get anything out of it, you read about all that in your daily papers; because all the time they are talking about the same things in the radio that you see in this film; almost all of them know about that - and it isn't particularly valuable anyhow; here people know about all that already; etc.

Because the film is too full of propaganda, too strongly biased, agitative and partial:

7

Because I didn't like that agitation at all; because it doesn't offer anything more - not everything is so wonderful in the West either, they have some reconstruction in the East, too; I think it's exaggerated propaganda; because it isn't at all so rosy in the West as they make you believe in the film, and because it is just political agitation; because they only show the way of life of certain groups of people useful for propaganda purposes; because it gives a completely distorted picture of the situation; I hardly think that I would discuss it with anybody at all, it doesn't give a true picture of the real facts; the film could have been better, the presentation should have been more objective; etc.

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Total  
AudienceBecause I don't like propaganda films (in general):

2%

Because I don't like propaganda films; because that's just propaganda - when I go to see a film I want to be diverted and amused - if I want to hear about politics, I need only look into the papers; I don't care for propaganda and politics; etc.

Because the film was inefficiently done for propaganda purposes:

1

Because it is full of clumsy pro-West propaganda, and because it represents serious problems in such a silly way and thus can only have a dubious success; only if you want to point out the clumsiness of Western propaganda; etc.

Because I never recommend films:

I wouldn't advise anybody; go and look at it, so you know how well-off we are over here - everybody shall make up his own mind about that himself; etc.

Other reasons:

50

I've told you that I didn't catch the meaning of the film so far; if it would be winter now, all right, but now it's really out of place; because it prejudices people against the "paradise" West Berlin; because I must suppose that there are many people who really cannot judge the situation and just swallow everything without criticism; because it might make people discontent - those who don't understand it, just forget about it anyhow; I couldn't exactly tell you why; it is unnecessary to show it in the West, and it is not allowed to show it in the East; it's not to everybody's taste, the problems should be treated more seriously; to me it doesn't seem to be so very worth seeing; people want to see something diverting and amusing, and I heard that people thought it rather strange, it's so depressing, these ruins, etc.; etc.

No opinion / No answer:2  
46%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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## II. HOW DOES THE AUDIENCE INTERPRET THE THEME? HOW IMPORTANT DOES IT CONSIDER SUCH FILMS TO BE?

Suggested by the findings in this section is that the somewhat reserved reception-dislike on the part of the more articulate better educated segment of the movie audience - accorded the "Magic Streetcar," does not derive from misunderstanding its theme or purpose. Nor does it seem to stem from a generalized view that it is not important to show films of this kind.

### EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES MOST FREQUENTLY SEEN AS THEME OF FILM ...

Almost everyone who saw the film considered its aim serious, when queried on the point. Half (51%) mentioned that "Magic Streetcar" was designed to show the difference between East and West. And other views were variations on a similar theme. Only 2 per cent mentioned the love story aspect - in contrast to the 44 per cent who, as already reported, spoke of it in connection with what they remembered about the film. Apparently, then, the audience was fully cognizant of the fact that the plot was a vehicle to point out a serious theme. Their comments follow.

"What, in your opinion, did the film "The Magic Streetcar" intend to express?"

Total  
Audience

#### The difference between the political and economic life in the East and the West:

51%

The sharp difference between East and West; they wanted to show the difference between East and West; the difference between the East and the West, and this little love story was meant to illustrate it - besides, it should tell that those people don't know at all what it's like in the West; that you can get everything in West Berlin, and nothing in East Berlin; that people living in the same town and the same country are forced to live under such different conditions, good and bad in consequence of this crazy political situation; the contrast of the East and West sector; what it looks like in the East and in the West, and the sharp difference between a democracy and bolshevism; the difference between the Soviet Zone and the Western zones; the vast difference between East and West, as to the standard of living; doubtlessly the difference between East and West in Berlin; the contrast between East and West Berlin, and that was shown rather ostentatiously; etc.

#### The bad conditions in the East:

13%

How bad conditions are in the East; the present conditions under which people are living there; that people in the East Zone are living under very bad conditions as to the supply of foods and other material goods; they wanted to show what life is like under Bolshevik rule; the miserable conditions of the East Berlin population; that people in East Berlin are in great distress in consequence of the Communist regime; the slavery of the people over there, the distress and the force that's ruling in the East; how people are living behind the Iron Curtain; that it is not so rosy in the Russian sector; the contrast of rich and poor people in the East and in the West, and that people have no freedom at all in the East; that the Americans and the West have achieved very much already, and the East nothing at all; etc.

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Prosperity of the people in West Germany (West Berlin):

12%

The fine things we have here in West Germany, and above all, the progress we've made; that the West is economically better off; that the West offers better conditions of living to the people, that personal feelings and relations are taken into consideration, too; that East Berlin looks quite different from the West, that everything is on the market again in the West; that people are not well off over there, and that everything is better over here; that the West has made more headway so far, they are reconstructing in the West, but nothing is being done in the East; that we have to be very satisfied with our fate here in West Germany, and that people shouldn't grumble so much; that the West is already far ahead of them in every regard, and that you can notice the pressure on the people in the East; that people can see how well off we are compared to the conditions in the East Zone; wanted to show us that we've already made much more progress than the Russians; that you see what it looks like in the East, that we are practically living in heaven; etc.

Solidarity between Germans in the East and in the West (we have to help the East Zone people):

11

We have to see that we don't forget people in the East; a small contribution towards the reunification of Germany - it is nonsense: one town and two kinds of currency; the film made it plain to all of us that a solidarity of feeling is still existing between East and West; people should be united, peace and understanding promoted; in spite of the opposition of their governments, the solidarity between East and West still exists; give help to your brothers in the East Zone, things can't go on this way; the desire to become a united people; that you realize how great their distress is, and that they really need to be helped; reunification of Germany; that the Germans in the East Zone always need to be helped; that this is an idiotic world, some people have something to eat, others don't; etc.

Propaganda to show the weakness of the East:

8

The "kingdom of heaven" of West Berlin - firstly, that is not true, and secondly, it is wrong to show it here; decidedly pro-West propaganda, and they are consciously depicting the East sector as being inferior; they wanted to point out this very marked difference between East and West, and to agitate people against East Germany; political agitation; I've no idea of that, it is completely misleading propaganda, the contrast between East and West was really not very well presented; it's one of the purely political affairs of today's simple agitation against the Russians; the streetcar is a pseudonym of the Western propagandist that pretends giving an unbiased view of the situation; you know that there has been much reconstruction in West Berlin and that conditions are bad in the East sector, but it is too serious a problem to be represented in this primitive black-and-white way; they wanted to paint the East as black as possible, as a warning; a comparison of East and West, consciously stressing the good points of the West; they wanted to show how well off we are here in the West, it is purely a propaganda film; I know Berlin and the East, and the film was in no way different from other trivial representations of the East-West problem; etc.

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Description of the situation in Berlin (general answers):

They just wanted to make people realize what it looks like in Berlin, what's going on in Berlin today; the two-sector city; that the film shows the truth about conditions in Berlin; that we may remember again and again what it's like over there; above all, they wanted to show what the conditions really are over there; etc.

Propaganda to show the accomplishments of the West:

Comparison of living conditions in the East and in the West as a means of propaganda against the East; pro-West propaganda, Western readiness to help and support; pro-West propaganda; propaganda against the East; propaganda: look what we are doing in the West, we've been doing that for so long already, and you haven't got anything in the East; propaganda about the great achievements of the West; the good points of the West should be stressed, entertainment was only a secondary element; it can be assumed, I think, that they had in mind to warn people against the East; propaganda against the East - no need to say more; etc.

Illustration of Germany's division and the consequences:

The misfortune of Germany's division; the gap between East and West keeps people from coming together; that you can't move across the borders as here; that it's nonsense to have borders between the sectors, and that they should be removed; etc.

That zonal borders are no obstacles for lovers:

That in spite of all obstacles love can still bring people together; that, in spite of the political borders two persons still can meet; that there are no borders for two people in love with each other; that there is a possibility to come together if, for instance, a West Berliner marries a girl from the East Zone, she is allowed to stay in the West; two lovers were united that could not get together because of the East Zone border; etc.

Unintelligible meaning (the meaning of the film is unintelligible):

I don't know myself; I don't know it either; that's something I couldn't get; I haven't the faintest idea about that, but I'd like to know it, too; etc.

Other answers:

That the Western powers gave more support to the suffering Berliners than the Russians, and that it's about time that they achieve the same standard of living as we have; that the Russians are not much in favor of the Germans, whereas the West gives them much aid; how two people come together; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## AUDIENCE LARGELY AGREED THAT SUCH FILMS ARE IMPORTANT ...

Not only did almost all of the people queried give fairly cogent replies on the purpose of the film "Magic Streetcar," but when queried further seven in 10 stated that it is important to show films like it in Germany. And while the better educated were somewhat less favorable than their opposites, among them too affirmative views were in the majority.

"Apart from whether you liked this short feature or not do you personally regard it as important that such a film is nowadays shown in Germany or don't you regard it as so important?"

	Important	Not so important	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	69%	26%	5%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>			
Elementary school	72%	24%	4%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	69	25	6
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	63	34	3
University	57	40	3
(Total "above average" schooling	65	30	5)
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	70	26	4
Women	69	26	5

## REASONS FOR AND AGAINST SUCH FILMS ...

That such films inform people about the East is the tenor of most reasons given for advocating showing films like the "Magic Streetcar." The minority against the idea say that people are already sufficiently informed about the East-West issue, or that the film failed as a propaganda effort, or that such films simply widen the East-West gap, and the like. Pro and con comments follow.

"For what reason do you regard it as important?" (Asked of respondents saying "Important" to initial question.)

Because it is a means of information - arouses the people (general answers):

Total Audience

26%

Because of the political information; at least you get some information from films like this; because it is informative, you can't point it out to people who don't know about it; to get information and political instruction; that we who live in West Germany are informed about it; because you can imagine it more vividly now; you can learn much in this way, because otherwise you can't imagine it so well at all; so that even those of us who took no interest in the East Germans so far get more information about them; because our young people can still learn very much from films like this one; because probably many people would still need some information; so that everyone is informed about that; etc.

So that everyone is informed about the bad conditions in the East, and perhaps takes it as a warning:

19

Information about the real conditions in the East; why, it's better to be informed about the real conditions than not to be able to get an idea about them; to remind people of what it really looks like over there - that we won't be exposed to the same distress - that we won't have to go through another war like the last one;

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UNCLASSIFIED

- 15 -

REPRODUCED

so that everyone can see what it's like; those who don't believe it should move to the East Zone themselves; people over here must also realize what it looks like over there; that you put yourself in the place of these people sometimes; they have to realize that it deals with their own countrymen who are living under such bad conditions; there are so many people who grumble about the refugees, well, now they see what it's like over there; you've got to know what it's like in Berlin, that's interesting anyhow; it's quite right to show it, after all, they are our own people who lead such a miserable life, therefore everyone ought to be interested and has to see this film; people over here won't believe that conditions are still so chaotic over there, therefore people have to be reminded of it over and over again by pictures; so that we in West Germany are informed about what it looks like in East Germany; etc.

Because then people will realize the difference between East and West:

So that people in the West also see the difference, many of them think that it isn't at all so bad over there, but there can be no doubt about it that there is a great danger looming in the East; because some people don't know about the difference between East and West; just to make you see the difference, that they install loud-speakers instead of giving something to eat to the people; to make you know the difference, so you see how people are living here, and how they are living in the East, you see what is going on in the East; it is very informative, if only for the young people in West Germany, so they can notice the difference between East and West; etc.

Because it will make the West German people realize how well off they are:

So that people over here become somewhat more contented; so that we in the West will be satisfied again seeing how well off we are; because 98 per cent of the people simply don't know what an easy life they are living; so that people will be more satisfied with their lot - that they realize how much better off they are over here; everybody will be convinced that we are lucky and mustn't complain; that they learn to appreciate their freedom over here; etc.

Because it will make people support the people in the East:

So that people are better informed and will maybe get more active in helping the East; a West German perhaps doesn't know yet that we are living like in paradise compared to the East Zone and that you should do more for the East Zone; so that everybody sees that you can't buy anything in the East, it's like it was over here before the currency reform (1948), we have to try every way in which we can administer relief to those people; we are all of us Germans, we shouldn't forget that over there people have to live under such bad conditions, besides, it might stimulate people to send them some parcels, I am thinking of food and clothing; the masses always have to be pushed - you have to give them a kick in their pants to get them really stirring; the Berlin aid (with the stamps) is not sufficient, you have to keep reminding people of the distress of the people in the East; etc.

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Because many West Germans doubt that it is really that bad in the East:

For propaganda purposes, to show skeptics what it's really like; because many people believe that it isn't at all that bad in the East; for people who don't believe that it's like that in the East; so that some obstinate people can now get the right idea of what it's like in the East; I've told you, because it reminds you that it is wrong to live so carelessly from day to day, and it makes you realize how dangerous the Russians are - many people keep thinking that it isn't at all that bad in the East; there are still plenty of short-sighted people who need to be instructed and informed; etc.

Because it reminds you of the necessity of a reunification of Germany: 4

A contribution towards Germany's reunification, since it exposes the Communist knout; everyone shall be made to realize that we are a divided people, it's easier for me to take a trip to some foreign country than to go to the East Zone; that the borders will finally be removed; it's a means for increasing the people's wish for unity; too little is being done to bring about the reunification of our country, you get the impression that especially top political circles think this to be a problem of less importance; so the West can see what's being done with our countrymen, there is such a gigantic conflict between East and West, and we have to side with the West; so that everyone can see and the foreign countries, too, that we must be united, and Adenauer has to realize that, too; because many people have forgotten that there is still this split-up and the film will make them aware of the problems again, I guess that is the most important reason; the story is credible and the acting is pleasant, taken from daily life - if they had left out the empty phrases and the agitation, this film would have been o.k. as a means of propaganda for a reunification; etc.

Because films as such are a good means for influencing people: 3

Because films as such are a good means for influencing people; because, after all, there are people who don't make much use of the radio and the papers; because people who don't read the papers can thus get acquainted with such a problem in the movie theater; people want to know what's up, if they don't read about it, they want to see, I have said before that today information is more important than ever; so that the situation over there is shown in pictures, because you can better remember something you've seen, than something you've only heard of; if you can't see the facts with your own eyes, films can give you this information in some degree; it is very important - there are so many people who are simply unable to think about a problem, they read the papers, they skip the reports about the East because they are not interested, but when they are sitting in the movie theater they'll have to watch the film, and, after all, then they will remember something; if you don't see pictures of what it looks like in Berlin and in the East Zone, you don't believe it anyhow; etc.

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Other reasons:

Oh well, it can be shown, perhaps there are some people who will see something in it that's new to them, after all, it doesn't show anything that isn't of some use to people; you should always keep in mind where our brightest prospects are; we in the West can't do anything about it anyhow; you can see quite well who lends us more support; it should be shown more often but not the glamorous part of West Berlin, that annoys some people because there is so much luxury right there, and they are still paying for the Berlin Aid; because it touches a serious public problem and because you are set thinking about this problem in an unbiased manner; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

1  
84%\*\*

" "For what reasons don't you regard it as so important that such a film is nowadays shown in Germany?"  
(Asked of respondents saying "Not so important" to initial question.)

Because you know enough about these conditions already, radio and press tell you about it all the time:

10%

As I've said because you hear enough about it from other sources; all of us know that people in the East Zone are not well off, there is nothing more to be said; everyone knows how things are here and you read in the newspapers about how they are over there, that should be enough; because our attention is drawn to it every day; because you get far better and sufficient information by newspapers and radio, and not to be omitted, by personal relations with people in Berlin; because I think that people who are even in the least interested in public affairs have got more and better information about it than the film can ever give; because everybody knows about the problem presented; etc.

Because as a means of propaganda the film was a failure(exaggerates, gives the wrong impression:

9

I rather like short features with political impact, but I did not like this one, it must be done with a lot of tact, exaggeration only makes it ridiculous; because obviously such a propaganda film can only have contrary results; it isn't necessary to aggravate this feeling of fear; because just like any cheap propaganda, it does not touch the original cause, you get the feeling that it is just propaganda in favor of the refugees; it is pointed out what it's like in the West Zone but the things which were shown couldn't be bought by an employee here either, it was a bit exaggerated; gives a completely wrong idea of our conditions; the film provokes people in a stupid manner, it neither makes the enemy look helpless, nor does it expose them, nor condemn them; etc.

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Total  
AudienceBecause such a film does not help to smooth away difficulties:

4%

I think it is dangerous because it helps to widen the gap between the two world powers; because such films only create confusion, and won't get us anywhere at all - why, they should finally start negotiations and East-West talks, they can't make us change our minds by something like this film; they shouldn't agitate people but come to an agreement; etc.

Because you don't like to see propaganda in a movie theater:

3

Because you hear and see enough in the press, and don't want to have your spare time spoiled by that - I look for entertainment at the movies and don't want to be bothered with political propaganda; why should people, looking for excitement, relaxation and entertainment after working hours at the movies, be crammed with political propaganda they don't really look for?; etc.

Other answers:

5

It is far more important to think of our prisoners of war, the EDC-treaty is carried through, and our young people were not asked for their opinions about it - the prisoners of war are not returned, and the disabled have to be satisfied with small pensions, and then they show such a corny film; I'm not for this agitation business; I don't care for politics, for what the eyes don't see the heart rues not; the ruins just make you nervous; chiefly because people are not capable of forming a judgment of their own, people are an easy prey to incessant propaganda; etc.

No opinion / No answer: $\frac{1}{32\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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## III. HOW INFORMATIVE WAS THE "MAGIC STREETCAR"?

The findings already reported indicate that audience enthusiasm for the "Magic Streetcar" is not too marked, as measured by the degree of liking or not liking the film. At the same time, it is clear that those queried about the feature not only appear to have a fairly good idea of its aim and theme, but are not on the whole inclined to derogate its content. The results set forth in this last section may suggest the basis for this discrepancy and also give some clues to the problems involved in presenting the film. The indications are that the film may have fallen between two stools - enlightenment and entertainment. In trying to achieve both at the same time, the informative value of the film appears to be minimal judging by what film viewers say they got out of it. And the entertaining characteristics apparently are not sufficient to overcome this lack.

## CHARACTER OF FILM JUDGED TO BE INFORMATIONAL ...

Asked what they thought the character, that is to say tenor, of the "Magic Streetcar" was, seven in 10 selected the alternative "chiefly informational" as against the "chiefly entertaining." As will be noted, the better educated were about as frequently of this opinion as all other groups.

"Do you think that the film was of a chiefly entertaining character, or of a chiefly informational character?"

	Entertaining character	Informational character	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	16%	71%	13%..100
<u>Educational groups:</u>			
Elementary school	16%	70%	14%
Middle and/or High school			
w/o Diploma	11	77	12
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	9	72	19
University	20	66	14
(Total "above average" schooling	13	73	14)
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	13	75	12
Women	17	67	16

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## AND MANY CONSIDER ITS ENTERTAINMENT VALUE AS NOT GREAT ...

Though the basically serious theme of the "Magic Streetcar" was presented through the medium of a gay "boy meets girl" plot, fewer people found the film entertaining than otherwise. Asked how entertaining the "Magic Streetcar" was to them, 40 per cent of the total audience stated it was "very entertaining," and 5 per cent found it "extraordinarily entertaining." But 54 per cent rated it as only slightly entertaining to not entertaining at all. Among the better educated groups, majorities appear to have found little or no entertainment value in the film.

## "How entertaining did you find this film?"

	Extraor- dinarly enter- taining	Very enter- taining	Not so enter- taining	Only a little enter- taining	Not enter- taining at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	5%	40%	14%	18%	22%	1%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>						
Elementary school	6%	50%	12%	15%	16%	1%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	4	30	21	20	23	2
Higher school (Diploma- Abitur	3	28	6	22	38	3
University	3	11	20	23	43	-
(Total "above average" schooling	4	25	18	21	30	2)
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	5	39	16	19	21	*
Women	5	43	12	16	22	2

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## BUT ALSO REGARD IT AS LACKING IN INFORMATIONAL VALUE ...

Similarly when queried on how informative the "Magic Streetcar" was, 44 per cent said its value in this regard was great to very great. But more (54%) of the total audience tended toward the negative view. Two thirds of the people with more than average education found it weak in informational value.

"And had the film any informational value, too? (How in-  
formative was the film for you?)"

("In this regard, had the film very great value; great  
value or not such a great value; only little value, no  
value at all?")

	Very great value	Great value	Not such a great value	Only a little value	No value at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	16%	28%	12%	15%	27%	2%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>						
Elementary school	18%	32%	14%	15%	19%	2%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	18	27	6	14	34	1
Higher school (Diploma- Abitur)	6	25	6	10	47	6
University	3	9	14	17	57	-
(Total "above average schooling	12	23	8	14	41	2)
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	15	26	14	18	26	1
Women	16	32	9	11	29	3

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... When pushed to a choice between the entertainment and informational value of the film, the audience as a whole tended to give a slight edge to information rather than entertainment. Here again judgments of the better educated depart markedly from their opposites.

"Two movie-goers, Mr. Schmidt and Mr. Mayer, are talking about the feature "The Magic Streetcar." In the course of the conversation both express different opinions about the film."

"Mr. Mayer says: I regard the film as entertaining but not as particularly informative, for what is shown everybody already knows.

"Mr. Schmidt says: I regard the film as entertaining but beyond that it is also quite informative; we here in the West can learn a lot through this film.

"Which opinion would you personally rather agree to?"

	Only enter- taining	Also in- formative	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	41%	49%	10%...100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>			
Elementary school	34%	58%	8%
Middle and/or High school			
w/o Diploma	45	46	9
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	56	22	22
University	74	14	12
(Total "above average" schooling	54	34	12)
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	43	46	11
Women	39	52	9

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THE "MAGIC STREETCAR" APPEARS TO HAVE HAD LITTLE IMPACT ...

As has been seen thus far, the audience as a whole was of the impression that while the "Magic Streetcar" was intended to be informational rather than entertaining in intent, the weight of opinion was that the film lacked informational as well as entertainment value.

And when queried directly on what they personally had gained from the film, they spoke out more strongly in the negative direction. Three quarters of the audience thereupon indicated (a) that the film showed nothing they had not been informed about before and (b) that the film did not stimulate any new views or ideas. However, that as many as a quarter answer otherwise to these queries indicate that the film is not without some impact.\*\* But in view of the overall findings it seems fair to judge that the film's effectiveness is likely to have been impaired by the extent of its lukewarm or unfavorable reception.

"Did the film perhaps show something new to you, that is, something that you had not been informed about before, or not?"

	Yes	No	No answer
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	25%	75%	- ... 100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>			
Elementary school	30%	69%	1%
Middle and/or High school			
w/o Diploma	15	84	1
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	19	78	3
University	17	83	-
(Total "above average" schooling	17	82	1)
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	23	77	*
Women	27	72	1

"Apart from your attitude towards the film, did it stimulate any new views and ideas?"

	Yes	No	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	25%	72%	3% ... 100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>			
Elementary school	25%	71%	4%
Middle and/or High school			
w/o Diploma	28	69	3
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	15	85	-
University	26	74	-
(Total "above average" schooling	25	73	2)
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	23	74	3
Women	27	69	4

... Comments pro and con the informational and entertainment value of the film as well as on what was learned from it follow on the next pages.

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* But not all of the impact was favorable as may be seen in the comments which follow of those who said the short stimulated new ideas.

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## COMMENTS PRO AND CON ON ENTERTAINMENT VALUE OF THE "MAGIC STREETCAR"

People who think the "Magic Streetcar" lacked entertainment value are critical of the plot, acting, direction and so on, but a considerable fraction also refer to the theme, especially what they allege to be its obvious propaganda. As would be expected, those who find the film entertaining stress the plot, cast and acting. Their comments follow.

"Why didn't you find the film entertaining?"

Total  
Audience

Because the film is too full of propaganda:

17%

Propaganda films are usually never particularly entertaining, you realize what they are driving at and are annoyed; you really could not think it entertaining even if you wanted to, because all the time they kept harping at you; because it was predominantly propaganda against the East and it gave a wrong picture of the West anyhow; you knew what they were driving at and didn't believe anything as a matter of course; because it only showed one side, the West - I didn't see any use in showing it to us, I can only imagine it as a propaganda film to be shown to the East Zone people; because it only showed what it looks like on the other side, and I didn't want to see anything about that; because everything was depicted so unnaturally, its only purpose was to grind out propaganda - they praised only the West, and the East was merely shown as something terrible - because all that isn't true, we are not so well off in the West after all; I thought it was propaganda for the elections and therefore I've almost forgotten it at once; because everything smelled too much of propaganda; etc.

Because the plot is far-fetched, unbelievable:

10

This mixing-up of the lovers and the problem - something like this ought to be represented in a satisfactory way; the mixing-up was unlucky, everything too intentional because the little love story with its imagination seemed somewhat unreal and because the political propaganda was simply always put in the focus of your attention; if it had been up to me, I'd have switched off the film at once, on the whole you can't say anything against the subject of showing the differences between East and West, but this awful love story doesn't fit in at all - the film was to inform quite objectively about the contrast between East and West; because it was unbelievable and full of empty talk, because such a serious subject should not be represented in such an improbable way - from where did the young man get all that money at the end?; the "action" of the streetcar was so improbable - because the film dealt with politics; from the very beginning I noticed the propaganda - the "action" of the streetcar is completely unbelievable for grownup people; I was not interested, after all a streetcar can't talk; the whole film wasn't anything special, everything was so unreal, that the streetcar was driving without having been started by the conductor, and everything that was going on; because the plot itself was far too fantastic; because it gives only the eternal evidence of what it means to say - you see the shop windows, but that's nothing unusual; etc.

Because the film was only meant to be informative, so it could not be entertaining:

8

Because its main purpose was to show what's going on in East and West Berlin - you should not be entertained so much as informed; because the film was more informative; every scene treated the East-West problem, almost every second word was informative; if I think the film informative, I can't think it entertaining, all those "entertaining scenes" were just meant to illustrate the in-

(Cont'd on next page)

UNCLASSIFIED



formations, they were accessories; I noticed at once that it is an informative film that did not mean to entertain but to arouse us; it was more informative, sometimes a little bit dull, but otherwise quite good; quite nice and informative, down here we can't imagine at all what it's really like; because the subject of the film is not something entertaining as for instance a love story; etc.

Because the script, the directing and the acting was bad:

6%

Sometimes the plot and the dialogue tempted the spectators to laugh, if they want to show the difference between East and West, they have to do that in a different way; generally not entertaining at all, long-haired story, no action, only the acting of the girl sometimes; ridiculous plot, affected you as being too fabricated; the scenery changed too often, thus the film fell into pieces; it was too short and should have given more facts, the music drowned the words; it didn't give much, at the utmost those pretty tunes; the actors were quite nice, well yes, but they exaggerated the informative tendencies too much; because they only gave the external side of the contrasts not the background, it could just as well be cold-blooded propaganda as a true documentary film, and finally, because the streetcar is an unsatisfactory, pretty silly means to carry the plot; etc.

Because the film was sentimental:

5

The film didn't give you anything because it was steeped in sentimentality; the love story was too silly, and the scene of their escape was sentimental - even teen-agers don't like anything like that nowadays; dull, such sentimental stuff, just spending money on nothing; because it was simply silly, primitive and silly; first they talk about children, and then about the old people's home, even if that's true - we know it is - we don't want to see that all the time, and above all not so badly performed; they shouldn't turn a serious problem into such sentimental stuff, then it's only propaganda like the Nazi films; because though you got a certain entertainment from the plot with the streetcar - which was sentimental, however - you quickly caught the propagandistic purpose; etc.

Because the East-West problem is too much known already:

3

The situation is already known; because it is about the same topic again that you already know; because you know all that already - after all you know what's going on in Berlin; none of it was new to me; it chiefly showed things you knew already, otherwise it was quite nice; etc.

Because I don't like serious problem films:

1

The film was too full of serious problems, besides I don't know Berlin; it makes you so sad, you want to see something else in the movies, something to divert your thoughts because life is so difficult if you have only little money; I don't like that kind of film, I have suffered enough myself; etc.

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UNCLASSIFIED

Total  
AudienceOther reasons:

I was so unused to all that, I just don't like it; you could see how they celebrate Christmas; because you really should be shown more of the difference between East and West; because everything took place in the streetcar and you didn't see much of Berlin; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

9%

 $\frac{2}{61\%}$ 

"Why did you find the film (extraordinary) (very) entertaining?"

Because of the pleasant manner in which the story of the two lovers was presented:

13%

Because the small plot was rather amusing; it was not wearisome for anybody, the plot was quite nice; the employee is a romantic and very much in love, he did not dare to propose; it was well done how the two conductors drove through the streets and tell each other everything; it was so nice how the two of them got to know each other and talked; because it showed a couple just as it is in real life, they had been in love for a long time and only by the streetcar's trick they find each other; he showed her West Berlin on Christmas eve; well, two people were united in it; the man did not talk in a boring manner when he made proposals about their future life; because the two young people understood each other; because the two who loved each other met, got acquainted and married; their meeting and how they stick together; it was entertaining because it presented a lot that is quite probable; the love story was quite nice; it was not as boring as other short features as there was action on account of the two lovers; now and then I like to see a love story, just this one was very entertaining; etc.

Because the film describes the present conditions in Berlin:

12

Because it was a historical film about the split of Berlin into sectors; it shows how both of them see the West, the West is presented in all its glory, most of the things are only displayed in the shop windows, but if you work you can afford to buy them while in the East sector you can't possibly buy them even if you work hard; you saw Berlin from both sides, they did a good job; it is very interesting to observe these differences in one city; because it points out the differences in Berlin, especially interesting to us who will never be able to go to Berlin ourselves; because he showed her everything in the West sector so that you could see the contrast to the East; you could see how things are in Berlin; just because I liked it; going from East to West everything was shown, how you can buy everything in the West and nothing in the East; because the conditions in East and West Berlin were portrayed in a nice manner not tainted by propaganda or politics; just as it is in reality; by the riots of June 17th, Berlin was put in the centre of the world's attention, therefore it was interesting to see pictures of Berlin; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

UNCLASSIFIED

- 29 -

RESTRICTED

The film was interesting (it was tragic, acted well):

8%

Because the love story was quite droll and in a way even touching, therefore I like to watch the action at least; it was quite amusing that they made the streetcar go through Berlin automatically; it's quite funny and you have to laugh quite often; the film was acted well; I was anxious to see what would happen next; because the film was so interesting; somehow the droll romance of the conductors was interesting, it even seemed somehow tragic and touched you; it was something quite new which interested me very much, too; etc.

Because of the skillful manner in which love story and information were interlaced:

7

Because the love story was happily interlaced with the action, but also because of the stroll through Berlin; because the information of the people was achieved in such a nice manner, because of the conductor and the girl, their romance, the shops in Berlin, the Christmas excitement, the girl's dream, how they changed while dancing; information and entertainment were well mixed, the effect was not boring; it was easy to understand, political matters were interlaced with the love story; because of the nice little love story and ramble through Berlin; two people were brought together, propaganda in a noble fashion; because it showed how they planned their life together, she had gone through years of want in the East Zone and now could lead an orderly life at her husband's side, she had only taken the job because of the uniform; etc.

The Christmas spirit was moving:

1

There was such a nice Christmas spirit in it, after all in the East Zone they are not permitted to celebrate Christmas and sing Christmas songs; it was efficiently staged, it was clever to take Christmas time because there are many opportunities to show the gifts in the shop windows in contrast to the East Zone where they have none; etc.

Other answers:

8

Because the actors did not act like professional artists, their faces were just like those of common people; it was the purpose of the film to entertain; a good specimen of an instructive film; because it shows how a person feels who has lived in the East for years and then comes to the West, the display in the shop windows was nice; interesting that people in the East Zone don't know what things look like in the West; especially interesting to me because I know the East Zone myself; yes, uncommonly enlightening, generally you don't get to see those things as they really are; etc.

No opinion / No answer:1  
50%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## COMMENTS PRO AND CON ON INFORMATIVE VALUE OF THE "MAGIC STREETCAR" ...

Those who find the informative value of the film lacking stress the following: they already knew about conditions pictured in the "Magic Streetcar," the propaganda was too obvious, the West was presented in too rosy a light, the film was overly sentimental and the like. Comments of those who feel the "Magic Streetcar" had informative value mainly stress information about Berlin.

"Why do you think that, in this regard, the film was of (not such a great)(only little)(no) value (at all) for you?"

Total  
Audience

27%

Things shown in the film were known already:

Because everything was already known to me; because I know the difference between East and West; because newspapers as well as accounts of people living in the East inform you about conditions over there; that was known already; because I know the conditions over there; it did not tell me anything new, I knew already all that I saw and heard; because you know the differences between East and West from newspaper reports already; you knew everything already, either from the papers, or news-reels; you know about how things are in the East; I am rather well acquainted with the conditions; you know that life is not easy over there; etc.

Because the descriptions in the film affect you as being untrue (bad propaganda):

10

Because all of it was just propaganda, things aren't so bad in the East as they were shown to be, and things aren't so wonderful here, either; because everyone knows enough about that, it was far-fetched, only propaganda (17th of June); I know Berlin and the East, the film did not differ in anything from other trivial presentations of the East-West problem; partly it was exaggerated, besides I know the East Zone; because conditions aren't presented in an objective manner, you know from the very beginning that the East is going to get it; everybody knows that there are well-supplied shops in the West and devastated streets in the East sector, purely political propaganda film, people are agitated in a roundabout way; was not clear about what it was supposed to inform, like the worst kind of Nazi propaganda; really I thought it ridiculous, a streetcar which never stops, and then the well-supplied shops on one side, and nothing on the other, I'm sure it can't be that bad; etc.

Conditions in the West are falsely represented (in too rosy a light):

6

On the average, we don't live in such luxury as the film would make you think we do, I have enough acquaintances over there who tell me differently; it seems rather improbable - I doubt whether conditions are really so rosy in West Berlin; we know what you can buy here, but we know just as well that a conductor never will be able to afford all this; it only tempts people in the East Zone to come over here and gives them a completely wrong idea of our daily struggle, whoever can afford all that here in the West?; the Americans should have shown to what kind of place refugees are brought here and what kind of life they have to lead, then the film would have been of some value; etc.

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Because the film was corny and sentimental:

4%

I haven't thought much on the East-West problem, because it was presented in such a childish manner; clumsily staged, and to show a film about Christmas in midsummer!; I've never before seen such a sentimental thing; acting as well as everything else was just trash; it was boring from beginning to end, perhaps something for small children only; contrasts were only shown with regard to traditional matters such as Christmas, but there is a human contrast to be shown, too; though the idea was good, I didn't like it; judged from our Western standards of taste, it's only mediocre; etc.

I am not interested in the conditions of the East:

3

I have no relatives in Berlin, I am not so much interested; I have never been interested in conditions over there; it was not worth a thing either for me or for my fiancée; just because I'm not so very interested in all that; I don't know, I just don't concern myself about the people in the East; etc.

Because too little was shown of the conditions in the East:

2

You are aroused again and again, it should have been more impressive, we know what the West looks like, they should have shown the standard of living in the East; they should have shown us more of the East; because it affects you as being extremely one-sided and tells only little about the East, why should we be interested in what's going on in West Berlin?; etc.

Other answers:

6

There was not enough action and it was too short; there were none of the real problems presented; I'm still too young to understand what they are talking about love; perhaps men would like it better, being a woman, I don't care for it very much; there was hardly any action; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

2  
60%\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Why do you think that in this regard the film was of (very great) (great) value for you?"

You got acquainted with the situation in Berlin:

22%

I didn't know what things really looked like in Berlin; that I finally got a right and true idea of Berlin; then you get an idea of what it looks like at the Berlin borders; I was shown the true situation at Berlin in a pleasant way; because you get an insight into the state of affairs; it was very informative for someone who has not been there before; because I don't know the situation and have never been there, now I've seen what's going on in the East Zone; because it is described to you how way behind the times they are in the East Zone; it had not yet struck me so much that so much is damaged in Berlin and that people are punished for going to West Berlin; you could see how difficult life still is in the East, there is hardly any clothing or food so far; you can form a better opinion of the political situation and the need of the people over there; etc.

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UNCLASSIFIED



You saw the difference between East and West for once:

For once it was interesting to get a picture of the contrast of East and West Berlin; because you saw the difference between East and West; because I've never been to Berlin and now saw the difference for the first time; that you really see for once what it is like in Berlin, the difference between East and West, usually you only read about that in the papers; because only one town was shown and yet there was so much difference; learned about the difference between the East and West regimes;; because it was instructive, showed the difference between the East and the West to the people in the West and informed them about what it really is like, they still doubt that it is like that; the contrasts illustrated in those pictures really set you thinking, I knew too little about it; everyone that gives it some thought will see and learn to understand the differences between East and West, I am a refugee and I know that people in the West are doubtful about the situation in the East, etc.

This film is an efficient means of propaganda (in general):

The film has political value, good propaganda, I can say so because I am a refugee and know about it; it has great value because it is politically informative; because the Eastern danger has to be pointed out over and over again; I think it was produced to influence the coming elections, and that is very important; etc.

You could see what it looks like in West Berlin:

If one hasn't been there, one simply can't imagine in what degree Berlin has been modernized again; that you saw all kinds of night spots they have built again in Berlin; because it can't be shown too often to the people in the West what has been achieved in West Berlin and what is still being done; I knew Berlin back in 1946, I was surprised to see how much has been reconstructed; etc.

You could see that we are getting on pretty well in West Germany:

Because you were shown once again how well off we are; that you are set thinking about what it looks like in the East Zone and that we are lucky to live in the West Zone; here in the West everything really is better and freer than in East Germany; etc.

The film proves that agitative propaganda is carried on (negative comments):

Proof that agitative propaganda is carried on; because to me it was another proof of the fact that they try to convince people even by the most impossible means, how bad conditions are in the East Zone, and they don't give any facts about it but just make big empty talk; etc.

Other reasons:

We hope that conditions won't become as bad over here, too; we are no longer so closely involved in Eastern affairs and would like to advise everyone to turn away from them; imagining myself to be one of the actors, I can feel that it is really terrible if one is not free; I have seen that Germans are Germans, whether they are in the East Zone or in the West Zone; because you could see that quite much can be achieved by personal ambition; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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## COMMENTS OF THOSE WHO LEARNED SOMETHING NEW ...

Comments of the minority who learned something new from the "Magic Streetcar," or were aroused to new ideas follow.

"Did the film perhaps show something new to you, that is, something that you had not been informed about before, or not?"

Total  
Audience

Bad conditions in the East:

I didn't imagine that conditions are so bad, and that the East is so far behind compared to us; I didn't know that East Berlin looks so horrible; that East Berlin is such a ghost-like town, so little traffic in the streets; the empty streets in East Berlin; the HO (government) shops and that there is so little reconstruction in East Berlin; that there are still so many ruins in East Berlin; I was deeply affected when I saw that Berlin still has so many ruins; etc.

9%

The vast difference between East and West Berlin:

I didn't know that there is such a difference; relatively speaking, how bad conditions are in the East compared to those in the West; etc.

5

Economic progress and reconstruction in West Berlin:

Reconstruction in West Berlin; that everything is already available in Berlin; didn't think that West Berlin would have made so much progress so far; the progress in West Berlin; that West Berlin has already been so beautiful reconstructed; that West Berlin has almost caught up with the standard of living of the Federal Republic; etc.

4

Everything:

Everything was new to me; oh well, just everything because I didn't know anything about Berlin; well, I've never been to Berlin, so everything was new to me; etc.

1

People are better off in West Berlin than we think (negative answers):

That those West Berliners are not at all living under such bad conditions as we are told here; etc.

\*

Other answers:

People don't realize over there what it is really like; distribution of food; that they change the streetcar staff; that the conductors change at the zonal borders; etc.

5

No opinion / No answer:

1  
25%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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## COMMENTS OF THOSE WHO WERE STIMULATED BY THE FILM ...

"What new views and ideas did the film stipulate?"  
(Asked of those respondents answering "Yes" to  
initial question.)

Total  
Audience

POSITIVE COMMENTS:

The film made it clear that East and West Germany must be reunited:

Germany's split has to come to an end; perhaps it would be better if East and West sector were reunited; that the whole city of Berlin should be united; in the long run it is impossible to keep Berlin divided; we live in the West and in one sense of the word Berlin is one city, in another it is not; that things would be better if people only tried to understand one another; Germans belong together; etc.

You were reminded of the distress and misery of the people in the East Zone:

That you really have to feel sorry for the people in the East Zone; that you can't live as a human being over there; then you always think how miserable their life is in comparison with ours; I remembered my relatives in East Berlin; it is difficult for the people to live in the East sector, you have to feel sorry for them; how great the misery is in East Berlin; I pondered whether circumstances got still worse because when I left Berlin it was not that bad; etc.

We should try to support the people in the East Zone:

People in the West should give more support to the East Zone, Communism is brutal and people are enslaved by it; before grumbling about refugees you should perhaps remember how much these people have suffered; they still don't send enough money to Berlin, much more should be sent; my first thought was, that's where our aid goes to, I was sorry for the people in the East Zone; we all should really be willing to send a parcel to the East Zone, if I knew of somebody I would send a parcel at once; etc.

You realize how well off we are again in the West:

That we in Germany have done a lot already within a short time; it is better to live in a democratic world, it is madness to try to enslave a peace loving people; how well off we are and how miserable they are; yes, that we here live under far more favorable circumstances, we need not be afraid anymore; I thought by myself I would not like to live there in the East; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

UNCLASSIFIED

- 33 -

You could observe that construction in West Berlin has made rapid progress:

1%

I did not imagine that there are so many shops in West Berlin; that there has been such an enormous rebuilding program; etc.

You wished to see East Germany free of the Russian yoke:

1

Yes, how wonderful it would be if we could free them and throw out the Russians; why didn't the Russians release East Berlin up to now; etc.

Other answers:

2

That it is easier to be a bachelor, that it is expensive as well as a great bother to be married; that it is a pity that now we have to produce propaganda of this kind, too; etc.

NEGATIVE COMMENTS:

In regard to propagandistic purposes the film is a failure:

2

That we imitate the Nazis in this kind of propaganda; that it is dangerous and not easy to produce a real good film which instructs about political matters; for those who don't know anything of the matter it has to be presented in a more condensed stroke; the Americans staged the film rather well, it is important to show something like that only it should be kept within the limits of probability, more importance should be attached to a truthful description of the circumstances of the middle class, but as it is it is ridiculous; etc.

The superficial description of Berlin was disgusting:

1

What I had been thinking all along was confirmed, the desires of the masses find their expression in neon-lighted shop windows; I was amazed that there are these innumerable night clubs; etc.

The film widens the gap between East and West:

\*

That they try to continue the propaganda and widen the gap; that this won't help to solve the East-West problem, there will only be more tension because of it; I only thought that if a Communist happens to see that he would say that they over there could show us a few other things, too; etc.

Other answers:

Don't care for politics anyway; etc.

1

No opinion/No answer:

1  
28%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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## APPENDIX A

As a possible contribution to evaluation, the opportunity was taken in the present study to experiment with the use of a series of unfavorable contentions, and subsequently of favorable contentions about the film, to which the respondents were instructed to indicate agreement (in whole or in part) or disagreement. The limitations on such a technique is that the procedure involves a certain amount of suggestiveness, and one can never be certain to what extent the answers reflect valid opinions and to what extent they reflect suggestion.

Despite this fact valuable conclusions can be drawn if the circumstances are such that certain particular patterns of results obtain - either (1) small acceptance of negative comments or (2) small acceptance of positive comments. In the first case one can draw a firm favorable conclusion because in spite of whatever suggestion is existent, criticism notwithstanding is small. In the second case one can draw a firm unfavorable conclusion because in spite of favorable suggestion favorable responses are few.

Unfortunately the returns in the present study did not fall into the patterns that permit of firm conclusions. Acceptance of both the negative and the positive comments that were advanced was fairly appreciable.

Under such circumstances it was deemed on the side of caution not to draw any conclusions from this particular technique in the present study, leaving such to the more conventional and time tested approaches the results of which have been presented in the body of the report.

The obtained returns to the negative and positive statements inquiries are tabulated below, however, since some of the particular findings are not without interest despite the limitations of the approach.

"One sometimes hears unfavorable remarks about the film  
"The Magic Streetcar."

In the following we've collected a few of these remarks and would like to know with which of these you would fully agree, with which largely, and with which you would agree a little or not at all."

"The film gives too crass a description of conditions  
in the East."

	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	12%	8%	14%	56%	10%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	13%	8%	16%	53%	10
Middle and/or High school					
w/o Diploma	7	4	10	67	12
Higher school (Diploma-					
Abitur)	16	9	13	53	9
University	9	20	11	51	9
(Total "above average"					
schooling	9	9	11	61	10)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	14	9	14	54	9
Women	9	7	14	58	12

(Cont'd on next page)

UNCLASSIFIED



"The film strikes one as contrived and untrue, for hardly anybody in West Berlin can afford the luxury shown."

	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	19%	16%	20%	40%	5%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	18%	14%	16%	45%	7%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	15	16	27	39	3
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	25	22	22	28	3
University	23	28	26	20	3
(Total "above average" schooling	19	20	25	33	3)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	19	17	19	40	5
Women	18	15	21	40	6

"The film was too propagandistic and one-sided, it pointed out the good sides of the West too much."

	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	29%	12%	19%	37%	3%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	27%	11%	18%	40%	4%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	24	12	24	38	2
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	44	6	19	28	3
University	43	28	6	17	6
(Total "above average" schooling	32	15	19	32	2)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	29	14	20	35	2
Women	28	11	17	39	5

"The film was too political, at least in the movies one doesn't like to hear or see about politics."

	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	16%	7%	14%	60%	3%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	19%	7%	14%	57%	3%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	11	5	16	64	4
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	16	3	16	65	-
University	11	12	14	57	6
(Total "above average" schooling	12	6	15	63	4)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	18	6	12	61	3
Women	15	8	16	57	4

(Cont'd on next page)

UNCLASSIFIED

"The film was too sentimental and corny."

	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	18%	10%	17%	53%	2%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	13%	9%	14%	62%	2%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	19	11	24	45	1
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	41	6	12	41	-
University	31	17	29	20	3
(Total "above average" schooling)	25	12	23	39	1)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	17	11	19	51	2
Women	19	8	15	57	1

"And now we've collected some favorable remarks about the film in the following and would again like to know with which of these remarks you would fully agree, with which largely, and with which you would agree a little or not at all."

"The film was a valuable contribution to the fight against bolshevism."

	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	42%	13%	13%	27%	5%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	48%	14%	12%	19%	7%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	39	14	13	30	4
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	28	6	13	47	6
University	11	9	14	63	3
(Total "above average" schooling)	31	11	14	40	4)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	43	10	15	29	3
Women	40	15	11	25	9

"The film showed life in divided Berlin as it really is."

	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	45%	21%	8%	12%	14%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	51%	20%	9%	9%	11%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	44	22	3	12	19
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	25	22	9	28	16
University	17	23	20	20	20
(Total "above average" schooling)	35	22	8	17	20)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	44	22	11	13	10
Women	46	20	5	11	18

(Cont'd on next page)

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"The love story made the film especially appealing."

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	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	38%	16%	20%	24%	2%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	47%	16%	19%	16%	2%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	24	20	25	29	2
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	22	19	12	44	3
University	17	6	20	54	3
(Total "above average" schooling	22	17	22	37	2)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	31	17	25	25	2
Women	44	16	15	23	2

"The film unobtrusively informed one about the difference between East and West."

	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	44%	16%	12%	25%	3%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	52%	17%	10%	19%	2%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	40	14	17	25	4
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	25	22	9	44	-
University	9	14	23	51	3
(Total "above average" schooling	31	16	16	34	3)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	40	19	12	27	2
Women	50	14	12	22	2

"More such films should be produced so that people in West Germany get a better understanding of conditions in the East."

	Fully	Largely	A little	Not at all	No opinion
TOTAL AUDIENCE:	56%	9%	5%	26%	4%..100%
<u>Educational groups:</u>					
Elementary school	61%	7%	5%	24%	3%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	59	8	6	23	4
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	35	12	6	41	6
University	31	26	3	34	6
(Total "above average" schooling	48	13	5	29	5)
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	56	11	4	26	3
Women	57	7	6	26	4

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APPENDIX B  
**UNCLASSIFIED**  
Results For the Three Cities

Question 6\*

"Usually, when you go to the movies, do you like or dislike to have short features included in the program? (Besides advertisements and newsreel?) (Do you like them very much, not so much, or not at all?)"

	Munich (152)	Essen (154)	Koenigs- winter (136)
Very much	78%	79%	88%
Not so much	7	10	7
Not at all	13	8	4
No opinion	2	3	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 7

"Can you perhaps tell me a short feature that you've seen lately, and that you did not like particularly?"

Yes, "Magic Streetcar"	56%	16%	7%
Yes, others	3	17	8
No	38	61	79
No opinion	3	6	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 8

"And how about last night's short feature? Do you still remember the short feature of last night's program?"

Yes, exactly	91%	67%	72%
Yes, fairly	6	23	21
Yes, a little	*	7	7
No, hardly	3	3	-
No opinion	-	-	*
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 10

"How did you like this short feature? (Very well, well, not so well, only little, or not at all?)"

Very well	7%	18%	31%
Well	18	46	48
Not so well	12	8	8
Only little	11	10	8
Not at all	51	18	5
No opinion	1	*	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\*\* Questions 1 - 5 dealt with the feature film and some general queries on movie-going and were used only in an introductory sense in order not to reveal any particular interest in or emphasis on the "Magic Streetcar" in the initial stages of the interview.

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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Question 11

"Do you think that the film was of a chiefly entertaining character, or of a chiefly informative character?"

	Munich	Essen	Koenigs- winter
Entertaining character	10%	18%	21%
Informative character	72	69	70
No opinion	18	13	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 12

"How entertaining did you find this film?"

Extraordinarily entertaining	1%	4%	11%
Very entertaining	16	50	56
Not so entertaining	17	15	11
Only a little entertaining	21	17	15
Not entertaining at all	43	14	6
No opinion	2	-	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 13

"And had the film any informative value, too? (How informative was the film for you?) (In this regard, had the film very great value; great value or not such a great value; only little value, no value at all?)"

Very great value	4%	11%	34%
Great value	20	32	34
Not such a great value	7	18	10
Only little value	17	16	11
No value at all	51	22	7
No opinion	1	1	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 15

"Did the film perhaps show something new to you, that is, something that you had not been informed about before, or not?"

Yes (What?)	21%	26%	30%
No	79	74	70
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 16

"Apart from your attitude towards the film, did it stimulate any new views and ideas?"

Yes	15%	25%	36%
No	83	70	60
No opinion	2	5	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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Question 17

"Would you recommend this feature to your friends and acquaintances as a film that everyone ought to see or not?"

	Munich	Essen	Koenigs- winter
Yes, would recommend	20%	59%	71%
No, would not	77	34	18
No opinion	3	7	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 18

"To movie-goers, Mr. Schmidt and Mr. Mayer, are talking about the feature "The Magic Streetcar". In the course of the conversation both express different opinions about the film:

Mr. Mayer says: I regard the film as entertaining but not as particularly informative, for what is shown everybody already knows.

Mr. Schmidt says: I regard the film as entertaining but beyond that it is also quite informative; we here in the West can learn a lot through this film.

Which opinion would you personally rather agree to?"

Only entertaining	61%	34%	27%
Also informative	23	56	69
No opinion	16	10	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 19

"Apart from whether you liked this short feature or not, do you personally regard it as important that such a film is nowadays shown in Germany, or don't you regard it as so important?"

Important	52%	67%	89%
Not so important	41	27	9
No opinion	7	6	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 20

"Can you perhaps tell me by whom the feature was produced? (That is, whether it was a German, French, American, or English short feature?) (You can make a guess at it.)"

German	61%	58%	65%
French	1	2	-
American	24	21	18
English	1	1	2
Joint production	3	2	1
No opinion	10	16	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"One sometimes hears unfavorable remarks about the film 'The Magic Streetcar.' In the following we've collected a few of these remarks and would like to know with which of these you would fully agree, with which largely, and with which you would agree a little or not at all?"

'The film gives too crass a description of conditions in the East.'

	Munich	Essen	Koenigs- winter
Fully	17%	15%	1%
Largely	12	10	2
A little	16	15	11
Not at all	46	49	73
No opinion	9	11	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

'The film strikes one as contrived and untrue, for hardly anybody in West Berlin can afford the luxury shown.'

Fully	30%	19%	7%
Largely	22	16	9
A little	21	18	20
Not at all	24	41	56
No opinion	3	6	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

'The film was too propagandistic and one-sided, it pointed out the good sides of the West too much.'

Fully	42%	30%	13%
Largely	18	12	6
A little	14	20	22
Not at all	22	35	55
No opinion	2	3	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

'The film was too political, at least in the movies one doesn't like to hear or see about politics.'

Fully	23%	20%	4%
Largely	9	8	4
A little	16	16	10
Not at all	48	53	78
No opinion	4	3	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

'The film was too sentimental and corny.'

Fully	38%	10%	5%
Largely	16	8	4
A little	18	18	16
Not at all	27	62	73
No opinion	1	2	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Question 22UNCLASSIFIED

"And now we've collected some favorable remarks about the film in the following and would again like to know with which of these remarks you would fully agree, with which largely, and with which you would agree a little or not at all?"

'The film showed life in divided Berlin as it really is.'

	Munich	Essen	Koenigs- winter
Fully	32%	44%	59%
Largely	20	26	17
A little	10	10	4
Not at all	23	9	4
No opinion	15	11	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

'The film was a valuable contribution to fight against bolshevism.'

Fully	20%	48%	59%
Largely	7	17	14
A little	12	13	13
Not at all	57	13	9
No opinion	4	9	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

'The love story made the film especially appealing.'

Fully	22%	40%	51%
Largely	5	19	25
A little	19	26	14
Not at all	51	11	9
No opinion	3	4	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

'The film unobtrusively informed one about the differences between East and West.'

Fully	25%	40%	71%
Largely	10	26	12
A little	16	12	8
Not at all	46	20	7
No opinion	3	2	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

'More such films should be produced so that people in West Germany get a better understanding of conditions in the East.'

Fully	38%	56%	77%
Largely	13	8	7
A little	3	7	5
Not at all	42	26	8
No opinion	4	3	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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Group Characteristics Of the Audience

<u>Sex:</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Munich</u>	<u>Essen</u>	<u>Koenigswinter</u>
Men	53%	51%	62%	45%
Women	<u>47</u> 100%	<u>49</u> 100%	<u>38</u> 100%	<u>55</u> 100%
<u>Age:</u>				
Under 17 years	5	1	8	5
18 - 24 "	23	23	28	19
25 - 34 "	26	26	34	17
35 - 54 "	34	36	28	38
55 years and over	9	10	1	16
No answer	3	4	1	5
<u>Education:**</u>				
Elementary school	62	45	80	61
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	22	23	14	30
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	7	10	5	7
University	8	20	1	2
No answer	1	2	-	-
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	10	21	1	7
Businessmen	10	14	6	9
Clerical	14	14	16	15
Laborers (skilled)(unskilled)	27	14	46	20
Domestic service	5	5	5	3
Farmers, farmhands	*	-	-	1
Housewives	22	19	17	32
Unemployed	2	3	2	-
Not employed: pensioners, retired	4	3	1	8
Students	5	7	5	3
Apprentices	1	-	1	2
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	24	21	34	15
CDU/CSU	28	18	26	39
FDP	7	8	3	11
Others	4	5	4	4
None	26	39	21	17
No opinion	11	9	12	14
<u>Income:</u>				
- 149 DM	8	10	6	9
150 - 299 "	16	19	17	10
300 - 399 "	20	12	27	21
400 DM and over	36	50	40	48
No answer	10	9	10	12
<u>Socio-Economic Status:</u>				
Upper	9	14	2	12
Middle	43	47	29	55
Lower	48	39	69	33
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	59	65	53	61
Protestants	36	28	44	35
Others, none	5	7	3	4

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* The educational distribution for the total audience conforms closely to that of frequent West German movie-goers (twice or more a month) and is higher than for the West German public as a whole, as follows:

<u>Educational groups:</u>	<u>West German Public</u>	<u>"Magic Street-car" Audience</u>	<u>Frequent West German Film Audience</u>
Elementary school	79%	63%	71%
Middle and/or High school w/o Diploma	16	22	22
Higher school (Diploma-Abitur)	3	7	5
University	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%

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by authority of

Richard L. Wherry,

Acting Chief,

POD Research Staff

THE CURRENT STANDING OF RIAS  
AMONG WEST BERLIN RADIO LISTENERS

## 2. Comparative Indices

of Station and Program Popularity

M. F. F.  
MAY 1 1955

Report No. 188

Series No. 2

October 29, 1953

R E S T R I C T E D

**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY



## R E S T R I C T E D

## INTRODUCTION

An earlier report described the reactions to RIAS and evaluations of its work and effectiveness current among West Berlin radio listeners.\* The present report completes an analysis of RIAS' standing in West Berlin via examination of comparative indices of station popularity as a whole, and program by program popularity of RIAS versus its principal competitors.

## RADIO DIARY TECHNIQUE ...

Data upon which the present comparisons are based were gathered by the use of a technique relatively new to Germany - a radio listening diary in which for a period of a week respondents were instructed to record by 15 minute intervals when and to which stations they have listened.

This diary technique has the advantage of providing more valid and reliable indications of radio listening behavior than is possible to obtain through the more conventional method of asking the respondents overall questions about his radio listening habits. Despite its considerable value, however, certain difficulties are attendant on the use of a radio diary which make it a less than perfect record of radio listening behavior. Though on payment of a small premium a large proportion of radio listeners are willing to go to the trouble of recording their listening experiences for a week, not everyone will do so. In the present study approximately one in five among the contacted radio listeners were disinclined to participate or failed to complete the record. This proportion can probably be reduced in future with more time allowed for persuasion, but in the meantime it must be recognized that certain elements in a perfect radio-listener sample may be somewhat underrepresented. Exactly what biases such circumstances may introduce will be the concern of future study.

In the interest of conservative conclusions - and convenience also - admittedly "seldom" radio listeners were not included as listeners in the diary sample. The propriety of this procedure is attested to by the fact that many non-seldom radio listeners were revealed by their diary records to listen very rare, too. So admittedly "seldom" listeners could on the average be expected to contribute very little to listening volume.

It is not without moment in appraising the value of a radio diary approach to listening habits to be aware of the result of one stateside experiment which revealed a .95 correlation between diary records and records obtained via automatic recording devices attached to radio sets. The indication is then, that respondents who do cooperate with such a study ~~take the diary~~ seriously.

## SAMPLING AND INTERVIEWING ...

Respondents for the present study were sampled on the usual probability basis from population registers in West Berlin. Non-listeners to radio were discarded as they occurred. A total of 289 completed diaries were obtained for the test week, May 4th through 10th, 1953. A larger size sample was not obtained as effort was being simultaneously devoted to the primary objective of the diary study, to record listening habits in the Bundesrepublik. The size of sample, while limited, is adequate for the overall general indices and comparisons that are made. The few population group breakdowns that appear are only included for their suggestive value since they subdivide an already limited sample.

\* See Report # 182, dated July 31, 1953, entitled "Current Standing of RIAS Among West Berlin Radio Listeners - 1. Reactions and Evaluations."

R E S T R I C T E D

## PRESENTATION ...

In view of a pressing agenda of studies it was not thought necessary in the present report to go beyond presenting the data in handbook form. It is left to interested readers to study the charts and tables to find the answers to questions encompassed by the study. The following clarifications may be presented at this point to prevent misinterpretations:

1. The diary employed in the present study fractionates listening by 15 minutes intervals. This provides considerable detail on program listening but, of course, involves approximations as to variation in listening within this measuring unit. Respondents who listened at least five minutes of a 15 minutes interval and who were thus obligated to make a listening entry in their diary, have been treated as having listened the entire interval. This approximation is not too misleading except in infrequent instances when programs are shorter than 15 minutes. For example, if a five minute news commentary follows a 10 minute newscast it is likely that the indicated level of listening for the 15 minute period is overly high for the commentary program.
2. It will be occasionally noted in the charts and tables that a certain amount of listening is recorded for periods labeled, for example "RIAS - AM Silent." It is not necessary to assume that these are errors in recording. RIAS Hof, for example, is often broadcasting when RIAS Berlin is silent. Moreover, both RIAS and NWDR carry programs on their wired radio service (via telephone line into the home) and on short wave length at the time their main program service on standard wave is silent. So most of these reported listenings are probably valid though undoubtedly some emanate from recording inaccuracies.
3. The profile charts comparing RIAS to NWDR listening are valid for comparison of extent of listening to the programs compared, but in a minor respect not for total volume of listening to the two stations at the times indicated. What is missing from the charts is NWDR FM listening because unlike RIAS the former has a different program on FM. In recognition of these facts the profile for average listening for five week days - which was drawn up after the daily charts - does not bother to differentiate between RIAS AM and FM listening since they involve the same program, and excludes FM listening from the NWDR figures since this involves a different program from AM. Complete details on all types of listening are to be found in the tabulations closing the report.
4. It is well to keep in mind that figures on listening to East Zone stations in the present study cannot be taken at face value since occasional respondents are likely to be disinclined to indicate any heavy incidence of listening to East originated broadcasts.

- II -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I (Table) BASIC COMPARATIVE INDICES ON WEST BERLIN  
RADIO LISTENING
- II (Table) GROUP COMPARISONS ON AVERAGE AMOUNTS OF  
RADIO LISTENING IN WEST BERLIN
- III (Table) DISTRIBUTION OF AMOUNTS OF RADIO LISTENING  
IN WEST BERLIN
- IV (Table) GROUP COMPARISONS ON VARIATIONS OF AMOUNT  
OF RADIO LISTENING IN WEST BERLIN
- V (Chart) OVERALL RADIO LISTENING IN WEST BERLIN  
BY QUARTER HOURS
- VI (Chart) COMPARATIVE AUDIENCE PROFILES FOR RIAS AND  
NWDR IN WEST BERLIN
- VII (Table) COMPLETE STATION BY STATION TABULATIONS OF  
WEST BERLIN RADIO LISTENING

R E S T R I C T E D

## BASIC COMPARATIVE INDICES ON WEST BERLIN RADIO LISTENING

	SIZE OF AUDIENCE (% of West Berlin Radio Listeners)	AVERAGE AMOUNT OF LISTENING (Average hours per week)	SHARE OF LISTEN- ING VOLUME (% of total West Berlin Listen- ing Volume)
<u>STATIONS:</u>			
RIAS	99%	17.8	64.6%
NWDR	84	10.6	33.0
East Zone Stations	9	1.7	0.6
All Other Stations	15	3.4	1.8

GROUP COMPARISONS ON AVERAGE AMOUNTS OF RADIO LISTENING  
IN WEST BERLIN  
(In Hours Per Week)

	Average Amount of Listening to all Stations	To RIAS	To NWDR	To East Zone Stations	All Other Stations	No. of cases
<u>ALL LISTENERS:</u>	27.1	17.8	10.6	1.7	3.4	285
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	15.1	15.7	10.5	1.7	2.5	115
Women	28.4	19.1	10.7	1.6	4.2	170
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	28.2	18.9	11.1	1.3	2.1	194
Beyond elementary	25.8	15.4	9.5	2.1	4.2	92
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 34 years	25.2	13.7	11.6	2.5	6.2	69
35 - 44 years	28.2	19.1	9.4	0.8	2.6	63
45 years and over	27.6	19.1	10.7	1.7	1.4	153
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 299 DM	28.9	20.2	10.0	0.8	2.2	126
300 - 399 DM	27.3	16.5	11.9	3.0	3.7	75
400 DM and more	25.2	15.2	10.2	1.8	5.8	74





GROUP COMPARISONS ON VARIATIONS OF AMOUNT OF  
RADIO LISTENING IN WEST BERLIN

	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>Up to 14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> hours</u>	<u>15 - 29<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> hours</u>	<u>30 hours and more</u>	<u>No. of cases</u>
<u>ALL LISTENING:</u>					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	-%	29%	39%	32%...100%	115
Women	1	15	45	39	170
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	-	23	35	42	194
Beyond elementary	1	16	58	25	92
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 34 years	1	28	42	29	69
35 - 44 years	-	18	44	38	63
45 years and over	-	19	41	40	153
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 299 DM	-	24	32	44	126
300 - 399 DM	-	19	44	37	75
400 DM and more	1	19	53	27	74

FIAS LISTENING:

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	2%	59%	29%	10%...100%	115
Women	1	40	45	14	170
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	1	45	39	15	194
Beyond elementary	2	54	37	7	92
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 34 years	3	65	26	6	69
35 - 44 years	-	43	44	13	63
45 years and over	1	41	41	17	153
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 299 DM	1	42	40	17	126
300 - 399 DM	1	48	42	9	75
400 DM and more	3	53	35	9	74

KADR LISTENING:

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	15%	65%	16%	4%...100%	115
Women	16	60	20	4	170
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	17	59	19	5	194
Beyond elementary	12	70	16	2	92
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 34 years	12	61	20	7	69
35 - 44 years	6	75	17	2	63
45 years and over	22	57	18	3	153
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 299 DM	20	60	18	2	126
300 - 399 DM	16	58	21	5	75
400 DM and more	11	67	18	4	74

**OVERALL RADIO LISTENING IN WEST BERLIN  
BY QUARTER-HOURS**

**From 5<sup>00</sup> AM to 1<sup>00</sup> AM for**

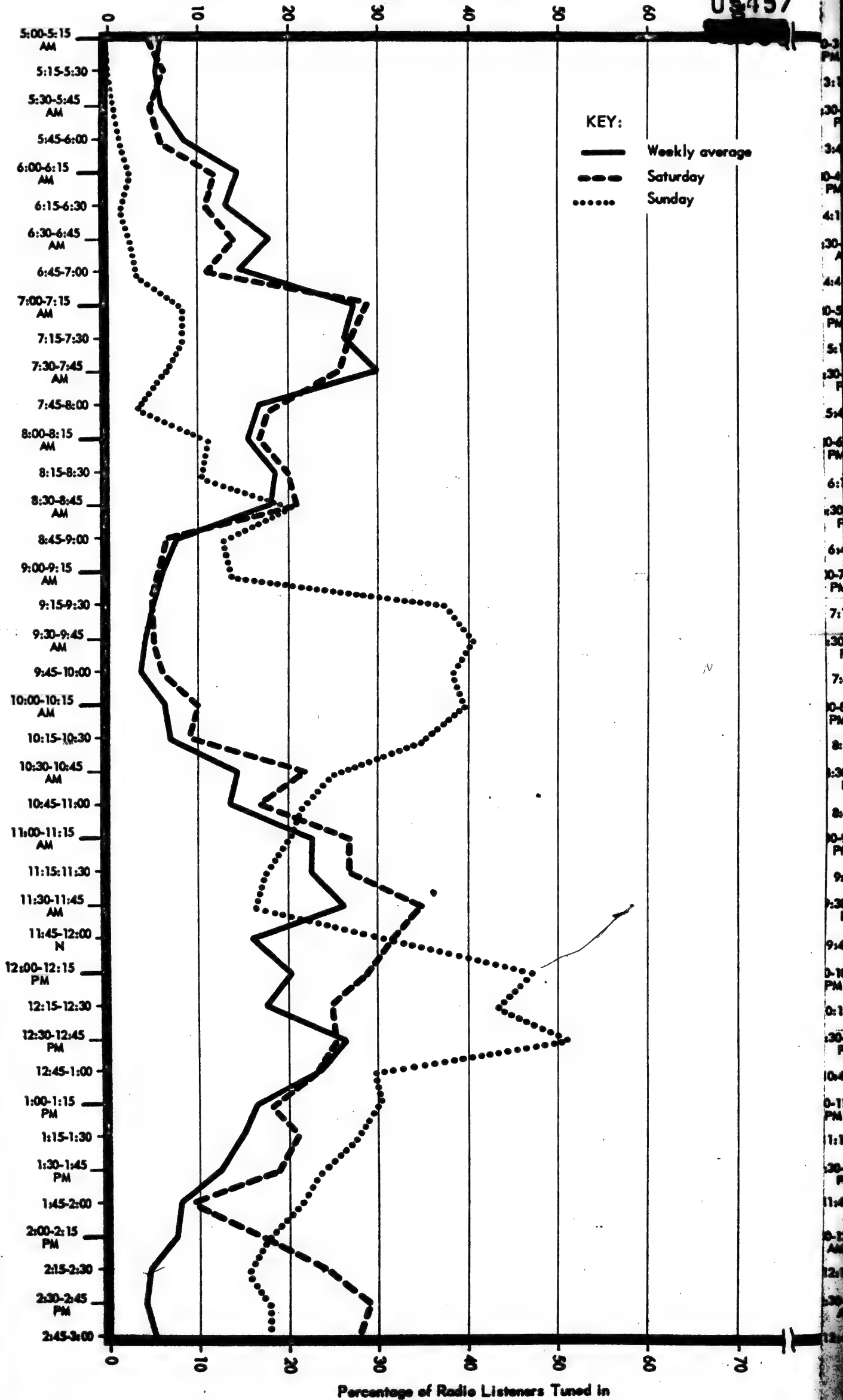
- a) Five-day average , Monday through Friday,  
May 4<sup>th</sup> through 8<sup>th</sup>, 1953
- b) Saturday, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1953
- c) Sunday, May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1953.

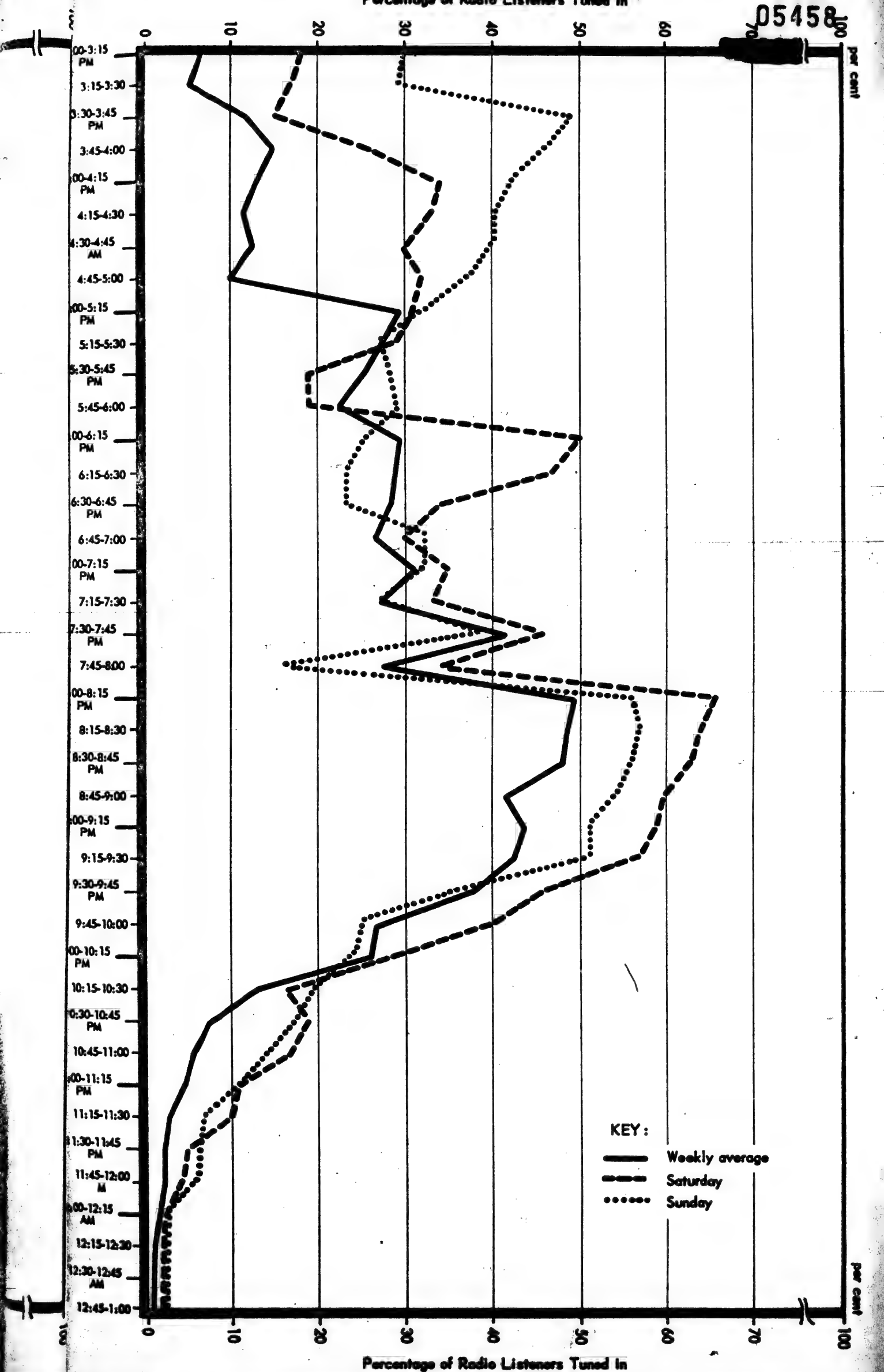
## R E S T R I C T E D

## SOME HIGHLIGHTS

- ... The most reliable evidence to date that RIAS dominates the field in the West Berlin radio listening emanates from the present radio diary study involving week long records of listening behavior for each respondent sampled.
- ... Ninety-nine per cent of West Berlin radio listeners report listening to RIAS an average of 17.8 hours per week, marking the station as the recipient of nearly two thirds (64.6%) of the total radio listening in West Berlin.
- ... NWDR is a distant second with one third (33%) of the total listening volume, and other stations follow far in the rear with but limited mentions.
- ... Population groups appear to be more similar than different in their average amount of listening to RIAS, but the suggestion is that listening is relatively greater among rank and file rather than leadership elements, that is to say among women, the lesser educated, and the less well off.
- ... With the absence of a different program it is no surprise that FM listening to RIAS is but the order of two per cent of the radio audience, as contrasted with 21 per cent for NWDR with its alternative second program.
- ... Listening to Berlin AFN is distinctly on the small side with 94 per cent of West Berlin radio listeners registering no listening at all during the observation week. No AFN program appears to draw an audience larger than the order of two per cent.
- ... Listening to the German Service of BBC is vanishingly small with non-listening during the week under study totalling 99 per cent of the West Berlin radio audience.
- ... To the extent that the present indications can be relied upon, listening to East Zone broadcasts appears to be distinctly limited in West Berlin.
- ... Among the interesting indications emanating from program by program comparisons of RIAS versus its principal competitor, NWDR, is first, that with few exceptions RIAS attracts the larger audience.
- ... Secondly, it is disclosed that the audience participation program with political overtones - "Join In" - captures the remarkable listenership of approximately three quarters of the total West Berlin radio audience.
- ... Thirdly, it is apparent from instances where they compete that serious musical fare is at a marked disadvantage compared to light music in audience appeal.

Other significant indications from the data are left to the interested reader to glean from the charts and tabulations.

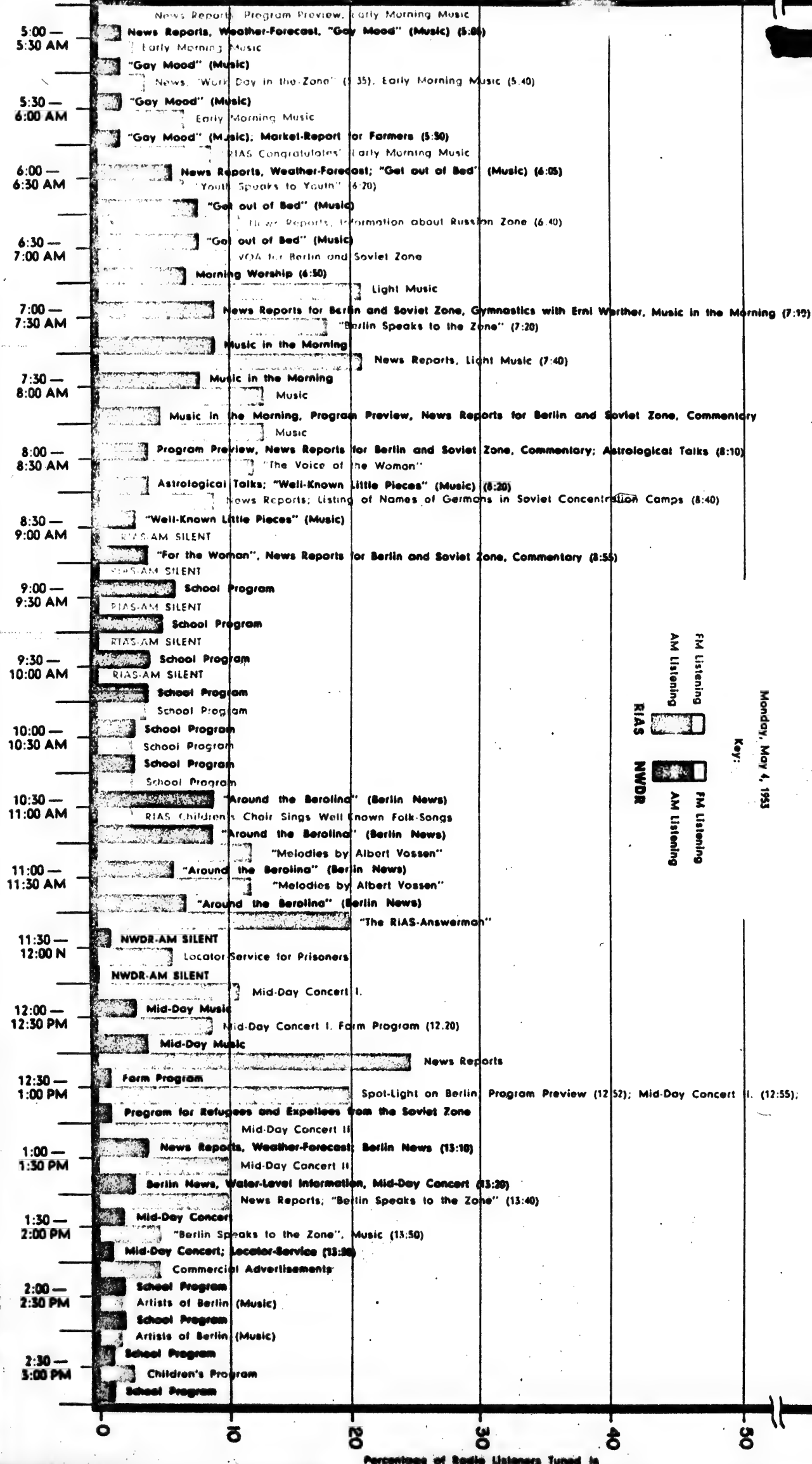






**COMPARATIVE AUDIENCE PROFILES  
FOR RIAS AND NWDR IN WEST BERLIN  
BY QUARTER-HOURS**

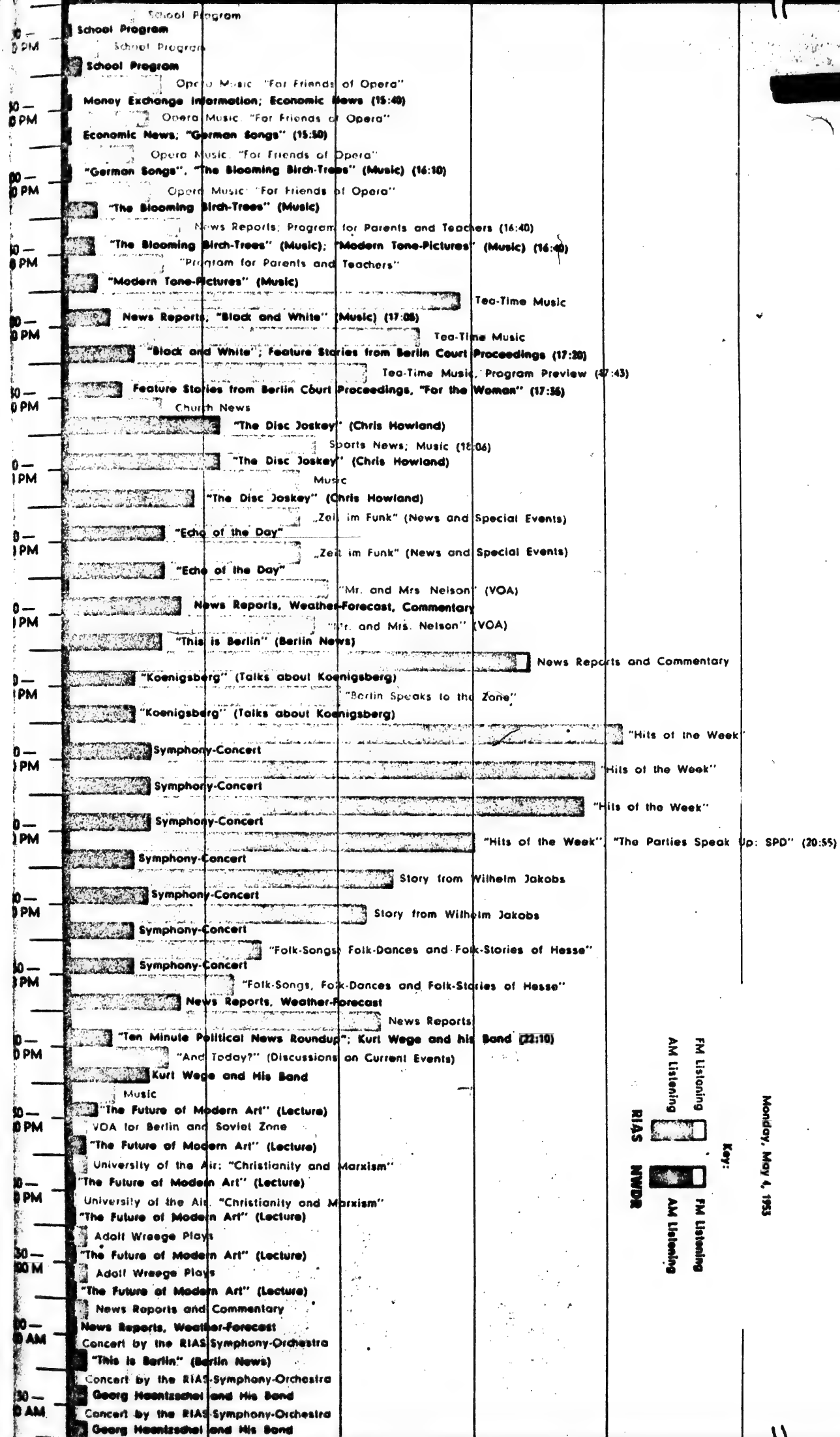
**Monday, May 4<sup>th</sup>  
through  
Sunday, May 10<sup>th</sup>**



Monday, May 4, 1953

Key:

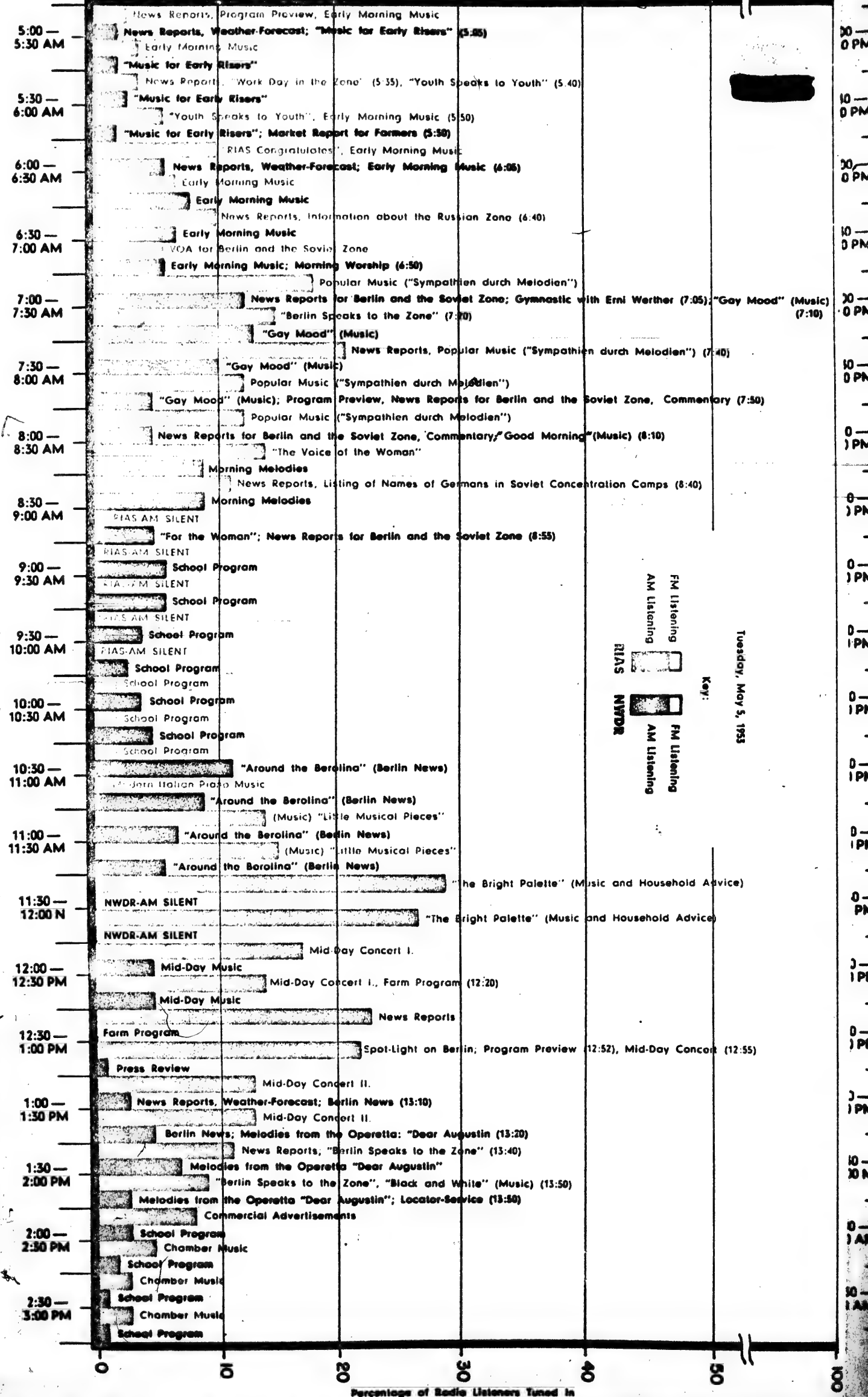
FM Listening  
AM Listening  
RIAS  
NWDR  
FM Listening  
AM Listening



Key:

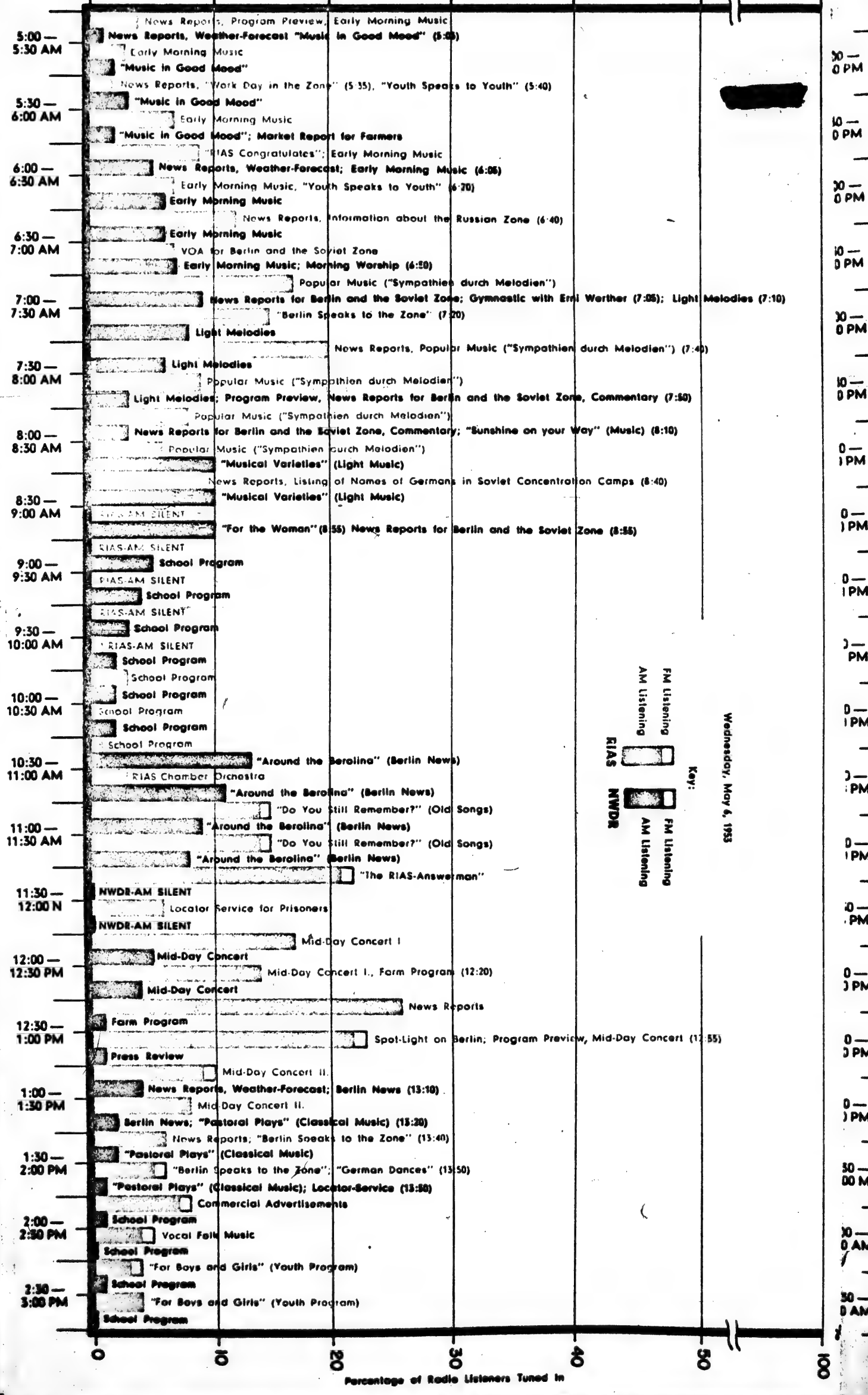
FM Listening  
AM Listening  
RIAS  
NDR

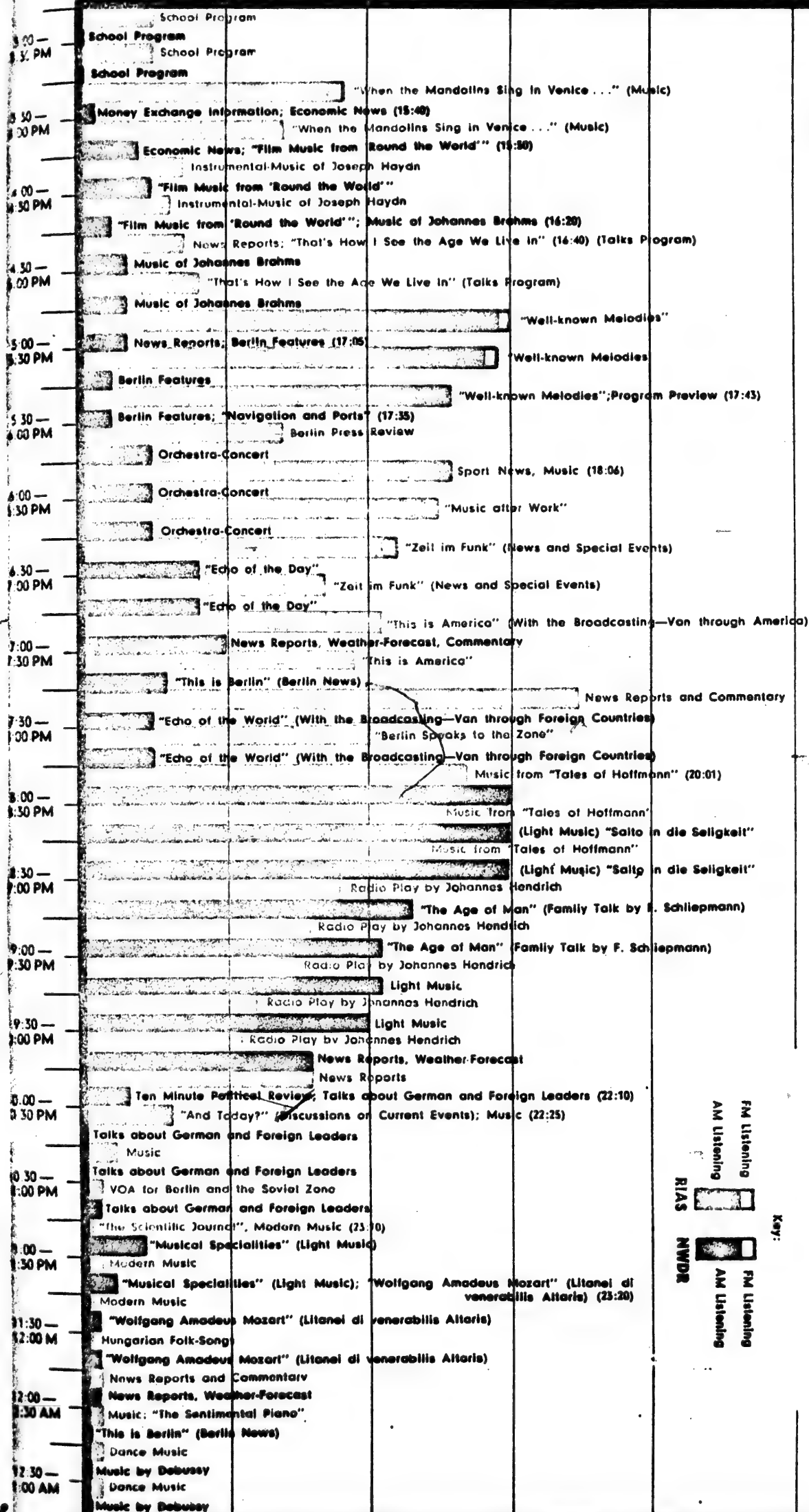
Monday, May 4, 1953











FM Listening  
AM Listening

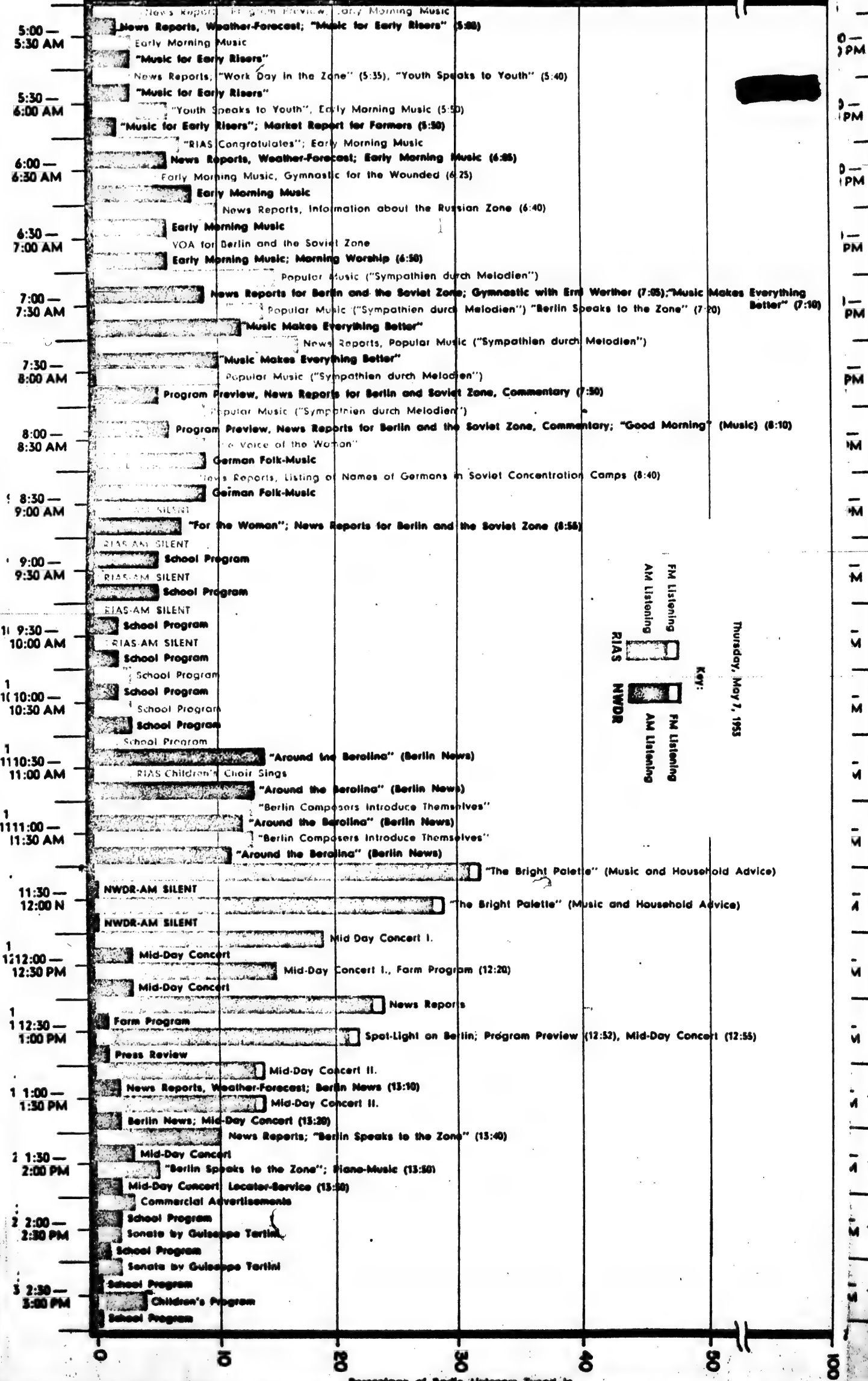
RIAS

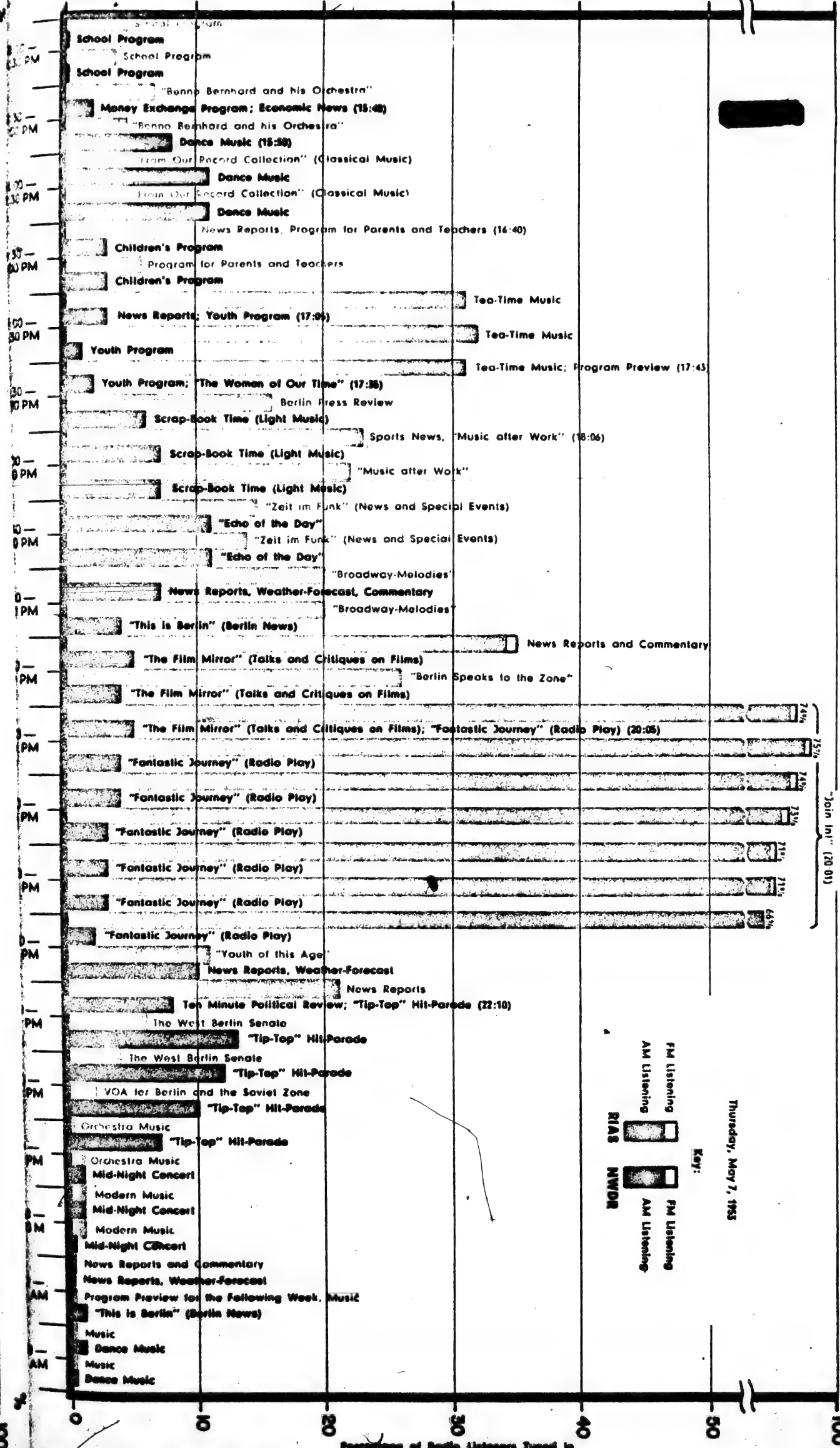
NWDR

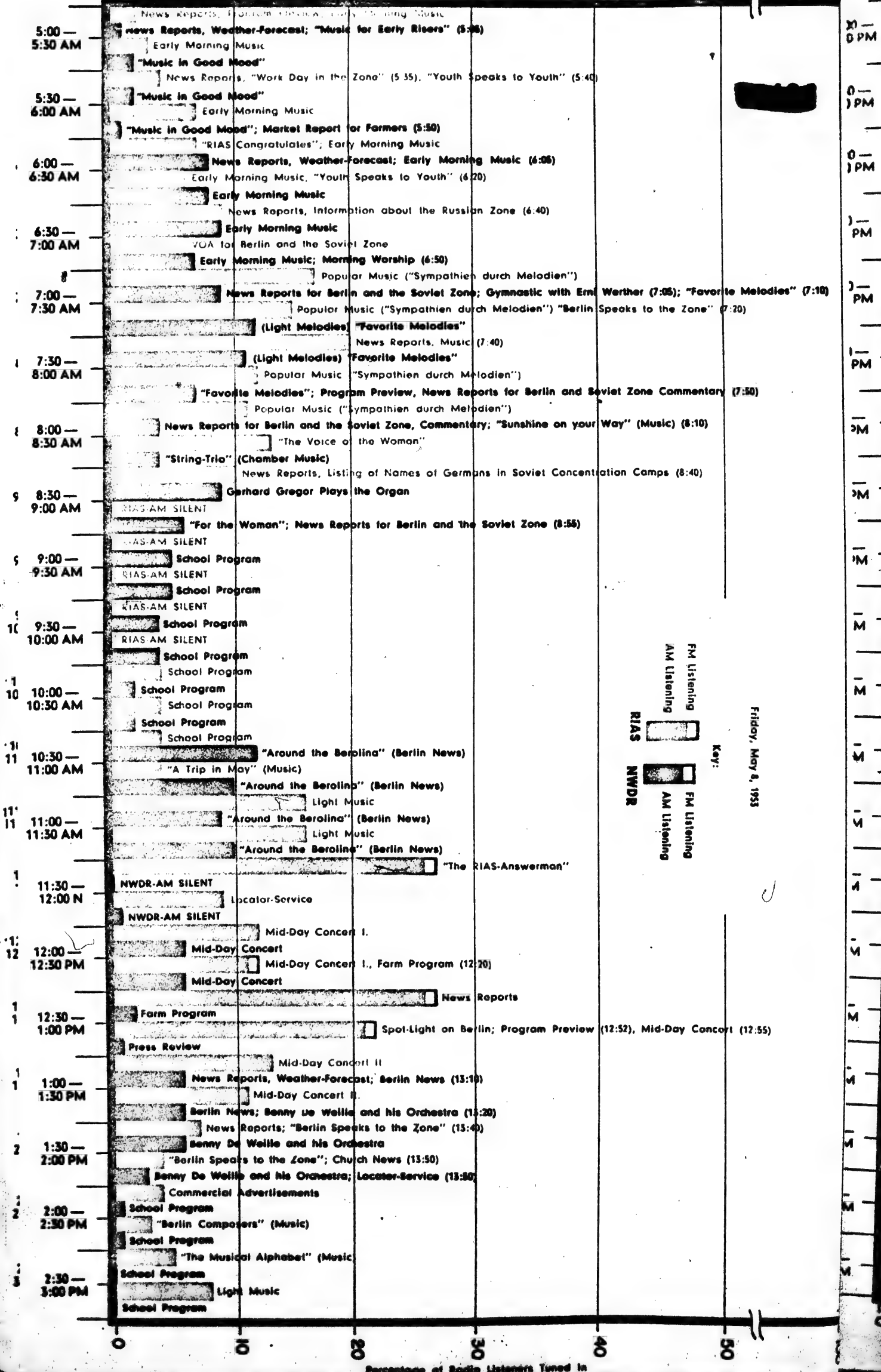
Key:

FM Listening  
AM Listening

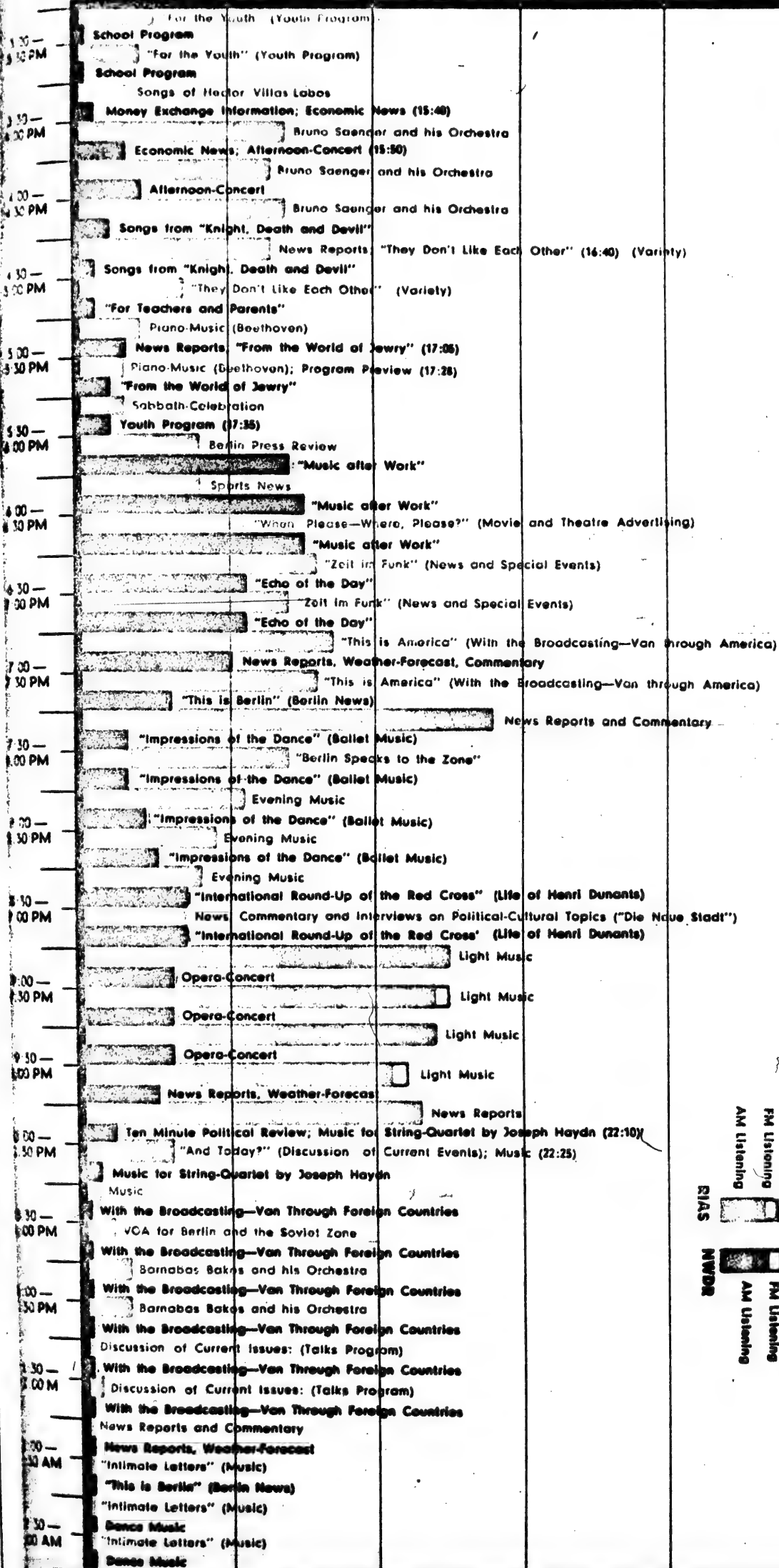
Wednesday, May 4, 1955











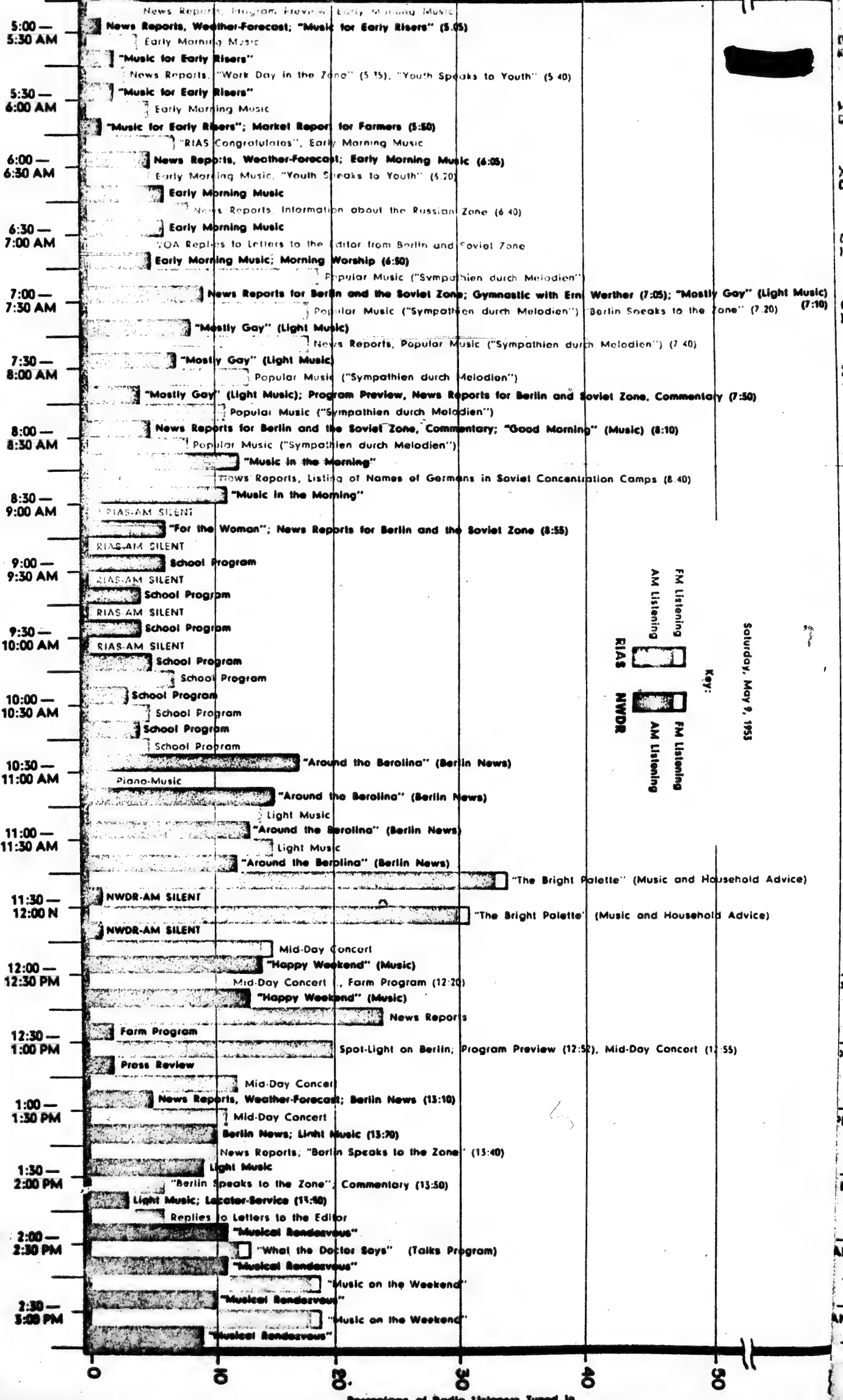
FM Listening  
AM Listening  
FM Listening  
AM Listening

Key:

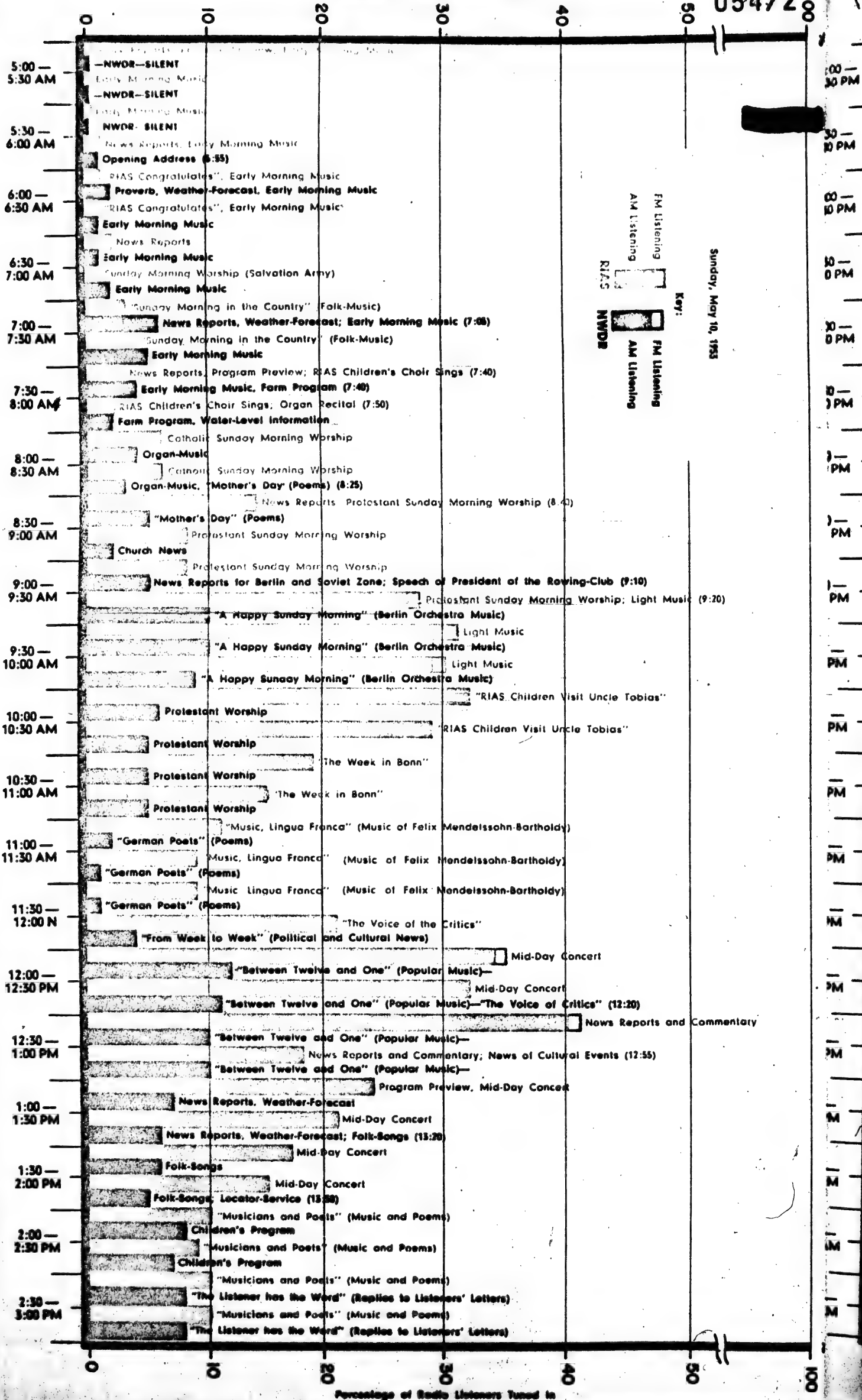
FM

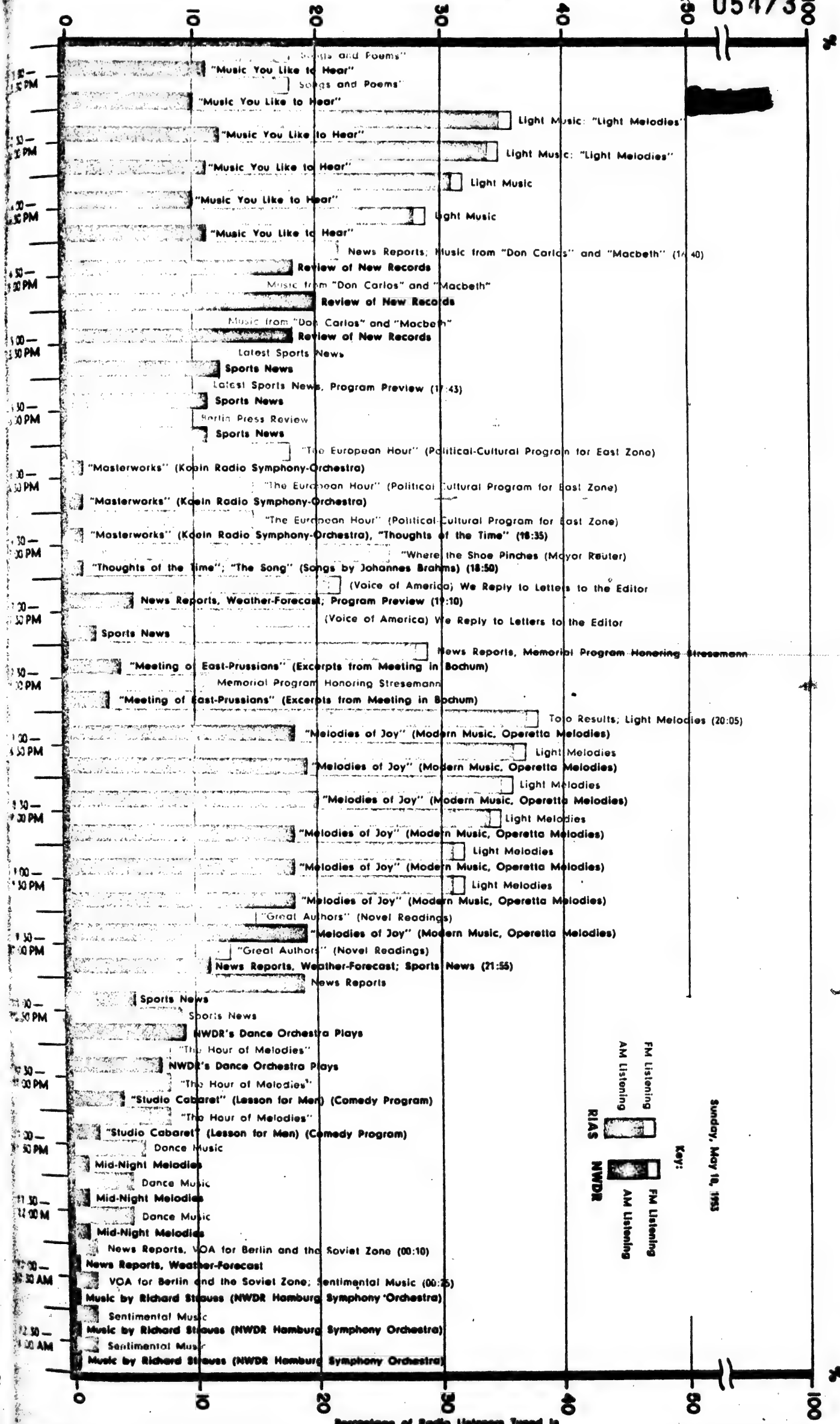
AM

Friday, May 8, 1953





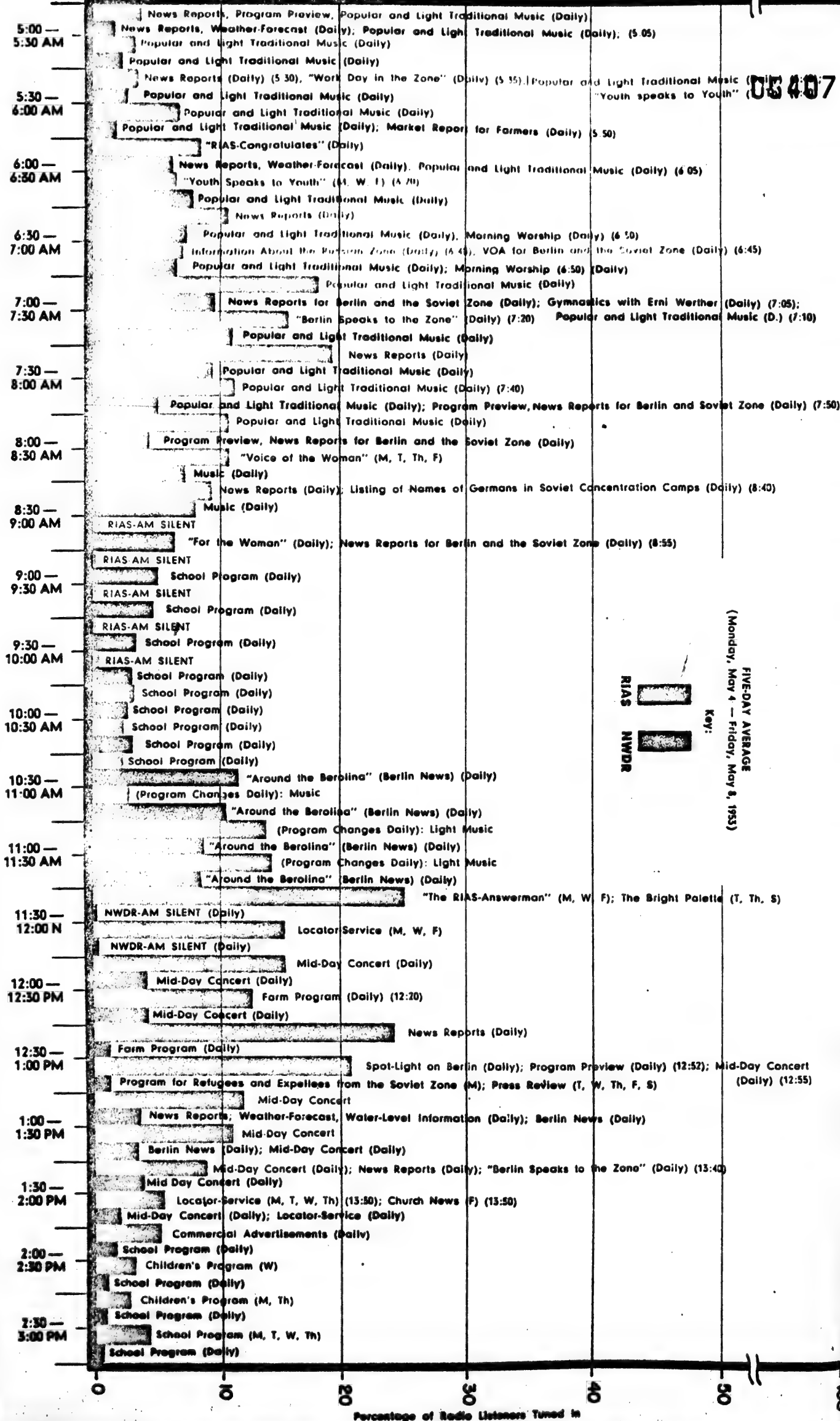


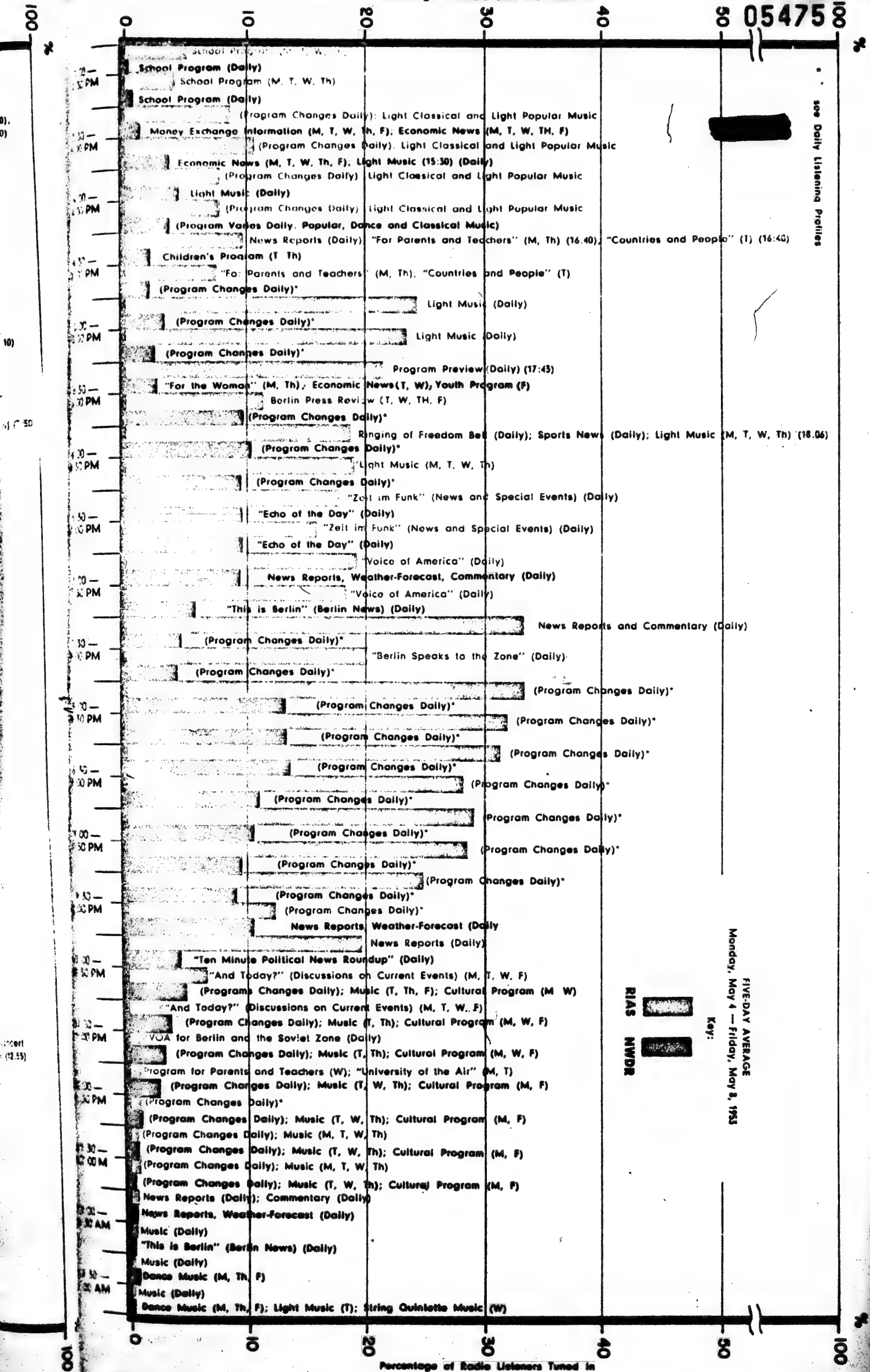


Key:  
FM Listening  
AM Listening  
RIAS  
NWDR

Sunday, May 19, 1953







COMPLETE STATION BY STATION TABULATIONS  
OF WEST BERLIN RADIO LISTENING

By quarter hours from 5 AM to 1 AM,  
Monday through Sunday,  
May 4th through May 10th, 1953.

Monday, May 4, 1953

Station:	5:00 5:15		5:30 5:45		6:00 6:15		6:30 6:45		7:00 7:15		7:30 7:45		8:00 8:15		8:30 8:45		9:00 9:15		9:30 9:45		10:00 10:15	
	5:00	5:15	5:30	5:45	6:00	6:15	6:30	6:45	7:00	7:15	7:30	7:45	8:00	8:15	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:45	10:00	10:15
RIAS	4%	3%	4%	7%	9%	7%	11%	10%	21%	18%	21%	13%	13%	12%	9%	1%	~%	~%	~%	~%	~%	~%
RIAS FM	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	*	*	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WDR	2	2	2	2	6	0	8	7	9	9	8	5	4	4	3	4	6	5	4	4	4	4
WDR FM North	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	1	1	1	1	2	*	-	1	1	1	*	-	-	-
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*
AFN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*	-	*	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	6%	5%	6%	9%	15%	15%	19%	18%	31%	28%	30%	19%	19%	17%	13%	6%	7%	6%	5%	3%	3%	3%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Monday, May 4, 1953

Station:	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00
RIAS	4%	3%	3%	3%	12%	12%	20%	6%	11%	9%	25%	20%	10%	10%	10%	5%	5%	2%	2%	3%	3%
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WDR	3	3	9	9	6	7	1	*	3	4	1	1	3	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	1
WDR FM North	*	*	1	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-
APF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	1	1	*	*	-	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	8%	7%	13%	12%	18%	19%	21%	6%	14%	13%	26%	22%	14%	13%	12%	6%	7%	4%	3%	4%	4%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05478



Monday, May 4, 1953

Station: 15:00 15:15 15:30 15:45 16:00 16:15 16:30 16:45 17:00 17:15 17:30 17:45 18:00 18:15 18:30 18:45 19:00 19:15 19:30 19:45 20:00

RIAS	5%	2%	7%	6%	5%	6%	8%	7%	29%	26%	22%	7%	18%	17%	17%	19%	18%	34%	20%
RIAS FM														*				1	*
WDR	*	1	*			2	2	2	3	5	4	11	11	9	7	8	7	5	5
WDR FM North	*	*	*					*	*					6		4	4	3	2
Eastzone I															1	1	1	1	1
Eastzone II																		*	
Eastzone III								*	*	*							*		
AFM									1	1	1	1				*	*	*	*
BBC Ger.Serv.																			
Others	*	*	*									*							
TOTAL	5%	3%	7%	6%	5%	8%	10%	9%	33%	32%	27%	19%	29%	27%	25%	32%	30%	44%	28%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05479

Monday, May 4, 1953

Station: 20:00 20:15 20:30 20:45 21:00 21:15 21:30 21:45 22:00 22:15 22:30 22:45 23:00 23:15 23:30 23:45 24:00 00:15 00:30 00:45  
 20:15 20:30 20:45 21:00 21:15 21:30 21:45 22:00 22:15 22:30 22:45 23:00 23:15 23:30 23:45 24:00 00:15 00:30 00:45 01:00

RIAS	41%	39%	38%	30%	24%	22%	14%	12%	23%	7%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
RIAS FM	*	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WDR	6	6	6	5	6	5	5	8	3	6	2	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	1
WDR FM North	6	6	6	2	1	*	1	*	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AFN	-	-	-	*	*	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-
EBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	53%	51%	50%	37%	31%	28%	20%	20%	26%	14%	6%	3%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05480

Tuesday, May 5, 1953

Station:	5:00	5:15	5:30	5:45	5:00	5:15	5:30	5:45	6:00	6:15	6:30	6:45	7:00	7:15	7:30	7:45	8:00	8:15	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:45	10:00
RIAS	3%	4%	4%	6%	10%	7%	10%	6%	18%	15%	21%	12%	12%	14%	11%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
RIAS FM	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
NWDR	2	2	3	2	6	8	7	6	12	13	10	5	5	9	9	5	6	6	6	4	3	3	3	3	3
NWDR FM North	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	*	1	*	*	*	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Eastzone I	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Eastzone II	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Eastzone III	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
AFN	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
BBC Ger.Serv.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Others	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
TOTAL	5%	6%	7%	8%	16%	15%	17%	13%	31%	28%	33%	17%	17%	24%	21%	7%	7%	8%	6%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Tuesday, May 5, 1953

Station:	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00
	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00	
RIAS	2%	2%	2%	1%	14%	15%	29%	17%	14%	23%	22%	13%	13%	11%	9%	8%	5%	3%	3%	3%	
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	*	*	*	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	
WDR	4	5	11	9	7	6	-	5	5	*	1	3	5	7	3	3	2	1	1	1	
WDR FM North	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	*	1	1	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone I	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone III	-	-	-	*	*	*	1	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	
APN	-	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	1	1	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	-	-	*	*	*	
TOTAL	8%	8%	13%	10%	21%	21%	32%	29%	23%	19%	24%	24%	17%	18%	13%	11%	7%	4%	4%	4%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Tuesday, May 5, 1953

Station:	15:00	15:15	15:30	15:45	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45	20:00
RIAS	5%	5%	13%	13%	8%	7%	10%	9%	29%	28%	25%	12%	18%	19%	16%	14%	18%	17%	36%	22%	
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	*	*	1	-	
NVDR	1	1	3	2	*	*	1	3	1	2	13	13	12	12	11	11	10	5	3	3	
NVDR FM North	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	*	*	-	
APN	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	*	1	1	1	
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	-	-	
TOTAL	7%	7%	15%	16%	11%	8%	12%	10%	34%	31%	29%	26%	31%	31%	27%	25%	29%	23%	41%	26%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05483



Tuesday, May 5, 1953

Station:	Time Intervals															
	20:00	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45
RIAS	15%	12%	13%	13%	11%	11%	8%	7%	16%	8%	4%	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WDR	19	19	18	17	17	14	14	13	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	1
WDR FM North	4	4	5	1	5	5	4	5	2	*	1	*	*	-	-	-
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	-
Eastzone II	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AFN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-
BBC Ger.Serv.	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	38%	35%	36%	31%	33%	30%	26%	23%	22%	11%	8%	4%	4%	3%	4%	1%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05484

Wednesday, May 6, 1953

Station:	5:00	5:15	5:30	5:45	6:00	6:15	6:30	6:45	7:00	7:15	7:30	7:45	8:00	8:15	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:45	10:00
RIAS	4%	3%	2%	7%	9%	7%	12%	7%	17%	15%	20%	9%	8%	6%	9%	9%	9%	9%	9%	9%	1%
RIAS FM	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
WDR	1	2	3	2	5	6	6	7	9	8	6	3	3	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
WDR FM North	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	1	4	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AFN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	5%	5%	5%	9%	14%	13%	18%	14%	26%	24%	27%	13%	12%	16%	19%	10%	10%	10%	10%	10%	3%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Wednesday, May 6, 1953

Station:	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00
	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00	
RIAS	3%	2%	1%	3%	14%	14%	21%	6%	17%	14%	26%	22%	9%	8%	6%	5%	7%	4%	3%	4%	
RIAS FM	-	-	-	*	1	1	1	*	*	*	*	1	1	*	-	1	1	1	-	-	
WDR	2	2	13	11	9	8	-	*	5	4	1	1	4	2	2	1	1	*	1	*	
WDR FM North	-	3	-	-	-	-	*	1	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	*	-	
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	*	-	
AFN	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	
EBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	1	1	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	
TOTAL	6%	6%	14%	14%	24%	23%	22%	7%	22%	18%	27%	24%	14%	10%	8%	7%	9%	5%	5%	4%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05486

Wednesday, May 6, 1953

Station:	15:00	15:15	15:30	15:45	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	17:55	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45	20:00
RIAS	5%	5%	17%	14%	7%	6%	7%	8%	29%	28%	26%	14%	26%	25%	21%	17%	21%	21%	19%	20%		
RIAS FM	-	-	1	*	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	*	*	*	*		
WDR	-	*	1	4	5	2	3	3	3	2	2	5	5	5	8	8	10	10	10	10	10	10
WDR FM North	1	1	2	2	*	*	*	*	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*
Eastzone III	-	-	*	1	-	-	-	-	*	*	1	-	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
AFN	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	*	*	*	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	7%	7%	22%	21%	13%	8%	10%	11%	35%	33%	31%	20%	33%	33%	33%	28%	35%	35%	34%	44%	28%	28%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05487

Wednesday, May 6, 1953

Station:	20:00	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45	24:00	00:15	00:30	00:45
	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45	24:00	00:15	00:30	00:45	01:00

RIAS	27%	25%	24%	18%	16%	15%	12%	11%	16%	6%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
RIAS FM	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WDR	30	30	30	23	21	21	20	16	3	*	-	1	4	2	1	1	1	-	-	-
WDR FM North	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	1	1	*	1	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
AFN	-	-	-	*	*	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	*	1	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	59%	57%	57%	45%	41%	40%	35%	29%	22%	9%	3%	3%	5%	3%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05488



Thursday, May 7, 1953

Station:	5:00	5:15	5:30	5:45	6:00	6:15	6:30	6:45	7:00	7:15	7:30	7:45	8:00	8:15	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:45	10:00
RIAS	4%	3%	3%	6%	7%	5%	10%	6%	15%	14%	17%	10%	9%	9%	8%	-	-	-	-	1	
RIAS FM	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	
NWDR	2	3	3	2	6	8	6	6	9	12	10	5	6	9	9	7	5	5	2	2	
NWDR FM North	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	*	*	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
APN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	*	*	
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	*	*	-	-	
TOTAL	6%	6%	6%	8%	13%	13%	17%	13%	24%	26%	23%	16%	16%	15%	15%	8%	5%	5%	2%	3%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Thursday, May 7, 1953

Station:	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00
RIAS	3%	3%	2%	3%	13%	13%	31%	28%	19%	15%	23%	21%	13%	13%	10%	5%	3%	2%	2%	4%	
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
WDR	2	3	14	13	12	11	*	*	3	3	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	-	-	
WDR FM North	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	*	*	-	-	-	*	2	1	
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
AFN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	*	*	-	-	-	1	*	1	*	1	*	*	1	-	-	-	*	1	-	-	
TOTAL	5%	6%	16%	17%	25%	25%	32%	30%	23%	19%	26%	24%	17%	16%	13%	7%	5%	4%	4%	5%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05490

Thursday, May 7, 1953

Station:	15:00	15:15	15:30	15:45	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45	20:00
	15:15	15:30	15:45	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45	20:00	
RIAS	5%	4%	7%	5%	5%	10%	6%	31%	32%	31%	16%	23%	22%	15%	14%	20%	20%	34%	26%		
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*		
NWDR	*	*	2	8	11	3	3	3	1	2	6	7	7	11	11	7	4	5	4		
NWDR FM North	1	1	1	*	1	*	1	1	1	*	-	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	1		
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-		
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-		
APN	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1		
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
TOTAL	7%	6%	11%	14%	17%	17%	10%	36%	35%	34%	23%	31%	30%	27%	26%	30%	27%	43%	32%		

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Thursday, May 7, 1953

Station:	20:00	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45	24:00	00:15	00:30	00:45
	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45	24:00	00:15	00:30	00:45	01:00
RIAS	74%	75%	74%	73%	71%	71%	71%	66%	11%	21%	6%	4%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
RIAS FM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WDR	5	4	4	3	3	3	3	2	10	8	13	12	10	1	1	*	*	1	1	*
WDR FM North	1	1	*	*	-	-	-	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	*	1	*	*	1
Eastone I	-	-	1	1	*	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastone II	*	*	*	*	1	*	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	1	-	-	-
APN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	1	-	-	-	-
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	81%	81%	80%	78%	76%	76%	76%	70%	25%	32%	21%	18%	13%	7%	3%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Friday, May 8, 1953

Station:	5:00	5:15	5:30	5:45	6:00	6:15	6:30	6:45	7:00	7:15	7:30	7:45	8:00	8:15	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:45	10:00
RIAS	2%	3%	4%	7%	7%	7%	6%	9%	6%	17%	15%	20%	12%	11%	12%	10%	-	-	-	-	-
RIAS FM	1	*	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*	*	-	-	-	-	-
WDR	1	2	2	1	8	8	9	7	9	12	11	7	4	4	9	6	5	5	4	4	4
WDR FM North	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Eastone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
APN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	4%	5%	6%	8%	15%	14%	19%	14%	27%	28%	32%	20%	15%	17%	19%	7%	5%	5%	4%	4%	4%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.



Friday, May 8, 1953

Station:	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00
	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00	
BIAS	4%	4%	4%	4%	16%	16%	26%	9%	12%	11%	26%	21%	13%	11%	7%	4%	4%	3%	5%	8%	
BIAS FM	-	-	-	-	*	*	1	*	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	
WDR	2	2	12	10	9	10	*	1	6	6	2	1	6	6	6	3	1	1	*	*	
WDR FM North	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	1	1	1	1	*	-	-	-	1	-	
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone III	-	-	-	*	1	*	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	
APH	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
HBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	*	1	*	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL	6%	7%	16%	14%	26%	26%	27%	10%	19%	18%	30%	24%	20%	18%	13%	7%	5%	4%	6%	8%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05494

Friday, May 8, 1953

Station:	15:00	15:15	15:30	15:45	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45	20:00
RIAS	5%	4%	3%	14%	13%	14%	13%	7%	4%	3%	3%	3%	8%	8%	11%	16%	14%	17%	16%	28%	14%
RIAS FM	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	1	*
NWDR	-	*	1	3	4	2	1	1	3	2	2	14	15	15	11	11	10	6	3	3	3
NWDR FM North	*	*	*	-	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	*	1	-	2	2	3	3	3	2	2
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	*	1	-	-	-	-
AFN	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	1	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	*	1
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	*	1	1	*	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	6%	6%	5%	18%	19%	18%	16%	10%	9%	8%	8%	23%	24%	26%	30%	27%	31%	25%	35%	20%	20%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

0549

Friday, May 8, 1953

Station:	20:00	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45	24:00	24:15	24:30	24:45	25:00
RIAS	11%	9%	8%	7%	25%	24%	24%	21%	23%	6%	17%	2%	3%	3%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	-	1	*	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WDR	4	5	7	7	6	6	6	5	2	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
WDR FM North	3	3	1	1	6	6	6	5	1	1	1	1	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone I	-	-	1	*	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
APN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	*	*	-	-	-
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	1	*	*	*	*	-	-	1	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	18%	17%	17%	16%	38%	38%	36%	32%	26%	8%	3%	3%	4%	4%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05496

Saturday, May 9, 1953

Stations	5:00	5:15	5:30	5:45	6:00	6:15	6:30	6:45	7:00	7:15	7:30	7:45	8:00	8:15	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:45	10:00
RIAS	4%	4%	3%	5%	7%	5%	8%	5%	19%	18%	18%	13%	11%	8%	10%	1%	-%	-%	-%	-%	-%
RIAS FM	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWDR	1	2	2	1	5	6	6	5	9	8	7	4	5	12	11	6	6	4	4	5	5
NWDR FM North	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	-	-	-	*	*	-	-
Eaststone I	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eaststone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eaststone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
APN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	5%	6%	5%	6%	12%	11%	14%	11%	29%	27%	26%	18%	17%	20%	21%	7%	6%	5%	5%	6%	6%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

. Saturday, May 9, 1953

Station:	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45
	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00
RIAS	7%	5%	5%	2%	14%	15%	33%	30%	14%	11%	24%	20%	12%	11%	10%	6%	12%	18%	18%	18%
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	*	*	1	1	1	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
WDR	3	4	17	15	13	12	1	1	14	13	2	2	5	10	9	3	11	11	10	9
WDR FM North	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-	*	*	*
Eaststone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eaststone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eaststone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	*	*	*	*
AFN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*
NBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	10%	9%	22%	17%	27%	27%	35%	32%	29%	25%	26%	23%	18%	21%	19%	9%	17%	24%	29%	26%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05498



Saturday, May 9, 1953

Station:	15:00	15:15	15:30	15:45	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45	20:00
RIAS	10%	10%	9%	20%	21%	20%	16%	17%	15%	13%	7%	9%	19%	18%	19%	16%	20%	21%	33%	22%	
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	*	-	-	-	1	*	*	*	1	1	1	1	
WDNR	5	4	2	2	12	12	13	14	13	14	9	8	25	24	9	7	8	6	8	8	
WDNR TV North	3	3	3	3	*	*	-	-	1	1	1	-	5	4	6	7	6	3	3	2	
Eastzone I	-	-	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	1	*	1	1	*	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	
AFN	-	-	*	1	*	*	*	*	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	*	1	*	1	
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL	18%	17%	15%	26%	34%	33%	30%	32%	31%	29%	19%	19%	50%	47%	34%	30%	35%	33%	46%	34%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05499

Saturday, May 9, 1953

Station:	20:00	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45	24:00	00:15	00:30	00:45	01:00
RIAS	44%	42%	40%	39%	38%	37%	24%	23%	21%	8%	8%	7%	5%	5%	3%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%	
RIAS FM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
WDR	20	20	21	19	18	17	17	11	4	4	6	6	4	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	
WDR FM North	-	*	*	1	1	1	1	4	4	4	5	3	1	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*	*	*	-	-	*	-	-	
Eastzone III	-	*	1	4	1	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
APN	*	1	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	*	*	*	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	1	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL	66%	64%	63%	60%	59%	57%	45%	40%	29%	16%	19%	17%	11%	10%	5%	4%	2%	2%	2%	2%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05500

Sunday, May 10, 1953

Station:	5:00	5:15	5:30	5:45	6:00	6:15	6:30	6:45	7:00	7:15	7:30	7:45	8:00	8:15	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:45	10:00
RIAS	-	-	-	-	1%	1%	2%	1%	3%	4%	3%	2%	6%	5%	13%	8%	8%	27%	30%	29%	
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	1	*	*	1	1	1	
WRDR	*	*	*	1	2	1	1	2	6	5	4	2	4	3	5	2	5	10	10	9	
WRDR FM North	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	*	*	*	*	
Eaststone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eaststone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eaststone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
AFN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
TOTAL	*	*	*	*	2%	3%	2%	3%	9%	9%	7%	4%	12%	11%	21%	13%	14%	38%	41%	39%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Sunday, May 10, 1953

Station:	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00
RIAS	32%	29%	19%	15%	11%	9%	9%	21%	34%	32%	40%	18%	24%	21%	17%	15%	10%	9%	10%	10%	10%
RIAS FM	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	*	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
WDR	6	5	5	5	2	1	1	4	12	11	10	10	7	6	6	5	8	7	8	*	8
WDR FM North	2	2	2	1	7	7	7	7	*	-	-	-	*	1	-	-	-	-	*	*	*
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-
AFN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	*	1	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	*	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	*	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	40%	36%	26%	22%	21%	18%	17%	32%	48%	44%	52%	30%	31%	29%	24%	20%	18%	16%	18%	18%	18%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05502

Sunday, May 10, 1953

Station:	15:00	15:15	15:30	15:45	15:50	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45
	15:15	15:30	15:45	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45	20:00	

RIAS	17%	17%	17%	35%	34%	31%	28%	22%	15%	12%	13%	11%	10%	17%	15%	15%	26%	24%	20%	28%	11%
RIAS FM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*	*	*	1	*	1	-
NWDR	11	10	12	11	10	11	18	20	18	12	11	11	11	1	1	1	1	5	2	4	3
NWDR FM North	1	1	1	-	-	-	*	2	1	1	5	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	1
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	*	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
APN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	1
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TOTAL	30%	29%	49%	46%	42%	40%	40%	37%	32%	27%	28%	29%	25%	23%	23%	23%	32%	32%	27%	38%	16%
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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05503



Sunday, May 10, 1953

Station:	20:00 20:15 20:30 20:45 21:00 21:15 21:30 21:45 22:00 22:15 22:30 22:45 23:00 23:15 23:30 23:45 24:00 00:15 00:30 00:45 01:00																			
	20:00	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45	24:00	00:15	00:30	00:45 01:00
RIAS	37%	36%	35%	34%	31%	31%	14%	12%	19%	9%	8%	8%	8%	6%	5%	5%	2%	2%	2%	2%
RIAS FM	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWDR	18	19	20	18	18	18	19	11	5	9	7	4	2	1	1	1	*	*	*	*
NWDR FM North	*	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	1	1	1	1	*	*	*	-	-	-	-
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
APN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	*	*	*	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	56%	57%	56%	54%	51%	51%	35%	25%	24%	19%	17%	14%	11%	7%	6%	6%	2%	2%	2%	2%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05504

## FIVE-DAY AVERAGE

Monday, May 4 - Friday, May 8, 1953

Station:	5:00	5:15	5:30	5:45	6:00	6:15	6:30	6:45	7:00	7:15	7:30	7:45	8:00	8:15	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:45	10:00
RIAS	3%	3%	3%	7%	8%	6%	10%	7%	18%	15%	20%	11%	11%	11%	10%	*	-	-	-	-	*
RIAS FM	*	*	-	-	-	-	*	-	*	*	*	*	-	1	*	*	-	-	-	-	-
NDR	2	2	3	1	6	7	7	6	9	11	9	5	4	7	8	6	5	5	3	3	3
NDR FM North	*	*	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	1	*	*	*	-
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AFN	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	*	-	-	*	-	*	-	*	*	*	*	*
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	1	*	*
TOTAL	5%	5%	5%	8%	14%	13%	18%	14%	28%	27%	30%	17%	16%	19%	18%	7%	6%	5%	4%	4%	3%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

FIVE-DAY AVERAGE  
Monday, May 4 - Friday, May 8, 1953

Station:	10:00	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00
	10:15	10:30	10:45	11:00	11:15	11:30	11:45	12:00	12:15	12:30	12:45	13:00	13:15	13:30	13:45	14:00	14:15	14:30	14:45	15:00	
RIAS	3%	2%	2%	3%	14%	14%	14%	13%	16%	13%	25%	21%	11%	11%	9%	6%	5%	3%	3%	4%	
RIAS FM	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	*	*	*	*	*	-	
WDR	2	3	12	10	9	9	9	*	5	4	1	1	4	4	4	2	2	1	1	1	
WDR FM North	-	1	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	*	1	1	*	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	
Eastzone I	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	*	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	
Eastzone III	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	
AFN	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	*	*	-	*	
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	1	1	*	*	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
TOTAL	6%	7%	14%	13%	23%	23%	23%	26%	16%	21%	17%	27%	24%	16%	15%	13%	8%	7%	4%	5%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05300

# FIVE-DAY AVERAGE

Monday, May 4 - Friday, May 8, 1953

Station:	15:00	15:15	15:30	15:45	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45	20:00
	15:15	15:30	15:45	16:00	16:15	16:30	16:45	17:00	17:15	17:30	17:45	18:00	18:15	18:30	18:45	19:00	19:15	19:30	19:45	20:00	
RIAS	5%	4%	9%	11%	8%	7%	10%	7%	24%	23%	22%	11%	19%	19%	17%	15%	19%	18%	33%	20%	
RIAS FM	-	-	*	*	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	
WDR	*	1	1	4	4	4	2	2	3	2	2	10	10	10	10	10	9	6	4	4	
WDR FM North	1	*	1	*	1	*	*	1	1	1	*	-	1	*	1	1	2	2	2	1	
Eastzone I	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	*	*	*	*	-	*	*	*	1	*	1	*	1	
Eastzone II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	*	*	-	*	-	
Eastzone III	-	-	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	*	*	
APN	1	1	1	*	*	*	*	-	1	2	2	1	*	*	-	-	*	*	1	1	
BBC Ger.Serv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Others	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	
TOTAL	7%	6%	12%	15%	13%	11%	12%	10%	29%	28%	26%	22%	30%	29%	28%	27%	31%	27%	41%	27%	

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05507

FIVE-DAY AVERAGE

Monday, May 4 - Friday, May 8, 1953

Station:	20:00	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45	24:00	00:15	00:30	00:45
	20:15	20:30	20:45	21:00	21:15	21:30	21:45	22:00	22:15	22:30	22:45	23:00	23:15	23:30	23:45	24:00	00:15	00:30	00:45	01:00
RIAS	33%	32%	32%	28%	29%	29%	25%	13%	20%	7%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
RIAS FM	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
NWDR	13	13	13	11	11	10	9	10	4	5	3	3	3	2	1	1	*	*	*	*
NWDR FM North	3	3	3	1	3	2	3	3	1	1	1	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Eastzone I	-	-	*	*	*	1	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	*	*	-
Eastzone II	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastzone III	-	-	*	*	1	*	*	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	-
APN	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	-	*	*	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
BBC Ger.Serv.	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Others	*	*	*	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	49%	48%	48%	41%	44%	42%	37%	26%	25%	13%	7%	5%	4%	3%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

05508



**EAST ZONE RADIO LISTENING**  
**Trend and Current Evaluations of RIAS**

**Report No. 189**  
**Series No. 2**  
**October 30, 1953**

**FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY**

**EVALUATION STAFF**

**OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

**OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY**

## INTRODUCTION

The recent distribution of food in West Berlin to hundreds of thousands of East German residents provided another of the infrequent opportunities to evaluate the standing of RIAS among its principal target audience.\* Of particular interest in the current study was to ascertain the extent to which Communist jamming may have cut into the RIAS audience, using as a basis for comparison listening figures obtained in mid-1951.

A total of 586 interviews were gathered for the present study between the 3rd of September and the 9th of October at the food distribution points set up in West Berlin for the second phase of the food program.

Interviewing was conducted as usual by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff. Few of the respondents raised any question about auspices and it was obvious that most were under the impression that the inquiry was sponsored by the food distribution authorities.

Sampling in the present study somewhat departs from the East German studies that have hitherto been conducted, by incorporating a major improvement in design. Earlier studies have taken East Zone residents pretty much as they came, largely disregarding in the interest of simplicity the fact that under such circumstances Laender proportions are not accurately represented, since nearby Brandenburg residents tend to be over-represented and more distant Laender under-represented. But with the present study the procedure has been changed to a more laborious but also more representative method of gathering respondents and weighing their returns to conform with the best available information on the population ratios of the five East Zone Laender as well as the sex and age ratios. Details can be found in a sampling appendix.

This weighing procedure greatly improves the East Zone sampling, though, of course, it still remains considerably less than ideal in the fact that people who come to West Berlin for whatever reasons are not likely to be entirely representative of those who do not. One may argue in various ways about the importance of the bias possibilities in such a situation, but in any case it must be agreed that visitors to West Berlin are drawn from the more mobile population elements.

However, all in all, drawing as the sampling does from such a large and diversified representation of East Zone residents - many of whom travelled hundreds of kilometers to West Berlin - it is likely to provide a useful approximation of East Zone opinion. In the absence of anything nearly as good it is worthwhile utilizing less than perfect indications with the caution always, of course, that conclusions are tentative and subject to revision as better information comes to hand.

\* Earlier studies in this connection are the following:

- (1) ES Report # 90, dated July 25, 1951 entitled "Attitudes Behind the Iron Curtain - A Survey Approach to East German Thinking - IV. Radio Listening in the East Zone,"
- (2) ES Report # 109, dated November 19, 1951 entitled "Attitudes of East German Youth - A Series of Reports Based Upon Studies Conducted During the Berlin Youth Festival - IV. Radio Evaluations and Recommendations of East Zone Youth,"
- (3) ES Report 170, dated February 10, 1953 entitled "RIAS Coverage and Programming as Evaluated by East Zone Listeners."

R E S T R I C T E D

## HIGHLIGHT EXTRACTS

I. Trend in RIAS Listening

- ... To the extent that the East Zone sampling can be taken as representative, the indication is that RIAS has lost approximately a quarter of its East German listeners (24%) since mid-1951. Despite the drop in listenership, however RIAS clearly remains far in the van in East German station preference with 54 per cent of the East Zone radio audience stating RIAS to be the station to which they mainly listen.
- ... With little exception the loss in RIAS listeners appears to reflect no adverse judgment on the quality of its program, but rather the simple fact of poor reception owing primarily to Communist jamming operations.
- ... Breakdown analysis of the overall returns reveals that in Brandenburg, the Land closest on the average to the signal source, there has been no drop in the RIAS audience. Only in the more distant Laender wherein the RIAS signal is more vulnerable to jamming have the losses in audience occurred.
- ... That RIAS is being greatly handicapped by jamming, particularly in the areas outside Brandenburg, emanates from more direct inquiry which reveals that only 12 per cent among East Zone radio listeners report clear reception of RIAS, and as many as two-thirds either no longer try to listen at all or often cannot hear spoken programs because of disturbances.
- ... Cross comparison of returns reveals a clear relationship between difficulty in hearing RIAS and indication of NWDR as station mainly listened to. Eighty-seven per cent of respondents indicating NWDR as their main station report RIAS difficult to impossible to hear.

II. Current Evaluation of RIAS

- ... When asked - what do you have to criticize about RIAS - two-thirds among East Germans in the present RIAS audience say - nothing to criticize or words to that effect. Criticism that is basically political in nature is limited to a total of approximately 13 per cent scattered among such alleged deficiencies as reportorial inaccuracies, overly agitative propaganda, lack of circumspection, etc.
- ... Asked to appraise in a general way the services rendered by RIAS to the East Zone, the predominant judgment - voiced by 56 per cent - is that RIAS has done "very much" for the East Zone population.
- ... Questioned specifically about effectiveness in refuting East Zone propaganda, RIAS comes through with flying colors among its East German audience with almost three quarters (73%) checking the maximum view that RIAS has been "very effective" in this respect.
- ... The confidence RIAS has built up in the truth of what it says lies at the heart of most of the reasons cited for RIAS' effectiveness in combatting Eastern propaganda.

- II -

R E S T R I C T E D

- ... Though the majority judgment is that the quality of RIAS programs has remained unchanged over the past year, an appreciable proportion (22%) express the view that programs have improved. Only 3 per cent voice the contrary opinion that program quality is less than it was.
- ... Finally, both among West Berliners and East Zone residents agreement appears to be widespread that RIAS is keying its broadcasts in the right measure to the East Zone.

- III -

RESTRICTED

## R E S T R I C T E D

## I. TREND IN RIAS LISTENING

## MARKED LOSS IN LISTENERS BUT RIAS STILL PREEMINENT ...

To the extent that the East Zone samplings can be taken as representative, the indication is that RIAS has lost approximately a quarter of its East German listeners (24%) since mid-1951. These lost listeners have apparently not ended up in the Communist radio audience, at least in the net, but rather appear to have shifted predominantly to NWDR, and to a slight extent to BBC and other Western stations.

"Which station do you mainly listen to?" (Asked only of radio listeners.) \*\*

"Do you sometimes listen to other stations, too?"

	Listen mainly		Listen sometimes		Do not listen		No. of cases	
	June	Sept	June	Sept	June	Sept	June	Sept
	51 <sup>①</sup>	53	51	53	51	53	51	53
RIAS	78%	54%	16%	16%	6%	30%...	100%	342 521
NWDR+	6	25	32	36	62	39	②	" "
BBC	-	*	7	12	93	88	"	"
Other Western stations	-	4	7	10	93	86	"	"
East German stations	17	17	66	61	17	22	"	"
Other Eastern stations	-	-	2	1	98	99	"	"

Despite the drop in listenership, however, RIAS clearly remains far in the van in East German station preference with 54 per cent of the East Zone radio audience stating RIAS to be the station to which they mainly listen.

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Ninety-two per cent of the current East Zone sample answered "Yes" to the question, "Do you listen to the radio?" Such a figure is probably too high to be entirely representative and thus suggests that East Zone residents who come to West Berlin, and are hence available for sampling, are likely to be somewhat more active and alert individuals and therefore more likely to be radio listeners.

① The June 1951 figures have been weighed in the same way as the Sept. 53 figures for the present comparison and are hence not identical with returns published in the original report (# 90, dated July 25th, 1951). To the extent that they differ, however, the weighed figures are to be taken as the more accurate.

+ NWDR primarily denotes the Berlin station, but also includes any listening to NWDR Hamburg and other smaller outlets.



## BAD RECEPTION BASIS FOR LISTENER LOSS ...

With little exception the loss in RIAS listeners appears to reflect no adverse judgment on the quality of its program, but rather the simple fact of poor reception owing primarily to Communist jamming operations. This is the indication which emerges from the replies to the question below:

"We would be interested in knowing why you don't listen to RIAS?" (Asked of 30% who indicated not listening to RIAS.)

East Zone

29%

Bad reception:

"We can't pick it up, the jamming is so bad that you can't hear anything."

"Jamming is so bad that you just can't hear a word, I can't hear any of the RIAS programs."

"Reception of RIAS is too poor, it always sounds as if a machine is operated quite close to you, you can't make out a word."

"Ever since about April or May I haven't been able to listen to RIAS any more as there is too much jamming."

"Most of the time RIAS is badly jammed, so I can't hear it even though I have a good set; that's why I hardly ever tune in to it any more."

"Because I can't get it with my radio set, I would like to listen to RIAS if only I could."

Listening to RIAS is dangerous:

"Well, I could listen to RIAS, but I don't do so as we have to be very careful of our steps in the East Zone; as you may know, we are not allowed to listen to RIAS."

"That's too dangerous."

"I was released from prison only two weeks ago, and thus I cannot tune in to RIAS for reasons of personal security."

Other comments:

"RIAS makes me sick, its level is even below that of the Eastern radio stations, who's responsible for the programs of the Eastern stations? - To these people, whoever they may be, think we haven't got any brains left, that we are mentally as destitute as we are materially? - There are big cities in the East Zone and city people, there aren't only peasants and workers, I guess these people have overlooked this fact in all that hurry, many people in the East Zone feel just the way I do, other persons should be put in charge of RIAS, and that should be done as soon as possible, please."

No opinion/No answer:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## NO DROP IN BRANDENBURG AUDIENCE ...

Breakdown analysis of the overall returns (see page following) reveals that in Brandenburg, the Land closest on the average to the signal source, there has been no drop in the RIAS audience. Only in the more distant Laender wherein the RIAS signal is more vulnerable to jamming have the losses in audience occurred.

"Which stations do you mainly listen to?"

	KIAS				NWDR				Other Western Stations				Eastern Stations				No. of cases
	Mainly	Some- times	Don't listen		Mainly	Some- times	Don't listen		Mainly	Some- times	Don't listen		Mainly	Some- times	Don't listen		
Men	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	186
Women	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	51	53	295
Location:																	
Elementary school	77	55	15	15	6	23	32	33	62	44	-	3	10	18	92	79	267
Beyond elementary	83	51	16	19	7	30	31	40	62	30	1	9	21	31	78	60	375
Up to 29 years	68	44	21	23	8	31	33	39	59	30	-	3	15	32	85	65	91
30 to 49 years	82	53	16	18	8	27	31	38	61	35	-	8	19	16	81	76	159
50 years and over	79	60	13	9	4	20	32	30	64	50	-	2	3	23	97	75	251
Size of Community:																	
Village	81	71	17	14	7	21	35	38	58	41	1	2	10	18	89	80	99
Town	73	49	19	13	9	28	26	35	65	37	-	7	7	21	93	72	125
City	81	45	11	27	3	24	34	33	63	43	-	1	25	30	75	69	294
State:																	
Brandenburg	86	87	8	8	6	7	31	47	63	46	-	8	9	92	91	12	123
Sachsen	79	47	14	23	5	18	24	31	71	51	-	4	13	21	87	75	109
Sachsen/Anhalt	80	48	11	9	6	36	38	35	56	29	-	5	18	30	82	65	72
Thuringen	69	52	27	18	-	26	35	42	65	32	1	10	15	23	84	67	89
Mecklenburg	74	44	26	18	-	47	36	28	38	25	-	3	-	24	100	73	27

Since the 1951 Mecklenburg figures are only based upon six cases they should be accorded the status of no more than the barest guess. They do not fit the main, however, depart markedly from the general pattern.

FOR LARGE MAJORITY RIAS NOW DIFFICULT TO IMPOSSIBLE TO HEAR ...

That RIAS is being greatly handicapped by jamming, particularly in the areas outside Brandenburg, emanates from a more direct inquiry which reveals that only 12 per cent among East Zone radio listeners report clear reception of RIAS, and as many as two-thirds either no longer try to listen at all or often cannot hear spoken programs because of disturbances.

"Can you receive RIAS quite clearly or do you have slight or heavy disturbances in reception?"

IF "Slight disturbances," "Heavy disturbances" or "No opinion":

"Can you hear the spoken programs of RIAS in spite of the disturbances, or does it happen very often that you cannot hear a program you want to listen to because of the disturbances?"

	ALL EAST ZONE RADIO LISTENERS (521)	Branden- burg (189)	Sachsen (72)	Sachsen/ Anhalt (89)	Thue- ringen (88)	Mecklen- burg (83)
Clear reception of RIAS	12%	48%	10%	4%	2%	2%
Hear in spite of disturbances	21	31	15	26	21	20
Often cannot hear because of disturbances	36	16	44	26	47	39
Non-RIAS listeners®	30	5	29	43	30	39
No opinion	1	*	2	1	-	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

RIAS' DIFFICULTY NWDR'S GAIN ...

Cross comparison of returns reveals a clear relationship between difficulty in hearing RIAS and indication of NWDR as station mainly listened to. Eighty-seven per cent of respondents reporting NWDR as their main station report RIAS difficult to impossible to hear.

	Radio Listeners who listen to RIAS		Radio Listeners who listen to NWDR	
	Mainly (320)	Sometimes (72)	Mainly (130)	Sometimes (206)
Clear reception of RIAS	20%	6%	2%	19%
Hear RIAS in spite of disturbances	36	15	8	26
Often cannot hear RIAS because of disturbances	44	75	35	44
Non-RIAS listeners®	-	-	52	10
No opinion/No answer	*	4	3	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

® As already indicated largely because of jamming difficulties.

II. CURRENT EVALUATION OF RIAS

LARGE MAJORITY HAVE NOTHING TO CRITICIZE ABOUT RIAS ...

When asked - what do you have to criticize about RIAS - two-thirds among East Germans in the present RIAS audience say - nothing to criticize or words to that effect. Criticism that is basically political in nature is limited to a total of approximately 13 per cent scattered among such alleged deficiencies as reportorial inaccuracies, overly agitative propaganda, lack of circumspection, etc. Among entertainment criticisms, too little light music and too much American music and jazz - both repeated complaints among West Berliners - come in for scattered mention.

"And do you yourself have any criticism to make about the RIAS station? (What is it you have to criticize about this station?) (What should be changed, for instance?)"

East Zone

No criticism - satisfied with RIAS as it is:

65%

"I am satisfied, whenever I listen to it I always find the program interesting and entertaining."

"I wouldn't know, I find the RIAS station good enough. I think the RIAS station caters to all tastes, and I can find no fault there."

"No, we are always satisfied, we look forward all day long to tuning in on RIAS."

"No, on the contrary, I keep the radio right next to my bed so I won't miss a word. I like everything, music, news, everything."

"I like everything, the program is very well arranged."

"I have nothing to criticize, it offers everything you need."

"I always like it, I agree with it."

"I like everything."

"I have no criticism to offer, I am satisfied with their arrangement of the program."

"No, I am completely satisfied, at least you get some happy hours."

Technical flaws - RIAS gets jammed too much:

7

"It gets jammed too much, otherwise I have nothing to criticize."

"Technically alone, they should introduce changes so that the jamming will stop. I am satisfied with it otherwise."

"Can't RIAS do something about now to make it possible for us to get reception without an antenna? For we have to install a high antenna if we want to listen to RIAS, and with that we make ourselves suspect."

"They should broadcast more powerfully so they don't always get jammed."

Suggestions for program time changes:

5

"From quitting time till 22 hrs more light music should be broadcast, that comes on too late now, it should come earlier, from 18 hrs on."

"It's a pity that the best programs can be heard at night only, by that I mean musical programs, operas, etc. I would like to ask RIAS a personal favor: couldn't they broadcast the program 'Berlin Speaks to the Zone' at another hour? We have the electric current turned off from 19:30 to 21:30 hrs. Just before 22 hrs would be perfect."

"'Berlin Speaks to the Zone' must be brought earlier. I am thinking about 10-12 hrs. a.m. or about the early afternoon hrs."

"'The Islanders' ('Die Insulaner') go on the air too late, most times you are too tired then too listen."

"During afternoon they should broadcast news once more, about 18 hrs."

"The break in broadcasting in the morning should be omitted."

"The Hof station of RIAS should start broadcasting at 4 a.m."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

Other program criticisms:

- "There is too little music over RIAS, musical programs in general, they talk too much over RIAS."
- "They should take better care of relaxation in the evening, there are so many lectures then."
- "What actually annoys us is that RIAS lets the big-wigs talk before the microphones, after they scooted off to the West with their trunks and their cars, for what they have to tell is only half true, and before that they were chummy with the other big-wigs."
- "A more formal point: I don't like women to talk in political programs."
- "Sometimes the program is too varied in the evening, too many switches, broadcasts extending over three or two hours would be better."
- "I never thought about it so far, there is always something to criticize. But something just occurred to me, why didn't RIAS have a running commentary about the international soccer match at Oslo?"

Criticisms of political programs:

- "We could use more broadcasts about events outside of our own district. We are interested in the smallest details and we would be very grateful if, for example, programs for our young people were presented, devoted to pointing out the dangers of Communism, perhaps personal accounts by released prisoners of war."
- "RIAS should provide better education in politics for the young."
- "They don't do enough in the line of enlightening the East Zone about political matters. Their stuff is intelligible for people with a better education maybe, but not for the simple people, RIAS does not put things right for them."
- "RIAS should pay more attention to the Oder/Neisse border, it should come out more in favor of a restitution of the old pre-war borders."
- "RIAS should make better use of the material against the East."
- "RIAS should comment more upon the claims of our government, it should tell us where our government is right or wrong."
- "RIAS should bring the unvarnished life in the DDR more to the foreground: 'Pinsel and Schnorchel' should turn more steam on. They should offer more of the naked truths."
- "They should inform people more about positive resistance. I think they should tell people how to put up resistance. They should repeat these program more frequently, so that everybody gets a chance to listen to them."
- "Today, after June 17th, when you know at any rate how the Zone thinks, they should go ahead and discuss the election proposals of the East."

RIAS news is not always accurate:

- "Sometimes it is obvious that the stuff they present is not true, we are very sensitive about that. If they give the names of persons, for example, they should make sure that they are correct."
- "After June 17 I found out that RIAS mentioned something about the steel-mill of Henningsdorf which was not true. That sets off a rumor with us and they say that RIAS gives you phony propaganda."
- "But everything is not completely correct, after all, in their broadcasts, how could everything be correct? Definite instances? Well, I don't know exactly, but I just presume that not everything is correct."
- "They should sometimes be more concrete in naming their sources during broadcasts for the East Zone, for otherwise people in the East will think that it is not true at all what they are told. Trifles should not be played up so much."
- "At the moment I couldn't really give you examples, I only have my doubts sometimes when RIAS mentions the number of gift-pareels that have been issued or about the amount of refugees. I don't know, though, how RIAS should do it otherwise."

(Cont'd on next page)

- 6 -

R E S T R I C T E D



R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

Too much propaganda and agitation:

"RIAS is not objective enough and also tends towards agitation and exaggeration. I have no particular love for anyone of the Ulbricht-bunch, but those personal attacks by RIAS against those people don't make me very happy either, they might also make you a little distrustful."

"RIAS is too much bent on political education. I think that they do not often enough take an objective stand in their broadcasts for the East Zone, sometimes they speak in the same tone that the East employs, too spiteful."

"RIAS is not so neutral in broadcasting news as the NWDR is. Not so much the news, but the political programs of RIAS are too aggressive in my opinion."

"Its politics need not always be quite so aggressive."

"They should not promise so many things they can't keep, they don't fulfill any of their promises, we only become more desperate after that, I have the liberation of the Zone in mind."

"RIAS is not objective enough in its political broadcasts."

Greater carefulness needed in its broadcasts:

"For security reasons it would be advantageous to cut out the tolling of the 'Bell of Liberty' at 1800 hrs., at the beginning of the 'Voice of America' program as well."

"What we are always annoyed about is the thoughtless way of RIAS to sound off the loud signal. Broadcasts for us must be casually included in the program and they should not be announced so obtrusively."

"RIAS should not disclose how many gift-parcels have been picked up. We have to suffer afterwards and the Vopo (People's Police) get tougher all the time."

"I have nothing to criticize, the most I could say after a long deliberation, that RIAS should not have so many refugees speak in front of the microphone, for they put us in the greatest danger by their public announcements."

"I couldn't exactly say 'criticize' but we are always annoyed when we hear how many people from the East Zone line up for the food parcels. It would be better if those and similar things that we do were not mentioned over the radio and in the West, because we are always subjected to greater scrutiny afterwards. We need to be told, not the People's Police (Vopos)."

Too little light music:

"Perhaps RIAS could broadcast now and then more music with a bounce, it presents too much difficult and serious music."

"More light music should be broadcast."

"During evening hours, when the working people want to hear light music for relaxation, RIAS broadcasts serious music, that should be changed."

"They play slightly too many symphonies, too little light music."

"It should bring more bouncy, light music, also dance music, most listeners at home are working people after all, who don't understand that kind of (serious) music."

"RIAS should offer more light music."

"In the evening light music for entertainment is still missing, we need a lot of diversion in the East Zone."

"I can only listen to it in the evening, and then they broadcast serious music mostly, but I like light and entertaining music."

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

Too many American hit tunes and jazz:

"Jazz music to that exaggerated degree should be cut out, that music is a little too blaring and sets on your nerves, I get sick of it at times."

"We don't like the American hit tunes, they don't appeal to everybody, to the young set at most."

"I don't like jazz music, at night, when we workers are asleep, good music can be heard over RIAS."

"I can't stand jazz music."

"I am against American jazz music."

"Why are there only American hit tunes to be heard during the past few weeks?"

"The hit tunes of the Yanks don't appeal to me at all, I like German hits better."

"That exceedingly wild type of music does not appeal to me at all, but that's a question of personal taste after all."

Criticism of the "Voice of America":

"The 'Voice of America' is so childish, it sounds as if it were rigged up for primitive minds. I am quite satisfied with the other programs."

"I don't like the 'Voice of America' those platitudes arouse no interest at all."

"I don't like that RIAS makes so much propaganda for America."

"The 'Voice of America' presents this propaganda besides in a very childish and naive way, you can only wonder about it, e.g. what's the use of telling us Germans about the New York subways and their history in such detail?"

RIAS should bring more serious music:

"They should broadcast more classical music."

"They should bring more operatic music."

No opinion/No answer:

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.

JUDGMENT PREDOMINATES THAT RIAS HAS DONE "VERY MUCH" FOR EAST ZONE POPULATION...

When asked to appraise in a general way the services rendered by RIAS to the East Zone, the predominant judgment - voiced by 56 per cent - is that RIAS has done "very much" for the East Zone population. For whatever reasons, such maximally favorable reactions are least frequent among residents of Thuringen and Mecklenburg.

"As you may know, RIAS has been working in Berlin for several years. How do you judge what RIAS has done for the East Zone in the course of these years? Do you feel that, by and large, RIAS has done very much, much, not so much, little, or nothing at all for the East Zone population?" (Asked only of present RIAS listeners.)

	East Zone Sept 53 (393)	West Berlin May 53 <sup>②</sup> (287)
Very much	56%	23%
Much	37	46
Not so much	2	14
Little	1	4
Nothing at all	*	1
No opinion	4	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

② Question in West Berlin alluded to West Berlin rather than East Zone contributions.

East Zone	Very much	Much	Not so much to nothing	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	58%	34%	2%	6%...100%	223
Women	54	40	4	2	170
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	55	40	1	4	289
Beyond elementary	60	31	6	3	194
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	57	35	3	5	93
30 to 49 years	57	37	2	4	189
50 years and over	53	41	3	3	111
<u>Size of Community:</u>					
Village	53	32	6	9	141
Town	57	40	1	2	201
City	57	38	4	1	51
<u>Distance:</u>					
Up to 109 km	65	30	3	2	186
110 - 239 km	52	38	4	6	144
240 km and more	54	43	2	1	56
<u>Origin:</u>					
Brandenburg	63	31	3	3	179
Sachsen	56	35	4	5	55
Sachsen/Anhalt	66	30	-	4	50
Thuringen	46	48	2	4	59
Mecklenburg	40	51	8	1	50

ILLUSTRATIONS OF RIAS' CONTRIBUTIONS ...

Illustrations advanced of RIAS' contribution to the East German people catalogue as follows:

"As you may know, RIAS has been working in Berlin for several years. How do you judge what RIAS has done for the East Zone in the course of these years? Do you feel that, by and large, RIAS has done very much, much, not so much, little or nothing at all for the East Zone population?"

IF "Very much" or "Much":

"Would you please give me a few examples of this?"

East Zone

By its news and political information programs:

35%

"RIAS is indispensable as a station for news programs and as a mediator between East and West Germany and the Western world. Without RIAS we would be behind times here."

"The news and political programs are something of great value for the East Zone."

"RIAS informed us about what's going on, RIAS enlightened us about the real character of the Russian government."

"It provides an opportunity to learn the truth about Eastern politics." ○

"Because RIAS gives political information to the East Zone people. We here in the East Zone know that RIAS tells the truth whereas it's humbug what our papers write."

"Above all that it broadcasts the political news true to facts."

"Just because it gives real information about the true purposes of the West and East, that opened the eyes of quite a lot of people."

Because RIAS gives warnings and directions to people:

25

"The warnings are of great value for the people, I mean warnings about police checks and arrests."

"Informing the population about informers - and also about all the dirty tricks played between our big-wigs and the Russians - that information cannot be valued too highly."

"It has done a lot by giving the names of informers, I myself have been warned by it of being over-confident which very nearly had got me into trouble."

"It gave us directions about what we should do and how we should behave."

"By reporting the names of informers many people have been saved from trouble."

By the truthful, clear information programs (general):

23

"Its information programs, you get a clear picture of the situation because they tell things as they really are, that's a lot RIAS does for the Zone."

"It refuted the lies broadcast by the Eastern stations, it provided unbiased information."

"These commentaries they offer open people's eyes, they're the plain truth."

By giving announcements about the food parcel action and its procedure:

20

"RIAS announced in detail when and where we would get the parcels."

"It was by RIAS that we learned about the food parcel program."

"Information about picking up the parcels and as to how they could be kept in Berlin."

"RIAS announced the food parcel program, otherwise we wouldn't have learned about it."

"Only by RIAS we learned about the food parcels which are issued at present."

(Cont'd on next page)

- 10 -

R E S T R I C T E D

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

154

RIAS gives moral support to the East Zone population:

"First of all, it's proved by the fact that all people are listening to it. Then it offers comfort and helps us not to lose hope that one day we will be liberated."

"It's the narrowness of the borders that is so depressing and RIAS, by its programs, has always succeeded to make us feel that there is still a connection with the free world. 80% of the East Zone people are grateful to RIAS and its activities because it gives us the feeling that the world outside has not yet given us up."

"For people in the Zone RIAS is like the Gospel, people summon courage to stick it out, they believe in RIAS because they know how objective it is and it makes them gather new hope."

"From what RIAS broadcasts we gather all our hope for a better future, it gives us strength to hold out."

"The 'Voice of America' is really a comfort to us because we think that America would really help us if need be."

"If RIAS with its programs wouldn't time and again inspire the feeling that Germany still exists and the Western side, I mean the Western powers, are keeping an eye on us quite a number of people here would have gone and hung themselves. We regard RIAS as our one connection with the world beyond the Iron Curtain."

"RIAS is the only joy we have in life - it's our connection with the world outside. Without RIAS we would be cut off completely and would be more and more Russified."

"RIAS opened the eyes of many people, it is more important than the food parcels. But for RIAS we all would have broken down."

"Its programs are encouraging for people in the East Zone, they don't feel lost because they know that the West is informed about their need."

"It was often a great comfort for us and an encouragement to hold out."

"It does everything to encourage us."

By reports on agriculture and economics:

6

"It offers more about agriculture. It gives advice to farmers about cultivation, rotation of crops and so on."

"It gives weather forecasts and information for farmers."

"It offers up-to-date information to the East Zone people as regards economic news because we don't learn anything from the East Zone stations."

"As I said, it gives information about economics in the free world, because what our stations offer about that is just agitation and our papers write nothing about it but lies."

"'Farmer's program' is a very good one. It offers advice and makes suggestions for the Zone, how they can do this or that to find the loopholes of the East zonal law."

"The farmers' programs, they are very good and helped us a great deal."

RIAS gave information about the events on the 17th of June:

6

"It told everything about the provocations on the 17th of June and gave good information."

"Even the events of the 17th of June were reported in a matter-of-fact way, not distorted as was done here."

"If it wasn't for RIAS we would be far back behind the times - take the 17th of June when RIAS reported that there were strikes in the 'Stalin-Allee' things got going here as well."

"Without RIAS the uprisings won't have got on to such a degree because it was only by RIAS that we learned that there were uprisings in the 'Stalin-Allee'."

"By its programs it encouraged people to act up as they did on the 17th of June."

"We have a few new guys in the group, they learned only by RIAS that there was something on in the 'Stalin-Allee', that day they should have used war-drums to inform people, but after all, it worked without them."

(Cont'd on next page)

- 11 -

R E S T R I C T E D



(Cont'd from preceding page)

East Zone

It helped the East Zone population by its charity programs:

6%

"As I know RIAS has taken care of the released prisoners of East Zone, has given money and made charity programs for the benefit of the East Zone refugees."

"I must not forget the money out of the "Music on Request" programs, it was a great help to many people here in the East Zone."

"It invited a collection of money on behalf of the East Zone and has done a lot for the East Zone refugees."

"It broadcasts 'Join In' ('Mach Mit') programs for the East Zone."

"That it brings 'Join In' and other programs for the people in the East Zone."

By offering good entertainment and stimulating programs:

5

"The good light programs: 'Join In,' 'The Islanders' and Friedrich Luft's theater reviews or 'We go to the Theater' are excellent. RIAS is our 'intellectual air-lift'."

"The nice programs like 'Join In'. But also programs of cultural value, music and variety shows."

"The other programs also offer things worth knowing and make you relax, all this you can only get from RIAS."

"It diverts people's mind from their troubles by its entertaining programs."

By its locator service:

3

"In the locator service, by giving names of people who are dead."

"All of the locator service after 1945."

"They give information for refugees how and where to find their relatives."

"I'm thinking of the reports about missing persons."

"It also helps us by its locator service."

Because RIAS upholds the idea of reunification:

1

"It tries to contribute toward reunification."

"It helps toward reunification, it represents this idea best of all."

"It nourishes our hopes that one day we will be united with our relatives in West Germany."

Other reasons:

4

"They deal with the problems of refugees."

"They announce such theater and film showings to which East Zone people are admitted at a reduced entrance fee."

"If you wanted information you had to get it through illegal channels."

No opinion/No answer:

3  
152%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

## MOST JUDGE RIAS "VERY EFFECTIVE" IN REFUTING EASTERN PROPAGANDA ...

Questioned specifically about effectiveness in refuting East Zone propaganda, RIAS comes through with flying colors among its East German audience with almost three quarters (73%) checking the maximum view that RIAS has been "very effective" in this respect. Though also preponderantly favorable, younger respondents and village residents appear to be somewhat less inclined than are their counterparts to ascribe maximum effectiveness to RIAS' counter-propaganda efforts.

"How effective is RIAS, in your opinion, in refuting Eastern propaganda? Very effective, fairly effective, effective only to a small extent, or not effective at all?"  
(Asked only of present RIAS listeners.)

	East Zone Sept 53 (393)	West Berlin May 53 (287)
Very effective	73%	49%
Fairly effective	17	29
Effective only to a small extent	3	8
Not effective at all	1	1
No opinion	6	13
	100%	100%

East Zone	Very effective	Fairly effective	Effective only to a small extent & not effective at all	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	72%	19%	4%	5%...100%	223
Women	75	16	2	7	170
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	71	19	3	7	289
Beyond elementary	79	13	3	5	104
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	63	27	2	8	93
30 to 49 years	71	19	3	7	189
50 years and over	84	10	3	3	111
<u>Size of Community:</u>					
Village	64	21	4	11	141
Town	77	17	2	4	201
City	78	13	4	5	51
<u>Distance:</u>					
Up to 109 km	72	19	2	7	186
110 - 239 km	78	15	3	4	144
240 km and more	62	23	5	10	56
<u>Origin:</u>					
Brandenburg	73	20	*	7	179
Sachsen	73	17	3	7	55
Sachsen/Anhalt	78	14	5	3	50
Thuringen	78	15	-	7	59
Mecklenburg	61	26	7	6	50

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

## R E S T R I C T E D

## REASONS FOR RIAS' EFFECTIVENESS ...

The confidence RIAS has built up in the truth of what it says lies at the heart of most of the reasons cited for RIAS' effectiveness in combatting Eastern propaganda.

"How effective is RIAS, in your opinion, in refuting Eastern propaganda? Very effective, fairly effective, effective only to a small extent, or not effective at all?"

IF "Very effective" or "Fairly effective":

"Why do you consider RIAS to be very effective (fairly effective) in this respect?"

East Zone

Because RIAS tells the truth:

37%

"Because RIAS doesn't exaggerate but tells the truth in plain words."

"Because I know for sure that this station doesn't feed us any lies."

"Because it tells the truth, all the radio stations in our Zone do is feed us a bunch of lies, we can see for ourselves when we get here to West Berlin how we are being deceived."

"It tells us what's really going on, what Western policy actually is like, they give us an exact description of conditions in the East, it's not difficult for us to make up our minds for whom we should decide, we certainly know how things stand over here, and we can see for ourselves that RIAS tells the truth, contrary to our own radio stations."

"RIAS reports on conditions in the East Zone as they really are and describes in contrast how things are in the West."

"RIAS doesn't agitate and that's why people believe what's said over this station, the East Zone radio stations bring a lot of inflammatory stuff and therefore people don't believe in all this big talk."

"Everything considered: because of its news, you are kept posted on what's going on in the world, everything RIAS brings is true."

"Because RIAS is more convincing than the Berlin Station as it tells the truth."

"Through RIAS we find out how things stand in the free world, because of these reports we realize that the news in press and radio over here is 'improved on', glossed over, I mean, to make things look better for the East."

"You've quite a different feeling when you listen to RIAS as when you listen to some Eastern station, it's just that RIAS is truly a German radio station, it tells the truth while those in our Zone tell nothing but lies."

"If we couldn't turn to RIAS, we wouldn't know, for instance, that those people who were arrested at the zonal border were agents employed by the East."

"Because whatever RIAS says is presented objectively while our press agitates and tinges everything just the way it suits them."

"Because RIAS doesn't spread lies, it tells the truth, it presents things just the way they are, the Berlin Station, on the other hand, hoodwinks people all the time."

Because nearly all people who listen to the radio in the East regularly tune in to RIAS and accept its news as true:

27

"Because most people in the East Zone tune in to RIAS and believe what it broadcasts."

"Because about 90 per cent of the population listens regularly to RIAS and they believe what RIAS says and not what the Berlin Station says."

"Because the majority of people in the East Zone trusts RIAS, while they don't believe the broadcasts (news and political programs) transmitted by Eastern radio stations."

(Cont'd on next page)

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"I'm under the impression that people have more confidence in RIAS than in the radio stations of the East Zone."

"Everybody tunes in to and has full confidence in it, thus Eastern propaganda fails to gain ground, all that it brings is credible as it appears to be impartial."

"Because about 90 per cent of all East Zone residents listen to RIAS and it serves to replace a daily newspaper for people over there."

"Because RIAS is heard by just everybody and thus it influences people's opinions strongly."

"All people over here tune in to RIAS, we all listen also to the 'Voice of America', the East Zone radio stations don't furnish us with unbiased information, that's why RIAS is so effective."

"In my community a large sector of the population is convinced of RIAS' truthfulness."

"Because many people over here listen regularly to RIAS, they know from their own experiences that there's quite a lot wrong with Eastern propaganda and they've found that RIAS tells the truth."

"People everywhere listen to RIAS, in all shops the folks discuss the programs and news broadcast by RIAS."

"It's widely heard over here in our Zone, people have more confidence in RIAS than in the Eastern radio stations, for these tell a terrible lot of lies, that's a fact."

Because RIAS succeeds in refuting the arguments brought forward by Eastern propagandists:

23%

"People are completely convinced when RIAS is through with exposing some clumsy piece of Eastern propaganda, as they furnish full names and addresses of persons they mention, they leave no doubts in people's minds as to whether or not what they say is true."

"Compared to the Eastern radio stations RIAS brings more plain facts, it beats the East at that propaganda game."

"Because it proves that the things the East says aren't true."

"RIAS, for instance, blasted and thus utterly ruined the last speech Ulbricht gave in which he propagated the new political course; RIAS did this in pointing out time and again that their policy is insincere through and through, that they keep talking of German unity but that they are actually out to Bolshevize Germany as a whole."

"In that RIAS exposes the weaknesses of the regime and, above all, its utter falseness."

"By telling the truth RIAS knocks the bottom out of Eastern propaganda, we don't bother to hear those lies spread by the Berlin Station any more, we listen to RIAS and that's it."

"RIAS always succeeds in exposing those lies that are told, they never try to pull the wool over our eyes, they tell how things actually stand, they just present their side of the picture so we can compare things, they leave it to us to decide whether what the East says or their version is true."

"Even people who are hard to convince can't help but admit in the long run how sorry an outfit like Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin (seat of East Zone government) is, all those lies the East fabricated are exposed by RIAS right away."

"Whenever people argue about something over here, somebody comes up with: Let's find out what RIAS has got to say to that, and whatever stand RIAS may take, we'll accept it, RIAS always exposes those propaganda lies one after the other."

"They produce proof to the contrary, thus the propaganda that's hammered into people is offset, you can feel that when talking to colleagues who discuss RIAS news announcements, thus that counteraction of RIAS sets off a chain-reaction."

"We don't believe what's blasted into the world by the East Zone radio stations anyway, but still, RIAS is very thorough in exposing all those lies and inflammatory propaganda so that you are well-posted on the goings-on."

"Whenever the spotlight is turned on East zonal living conditions, all that propaganda of lies and agitation crumbles."

(Cont'd on next page)



(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because RIAS supplies information to listeners, it helps them form an opinion:

"Because it informs people on political matters and that's very important."

"Because RIAS always deals with the most current issues."

"If there were no such thing as RIAS, we wouldn't know where we stand."

"RIAS enlightens people through its lectures and commentaries, that's especially important for rural people who never have a chance to get away from the place where they live."

"The information RIAS furnishes is very good, especially what's broadcast in programs cut out for the East Zone, through them people learn what's going on in all fields."

"They enlighten us on the right political course in West and East in their talks and news."

"If RIAS didn't exist, people could never form independent opinions."

Other positive comments:

"Because all working people show a passive attitude towards the policy of the DDR, that's proof for the effectiveness of RIAS, I've served as district leader (Kreisvorstand) and in that capacity I came to feel the passive resistance the population shows, that's the greatest success RIAS has to its credit."

"Because through RIAS the connection with the Western countries is kept up."

"Through the 'Voice of America' program RIAS demonstrates to people how things are in the States, and the success they have is a blow to Russian policy."

"Because RIAS doesn't just grab at everything to exploit for political purposes, it proceeds more diplomatically, that's the kind of thing that people prefer to listen to."

"Because individual programs are cut out for specific towns, such as Leipzig, for instance, the fact that they refer to local developments appeals to people."

"You are warned of informers and you get other pieces of news, too, those announcements are true, people in the East Zone discuss commentaries and ideas expressed by RIAS on the different notes presented recently pretty openly."

"I think it must be effective as everything it brings is good."

Because RIAS boosts the morale of East Zone residents and encourages them to stick it out:

"Most people over here look towards the West, thus gathering new hope that things will improve."

"They hold out hopes to people that things will pick up for them, even those SED guys have more confidence in RIAS than in their own party."

"Thanks to the commentaries and news we take courage again and again, we see that we aren't all alone, that the West is helping us."

"Because of RIAS we feel sure that the West is on our side and that it will not forsake us in our utter distress."

Other comments:

"It should speak even more bluntly, then they would score even greater successes against those guys over here, if there were no RIAS, things would be rotten, to be sure."

"RIAS presents its own point of view too strongly, I want to hear objective news and want to form my own opinion on it, if you come down to it, it's not necessary to refute Eastern propaganda as nobody believes this bunch of lies anyway."

"RIAS would achieve more if it would expose the measures taken by other governments to ridicule, I believe that just in that way the bottom can be knocked out of even the most clever propaganda."

No opinion/No answers:

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.



REASONS CITED BY FEW WHO DEEM RIAS INEFFECTIVE ...

The handful of respondents who ascribe little or no effectiveness to RIAS in refuting Eastern propaganda argue as follows:

"How effective is RIAS, in your opinion, in refuting Eastern propaganda? Very effective, fairly effective, effective only to a small extent, or not effective at all?"

IF "Effective only to a small extent" or "Not effective at all":

"Why do you consider RIAS to be (effective only to a small extent) (not effective at all) in this respect?"

"Our stations tend too much to the East, while RIAS is too strongly influenced by the Americans, neither of them is completely sincere, you consider what they say carefully, but I don't believe that it has great influence."

"By now it has quite a name for agitating, many people say: whatever may come of RIAS, it's all just stuff to stir up people."

"RIAS talks very calmly and objectively, while rudeness must be met by rudeness, thus it cannot succeed in refuting Eastern propaganda, it shows too humane an attitude."

"People who are able to form their own opinion just ask themselves, what do these people think? - They try to make the East Zone people appear as dopes and Russian boot-lickers, they go the wrong way about the whole thing, and it's a bad case of snafu."

"RIAS should broadcast more warnings and more about how things are for people who want to collect food relief parcels in West Berlin, they should tell people, for instance, where there are strict controls at the sector borders and where there are none at all."

"All this has been going on for years now, and we never see any action. RIAS should speak up even more bluntly, it shouldn't talk about politics in general but rather draw drastic comparisons, we are unable to compare a lot of things RIAS talks about."

"These SED big-wigs watch us too closely, they are all informers, listening to RIAS is very dangerous."

"Many people only listen to the Eastern station because RIAS is too badly jammed."

"RIAS should call people's attention to the high living standard of the western people, it should tell them what workers can buy here with their wages, the press in the East always tries to hush up these facts."

"RIAS should broadcast more about politics as the Berlin station does, and it should point out the contrast between East and West more clearly."

# MANY SEE RIAS PROGRAM IMPROVEMENT OVER PAST YEAR ...

Though the majority judgment is that the quality of RIAS programs has remained unchanged over the past year, an appreciable proportion (22%) express the view that programs have improved. Only 3 per cent voice the contrary opinion that program quality is less than it was. Men particularly appear to be of the view that improvements have occurred in RIAS programs over the past year.

"In your opinion, has the program of RIAS become better or worse during the past year or has it remained the same?" (Asked only of present RIAS listeners.)

East Zone  
Sept 53  
(393)

Become better	22%
Become worse	3
Remained the same	62
No opinion	13
	100%

East Zone	Become better	Become worse	Remained the same	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	30%	2%	57%	11%...100%	223
Women	15	4	66	15	170
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	21	3	66	10	289
Beyond elementary	26	3	52	19	104
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	20	1	53	26	93
30 to 49 years	20	6	65	9	189
50 years and over	27	1	63	9	111
<u>Size of Community:</u>					
Village	23	2	56	19	141
Town	24	4	63	9	201
City	19	3	65	13	51
<u>Distance:</u>					
Up to 109 km	21	5	61	13	186
110 - 239 km	21	4	63	12	144
240 km and more	26	-	58	16	56
<u>Origin:</u>					
Brandenburg	20	7	65	8	179
Sachsen	23	6	55	16	55
Sachsen/Anhalt	23	-	60	9	55
Thuringen	20	-	62	18	59
Mecklenburg	24	-	65	11	50

## ILLUSTRATIONS CITED OF IMPROVED RIAS PROGRAMS ...

Illustrations offered of improved programs appear to cover entertainment and politics in equal measure.

"In your opinion, has the program of RIAS become better or worse during the past year or has it remained the same?"

IF "Become better":

"Would you give me some examples for this? (What, for instance, has become better?)"

East Zone

Entertainment and musical programs have improved:

10%

"The music has improved, they are now offering more gay and popular musical broadcasts than formerly."

"They offer a greater variety, there are more programs which help you relax. When one is home from work at night one doesn't want to listen to heavy music and politics only, and now these programs really make a hit with listeners, they are offering more light entertainment in the evening."

"They now bring recorded concerts and more operas and oporetas than in former times."

"The musical program has improved, it's more varied now."

"They offer now much nice entertainment about which you can laugh heartily as for instance the 'Join In' series."

"The musical broadcasts in the morning have become nicer, I like them very much and always listen to them. I mean broadcasts which are interspersed with commercials."

"The records supply of RIAS is growing steadily and they therefore can offer more."

"The entertainment is improved."

Political broadcasts have improved:

9

"In political matters they have become more thorough."

"The propaganda has become somewhat more acid, that's good. They really cannot uncover enough of what these guys over there are doing."

"I think that since the 17th of June they pay more attention to our worries, in this way it's better for the East Zone."

"They are more exact in their reporting about incidents occurring in the East Zone."

"Because RIAS is not so radical any more. It is more conciliatory now and that gives their political broadcasts a greater effectiveness."

"Because they now proceed more energetically against the others."

"The propaganda against the East Zone government has become more intensive."

"They've dedicated their work more to the life and goings-on in the East Zone during the last years. They take a keener interest in our life than in past years."

"Then also they keep us posted on the situation in our Zone, and the programs for political enlightenment, they say how things stand, that they know what's going on."

"Through the objective political reports, for instance, news about the 17th of June. You can hear about a lot of things which are taboo for the radio stations in the East Zone."

Current event broadcasts are more numerous and better:

3

"Current event programs are good now."

"I think broadcasts of current interest are better."

"They offer more current event broadcasts which are very important for us."

"They have become more topical."

(Cont'd on next page)

News programs are more detailed and are broadcast at more convenient hours:

"The news broadcasts are now transmitted at more convenient hours so that everybody is just at home when they are broadcast."

"The news programs have become better too, I mean they are clearer now."

"The news broadcasts, for instance about the 17th of June, have become more detailed and are very good."

Better planning of the program:

"Formerly the broadcasts were not as varied as they are now. They have become more interesting. But they could offer still more lectures on the overall situation in the world."

"RIAS appeals to various strata of the population. It cares more about a good coordination of programs between the various Western stations. I believe that RIAS wants to render a good service in this respect."

"It has become better because the program is now well balanced."

Other reasons:

"First of all the station has become more powerful, thus we have better reception."

"In political respects that depends on what's happening, you cannot judge it that way."

No opinion/No answer:

COMMENTS OF FEW WHO SEE LOSS IN PROGRAM QUALITY ...

The few who judged RIAS programs to have become worse over the past year argued as follows:

IF "Become worse":

"Would you give me some examples for this? (What, for instance, has become worse?)"

"In the evening programs there is too much classical music, they should offer more popular music, I miss the evening light entertainment programs."

"I chiefly listen to the news and evening musical programs, formerly there was more light music than now. The news programs have maintained their standard."

"Generally RIAS broadcasts too much classical music, I would prefer music which is more easy to understand."

"The news programs have maintained their standard, they are even better worked out now, but the light program is not so good, it has become worse."

"Musical programs have become much worse since the 17th of June. At first I understood why, because there were so many dead on that day, but now I think it's time that RIAS could bring more decent music again, I mean very light music."

"RIAS turned more and more to broadcasting classical music which is not to everyone's liking."

"Radio-dramas are too serious and the music programs are too classical."

"It broadcasts too much classical music lately, especially in the evening."

"Formerly it offered more dance music."

"Too much American dance music has been broadcast recently, we elder people don't like that so much, that's expressed very often. Light German music, hits, old dance tunes would meet with more approval."

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Cont'd on next page)

- 20 -

R E S T R I C T E D

RESTRICTED

(Cont'd from preceding page)

"Last year, light programs were better; for instance, the 'Waldbühne' programs were more lively and pleasant - therefore I prefer the NWDR station now."

"The cultural programs, especially musical programs - light music."

"Because 'Join In' programs are repeated too often. They might offer something different for a change. The political programs are all right, I think."

"'Join In' is no longer as pleasant as it used to be, they should bring something new instead."

"The 'Join In' programs are no longer as interesting as they used to be."

"More and more we get the impression that they promise too much in their Western programs and then things won't change at all."

"Since June 17th, there is nothing but agitation and prior to that date there wasn't much offered either."

"To my taste there are too few radio dramas broadcast at present."

RESTRICTED



## R E S T R I C T E D

PRESENT EAST ZONE PROGRAM EMPHASIS APPROVED BY EAST GERMANS AND WEST BERLINERS ALIKE ...

Finally, both among West Berliners and East Zone residents agreement appears to be widespread that RIAS is keying its broadcasts in the right measure to the East Zone.

"Do you feel that RIAS is keying its broadcasts in the right measure to the East Zone or do you feel that it does that too much or too little?" (Asked only of present RIAS listeners.)

	East Zone Sept 53 (393)	West Berlin May 53 (287)
In the right measure	79%	71%
Too much	2	8
Do not go far enough	16	10
No opinion	3	11
	100%	100%

East Zone	In the right measure	Too much	Does not go far enough	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	81%	1%	15%	3%...100%	223
Women	78	2	16	4	170
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	78	-	19	3	289
Beyond elementary	82	4	9	5	104
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	77	2	16	5	93
30 to 49 years	81	2	14	3	189
50 years and over	78	-	19	3	111
<u>Size of Community:</u>					
Village	76	2	15	7	141
Town	81	1	15	3	201
City	78	3	18	1	51
<u>Distance:</u>					
Up to 109 km	85	2	9	4	186
110 - 239 km	78	2	15	5	144
240 km and more	73	1	26	-	56
<u>Origin:</u>					
Brandenburg	83	3	11	3	179
Sachsen	78	2	15	5	55
Sachsen/Anhalt	85	-	9	6	50
Thuringen	76	-	24	-	59
Mecklenburg	70	4	25	1	50

SAMPLING APPENDIX

References to various sources of demographic data on the East Zone of Germany\* permit reasonably accurate estimates to be made of the present Land, sex and age composition of the East Zone population. On the basis of these data the Land, sex and age composition of the East Zone should distribute approximately as tabulated below on the assumption that, as is the case for West Germany, population changes in the five East Zone Laender since 1946 have not greatly affected their size ratios to one another and, secondly, the sex and age ratios are similar from Land to Land.

Probable Land, Sex and Age Proportions of East Zone Population

Land: Sex:	Branden- burg		Sachsen		Sachsen/ Anhalt		Thue- ringen		Mecklen- burg		TOTAL % BY AGE
	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F	
Age:											
18 - 24 years	1.1	1.0	2.5	2.1	1.8	1.6	1.3	1.1	.9	.8	14.2
25 - 44 years	1.8	3.0	4.0	6.7	3.0	5.0	2.1	3.5	1.5	2.5	33.1
45 years and over	<u>3.6</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>7.9</u>	<u>8.9</u>	<u>5.9</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>52.7</u>
TOTAL:	6.5	8.1	14.4	17.7	10.7	13.3	7.6	9.4	5.5	6.8	
TOTAL BY LAND:	14.6		32.1		24.0		17.0		12.3		100%

Knowing these facts it is possible to improve the representativeness of an East Zone sample by adjusting through a statistical weighing procedure any obtained proportions of Laender, sex and age groups to their proper proportions as indicated in the table. This was done in the present study.

The sample obtained in the present survey distributed as to Laender, sex and age as tabulated below. The sample emanated from instructions to the interviewers to gather respondents at random among the East German food seekers subject to the condition that the order of 100 cases be obtained for each of the four distant Laender, and the order of 200 from the more accessible Brandenburg residents.

Land, Sex and Age Distribution of Obtained Sample

Land: Sex:	Branden- burg		Sachsen		Sachsen/ Anhalt		Thue- ringen		Mecklen- burg		TOTAL CASE BY AGE
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Age:											
18 - 24 years	16	15	28	2	13	4	9	3	13	9	112
25 - 44 years	27	45	26	19	29	23	31	14	23	15	252
45 years and over	<u>54</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>12</u>	222
TOTAL:	97	107	67	32	56	41	61	34	55	36	
TOTAL BY LAND:	204		99		97		95		91		586

\* For the population ratios of the 5 Laender, the 1946 Census. For the sex ratio, some published 1950 estimates. For the age distribution by sex, some published 1951 estimates.

**THE MARSHALL HOUSE EXHIBIT  
AT THE 1953 BERLIN INDUSTRIAL FAIR**

**An Evaluation of West Berlin  
and East German Reactions**

**Report No. 190**

**Series No. 2**

**November 16, 1953**

**R E S T R I C T E D**

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**EVALUATION STAFF**

**OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

**OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY**

## INTRODUCTION

This report evaluating public reactions to the Marshall House exhibit at the 1953 Berlin Industrial Fair is based on two surveys made during the Fair by the Evaluation Staff, Office of Public Affairs.

The two surveys, one made at the exit of the Marshall House and the other at the two main exits of the Fair grounds consisted of probability type samples of 612 and 623 persons, respectively, 18 years of age and over. (When treated separately in the report they are referred to as the Marshall House sample and the Exit sample.) The procedure followed in drawing the sample was to interview approximately the same number of persons each day from Tuesday, September 29, through Sunday, October 11, when the Fair closed, that is about 96 on the average per day, divided between the Marshall House and Fair exits. To insure randomness, the first adult appearing on the half hour and the hour at the exits was interviewed. Since the same number of interviews was made each day, but attendance both at the Fair and at the Marshall House was approximately twice as large as usual on three days during the interviewing period (Sunday, October 4, Wednesday, October 7, and Sunday, October 11) the interviews for those three days were given a double weight, in order to correct for any differences in the composition of visitors that might occur when attendance was extraordinarily large.

Interviewing for the survey was conducted by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung, m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

THE MARSHALL HOUSE EXHIBIT AT THE 1953 BERLIN INDUSTRIAL FAIR WAS A POPULAR SUCCESS ... judging by the reactions of West Berlin and East German visitors. Visitors appeared to like the exhibit as a whole very much; and criticisms of its details were sparse.

The favorable appraisal of the exhibit seems the more noteworthy because relatively so many men and better educated people - both of whom tend to be more articulately critical than the public as a whole - attended the Fair as well as the Marshall House.

Another factor also to be considered in evaluating reactions is that the Marshall House was only one relatively small pavilion in a huge industrial fair. As such it competed with innumerable other exhibits, many of which gave away free samples or offered food or drinks at little or no cost, or with show rooms setting forth all manner of goods and utensils which were for sale to individual customers.

Specific findings follow.

I. Comprehension of Theme

THE THEME, EXPRESSED IN THE SLOGAN "ZUSAMMENLEBEN" WAS UNDERSTOOD .... by many visitors.

Though the theme of the Marshall House exhibit was admittedly abstract about two thirds of the visitors described it quite clearly.

And most of the remainder, though not so specific, came quite close to expressing it.

That the idea behind the exhibit made more than an ephemeral impression is suggested by the fact that the Exit sample was able to describe it just about as well as the Marshall House sample.

MOREOVER, ALL VISITORS SUBSCRIBED TO THE THEME ... with 98 per cent agreeing that "it is probable" that high living standards will be achieved by free people through industry and peaceful cooperation.

II. Appraisal of the Exhibit

THE MARSHALL HOUSE EXHIBIT WON HIGH APPROVAL ON FOUR DIFFERENT MEASURES ...

COMPARED WITH OTHER NATIONAL PAVILIONS ... it led among West Berliners by two to one over its nearest competitors the British and Indian pavilions as "giving the best impression," and completed evenly with the British pavilion among East Germans. (East Germans had not heard much about the coronation, the theme of the British pavilion, until they came to the Fair.)

ABOUT NINE OUT OF 10 VISITORS RATED THE EXHIBIT AS LIKED "WELL" OR "VERY WELL," ... on a 5 point scale ranging through "liked very well," "well," "so-so," "only a little," and "not at all." No one chose "not at all."

ON TWO OTHER MEASURES, THE EXHIBIT WON ALMOST UNANIMOUS APPROVAL: ... 98 per cent said they would recommend it to friends and acquaintances.

... 98 per cent said it was worth the time and effort expended on it, that is they apparently discounted the boredom and discomfort of queuing before they could get in, and the large crowds once they were in.

AS TO THE SEPARATE FEATURES OF THE EXHIBITION ...

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY DEMONSTRATION ... illustrating large-scale community planning, was a leading attraction among all groups queried.

THE FREE WORLD HOUSING PROJECTS AND THE AERIAL FILMS OF BERLIN ... also found considerable approval.

"LEAST LIKED" ... of the various features were the "Five Screens" showing, and the Graphics at the entrance depicting people of the "Free World."



III. Criticisms of the Exhibit

THOUGH ADVERSE CRITICISMS WERE DELIBERATELY SOUGHT MANY VISITORS HAD NONE TO OFFER ... and such criticisms as were made were scattered rather than concentrated on any single feature or idea presented.

THE THEME OR IDEA OF THE EXHIBITION ... offered no grounds for criticisms among nine out of 10 visitors.

The few who voiced any objections wanted more about the U.S., thought the idea too abstract, or criticized the presentation, not the theme.

THE ORGANIZATION AND TECHNICAL SET-UP RECEIVED MORE CRITICISM... but here too more than half had nothing adverse to say.

Specific criticisms were scattered, but the following points were mentioned with relative frequency ( on the average one in 10 or less mentioning them): too much was offered, the 5-screen show was confusing, more models and plastics (or fewer pictures) were wanted, and the films technically left something to be desired.

SUGGESTED CRITICISMS ALSO FOUND LITTLE RESPONSE ... among visitors.

Five statements phrased in a negative and deliberately suggestive fashion and thus likely to bring out maximum criticisms were presented.

DISAGREEING ENTIRELY ... with each of the statements regarding the exhibition were the following proportions:

"Too propagandistic in purpose"	- more than 8 in 10
"Explanation of commentators had a disturbing effect"	- 8 in 10
"There was too much of Europe, not enough of the U.S."	- 7 in 10
"Some places in the Marshall House were too dark"	- 7 in 10
"Films and slides were technically poor"	- 5 in 10
"Some places were blocked up by visitors so that one couldn't see them clearly enough"	- 5 in 10

- 2 -

R E S T R I C T E D

IV. Evidence of Effectiveness

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MARSHALL HOUSE EXHIBITS IN GENERAL IS SUGGESTED ... by the remarkably extensive recall of the 1952 exhibit.

Eight in 10 of the people who attended both this year's and last year's Marshall House exhibit said they recalled the 1952 show.

AND THE "IDEAL HOUSE" OR THE THEME "WE BUILD A BETTER LIFE" ... was recalled by as many as six in 10. In addition, a few mentioned the motor car exhibit also a feature of last year.

The remainder spoke of the U.S. farm home (part of the "Green Week" agricultural fair), and the "Train of Europe," that is, confused the 1952 exhibit at the Industrial Fair with other Marshall House presentations.

The fact that the Marshall House is only one feature of a very large industrial exposition makes the extent of recall a truly remarkable demonstration of the effectiveness of the exhibit.

OPINIONS DIVIDE ... on which of the two exhibits were liked better. Those who preferred this year's show frequently singled out the theme as a reason. In contrast, those who liked the 1952 exhibit frequently mentioned the model house or stressed the concreteness of that exhibit.

AN INDICATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THIS YEAR'S EXHIBIT ... is the fact that over half of the visitors stated they learned something new there, East Germans being more likely than West Berliners to say so.

The scope and magnitude of TVA was frequently mentioned; but the housing projects, Berlin reconstruction, and even the theme were new to many.

THE LETTERS FROM DR. CONANT AND DR. REUTER - (READABLE UNDER ULTRA-VIOLET LIGHTS) - APPEARED TO APPEAL AS A GADGET BUT NOT TO BE TOO EFFECTIVE AS AN INFORMATION MEDIUM ...

Relatively few people had read the messages, and the fact that fewer people interviewed at the Fair exits than at the Marshall House said they had received leaflets or knew anything of their contents or authorship suggests that many visitors threw them away or forgot all about them.

- d -

R E S T R I C T E D

## I. ATTENDANCE AT MARSHALL HOUSE

## ATTENDANCE AT MARSHALL HOUSE ...

Queried at the exits of the Industrial Fair, 50 per cent of both West German and East Zone respondents stated they had visited the Marshall House exhibition. This is a considerably larger proportion than said they had been at the British pavilion, but not quite as large as the number calling at some of the others, especially the French and Italian exhibitions. A fifth had not been at any of the national pavilions.\*

"At this year's Industrial Fair also a number of foreign nations again have their own pavilions. Which of the pavilions listed on this card did you visit?"

	West Berlin/ West Germany	East Berlin/ East Germany
France	59%	58%
England	30	34
Canada	43	37
America (Marshall House)	50	50
Italy	60	54
India	53	48
Belgium	46	40
Holland	52	54
Austria	54	51
Pavilion of the Nations	32	27
None	21	21
	500%**	474%**

\*\* Some respondents named more than one pavilion.

\* The figures reported above appear consistent with official tabulations when it is remembered that only persons over 18 years of age are included in the survey sample. The official count for the Industrial Fair as received by the Evaluation Staff was 708,000 visitors, and the Marshall House tabulation, 491,776, or 69% of all Fair visitors. But while the electric counter at the Marshall House was set so as not to register small children, it would include teen-agers who were not part of the Evaluation Staff sample. As to the British tally, it was 375,000, or 52% of all Fair visitors, that is it differs from the Marshall House tally in a proportion similar to that obtained in the survey.

## LACK OF TIME AND CROWDS KEPT SOME PEOPLE AWAY ...

The two leading reasons given for not visiting the Marshall House were that people could not spare the time and that it was too crowded. Others said they had overlooked it, or they planned to come back another time to view the exhibition, or lacked interest in such exhibitions. Only a few gave reasons that could be considered derogatory to the Marshall House exhibition itself.

"We would be interested in learning why you didn't name the Marshall House (American pavilion)? Didn't you visit it? Why not?" (Asked of all respondents who did not name the Marshall House (American pavilion) to initial question.)

EXIT SAMPLE

West Berlin/	East Berlin/
West Germany	East Germany
19%	21%

I couldn't spare the time:

I didn't find the time to go there, my spare time is scarce; I was pressed for time, I just passed through to get an over-all impression, through the fair, I mean, I didn't visit any of the pavilions; they offered so much that I didn't get around to seeing everything; we arrived too late so it was closed already; I was pressed for time, I'm staying in Berlin only for a short while; etc.

I felt it was too crowded:

I didn't feel like visiting it as people were standing in line to get in; it was too crowded for me, that's why I had to skip nearly all of the pavilions, the American pavilion among them; it was too crowded for my taste, there was too much shoving; for psychological reasons, the throng was too much for me, I don't like that; there were too many people standing in line, thus it was hard to get into the Marshall House; etc.

16

17

I overlooked the Marshall House, I didn't find it.I didn't pass it on my route:

I'm sorry, I didn't see it, I entered the exhibition from the other side, that's how it happened; I just overlooked it, not on purpose, to be sure; mere laziness, I didn't pass it on my way through the exhibition and I didn't look for it in particular; I didn't find it; etc.

6

6

I was not interested in the Marshall House exhibits -I have other interests:

I'm interested in machines only; I was not particularly interested, besides the entrance was hard to find; we are interested only in German industrial products, not in foreign countries; it's just statistics and tables, I don't take a keen interest in things like that; etc.

6

5

(Cont'd on next page)

I couldn't spare the time TODAY - it's too crowded TODAY - I'm going to visit the Marshall House some other day:

4%

4%

I would like to look at everything leisurely, I believe it to be very interesting, so I shall be back on Sunday when I will visit the Marshall House only; it takes quite some time to see everything here, and Sunday will be the day when I will come to visit it, for I want to enjoy the tour, after all; it's too crowded right now as too many children are around, I shall visit it at a later date; etc.

Last year's Marshall House disappointed me very much - that's why I didn't visit it this year:

2

1

I was very disappointed last year and therefore I didn't visit it this year, it's nothing interesting, only propaganda; last year all you saw was boring statistics, and I expected the same thing this year, so I didn't go there; etc.

People told me, it isn't very interesting:

1

People told me they don't show anything particularly interesting; no, I don't visit it because I heard people say they have only rather boring illustrations and other such material on display; etc.

The Marshall House exhibit is too one-sided - there is too much propaganda (negative comments):

1

This is more or less just propaganda and I am not interested in that, you already realize it by the slogan: "To live together in unity;" I realized it last year already: "We have the highest standard of living, look what we have accomplished," that was enough for me never to go to anything like that again, what I thought was: "These conceited idiots!"; because I am not interested in this kind of exhibition, they only want to do business, and I as a German don't like that; etc.

The interior of the pavilion is uncomfortable:

1

I had to climb stairs and that's what I don't like; the rooms were not properly lit and the air was stuffy; right after entering the first room I quit; etc.

Other answers:

2

3

We are admitted only with our teachers; I was too tired for the pavilion; etc.

58%\*\*

57%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## II. COMPREHENSION OF THE THEME

## MANY VISITORS COMPREHEND THEME OF EXHIBITION ...

The theme of the Marshall House exhibit, expressed in the term "Zusammenleben" was that industrial research and production can, with the consent and participation of the individual, continue to raise the standard of living throughout the free world. But though such a theme is abstract and thus presumably difficult to present in concrete form, a very large proportion of visitors appeared to have grasped its essentials. In fact more than six in 10 of the people who were at the Marshall House were able to come up with quite acceptable definitions of the theme. The explanations advanced by the remainder, though not always showing quite the same comprehension of the theme, could not, except in a few instances, be considered entirely incorrect, as may be noted by reading their comments listed below.

It is also worthy of note that persons interviewed at the Fair exits recalled the theme about as specifically as did those interviewed directly upon leaving the Marshall House.

"What, do you believe, was to be expressed by this year's exhibition in the Marshall House?"

MARSHALL HOUSE  
SAMPLE

## EXIT SAMPLE

West Berlin/ Germ.	East Berlin/ Germ.	West Berlin/ Germ.	East Berlin/ Germ.
69%	71%	61%	65%

The standard of living of all nations can be raised through peaceful co-existence, cooperation and industrialization:

69%

71%

61%

65%

The free nations of the world should live together in unity and should share the riches of the earth, in that way there will be no envy and wars will be avoided; overall developments, what can be done in the free world through cooperation, in contrast to conditions under a Communist regime; that through stepping up production a better life for all can be achieved; that's implied in the motto already; through joint planning more can be accomplished, a planned economy in the constructive, not in the negative sense of the word; it's an attempt to use this chance for addressing a large number of people and to win them over for the idea of friendship between nations because on this depends a good life for all, relations between people are to be simplified and consolidated, all we are expected to do is to live together peacefully as expressed at the exhibition; we should strive to live together peacefully, a good life for all depends entirely on how much sense individual nations show in avoiding conflicts, through the exhibition it's demonstrated to us that this is possible; that the world has rich resources and that we all can live comfortably if the nations are at peace and will unite more closely; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

- 4 -

R E S T R I C T E D

that we are all in the same boat, and that it's impossible for anybody to quit on the high seas; it is supposed to express that people all over the world have to grapple with the same problems that worry us, they want us to realize that we must come round to co-operating with each other; that the different nations should work on community projects, so that the individual will prosper regardless what nationality he has or what race he belongs to; they want to demonstrate how smoothly things will function, once we all agree among ourselves; the chances mankind has to lead a better life are to be demonstrated; contact should be established between all nations, the exhibition demonstrates in an unobtrusive way that all nations can lead a comfortable life if they have good will; etc.

America should serve as an example and as a spur for living together in unity instead of living side by side:

13% .7% 5% 7%

They want us to take an example from the way of life of the Americans, we should live together, not just side by side, they want people to understand too that there will be no envy any more once people everywhere can live equally well; that through diligence and energy America has succeeded to make life pleasant for the community, they want us to learn from this that Germany too will fare well if people work together on common projects; it seems to me they want to show us Germans what we should do to be able to live comfortably, the Americans show us how they go about it in their own country; friendship and understanding between all nations should be created, America shows that it can be done if people only are willing; they want to demonstrate to us how comfortably people can live once they discarded all thoughts of war and once they keep in mind that we all are dependent on each other, they also want to give us a chance to draw comparisons through showing pictures and encourage us to follow in the steps of the US; they want the Germans to become familiar with their way of life and want to show them what America has achieved through its democratic outlook on life and principles; that all countries can learn a terrible lot from the Americans, if those countries would make use of that which is shown at the exhibition, they would fare better; the standard of living in America is higher than in Germany, only if all people cooperate will it be possible to improve the situation; the standard of living can be raised if we shape our way of life along the American pattern, I mean, if a United States of Europe would be created; I feel they want, above all, to call on the younger generation to work for a United Europe, America wants to demonstrate to us what it has achieved through forming a federation of states; etc.

West East West  
Berlin/Berlin/Berlin  
Germ. Germ. Germ. Germ.

American readiness to help and its willingness to come to an understanding with Europe, including Germany:

12% 9% 5% 6%

The necessity for a union between the European nations and America; to move ahead by working jointly supported by America; the help America renders to Berlin; the ties of friendship between America and Germany, what America has done for us in the course of time; what has been bought under the Marshall Plan and what has been achieved through the realization of this project; the friendship the West feels, that America values the co-operation of Germany; that the German people are to be admitted to the community of nations, that close bonds exist between the American people and the German people; I feel the American want to make it clear to us that they would very much like to co-operate with us, Mr. Conant has called us his "co-workers," that proves that the Yanks want to work together with us; in my opinion, they want to help us East Zone residents to keep up our courage, and above all, they want to demonstrate to us that America takes an interest in Germany and the German people, something must be done to stop this vicious circle of one war leading to another so that people can go about their job of peacefully building a better future; they want to make it clear to us that America does everything to help us get on our feet and to remove the prejudice of the Americans pursuing only their own ends and interests; it seems to me that the exhibition is meant to help people understand the Americans, to make them see that America is concerned about other nations, that the Americans try to unite them in order to avoid future wars; etc.

Standard of living and industrialization in the U.S.: 7% 8% 9% 7%

The enormous progress America has made in all fields; the new projects to be tackled by America and this country's economy; it is to demonstrate the American standard of living, to give people a comprehensive view of America; the economic potential of the U.S. and soil cultivation methods used over there were to be shown; you can find out here that there is still room for improvement, that even more modern methods can be developed, things like that are unknown in Germany, the technical achievements shown are outstanding, it's simply perfect; the modernization processes carried out in the States, methods have been simplified and people have prospered; the opening up of uninhabited areas, the Tennessee Valley, for instance, was opened up through power plants built there; how the average American lives today, housing construction and technical developments; the American building style was to be shown, better and more spacious homes; it was meant to give people an idea of life in America through showing pictures and of the projects planned for the future; how those many people live together in America; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

A better life for Europe through European co-operation:

7% 5% 2% 4%

It's an attempt to convince the man in the street of the necessity of co-operation and of the advantages that will thus accrue, the motive behind the whole thing is the European idea; the idea of belonging together, of a United Europe, of a community of nations, of co-operation for the benefits of all; it's to be shown that Europe is an integral part of the community of free nations; that better times are in the offing, a better life for people all over Europe, the European nations should join to become sort of a large family of nations; that the most important thing for securing the survival of Europe is to place co-operation between the nations above any national interests, that the chief aim must be co-operation; that's expressed through the motto: a free community and peaceful co-existence, contrary to conditions in the East, we should take an example from the Americans and should move forward on the road to a United Europe; etc.

What has been achieved - and what remains to be done (improving social conditions):

6 5 2 -

What the free nations have accomplished up till now and what remains to be done; the progress made in the free world was to be shown, they did a good job in illustrating what's being produced in the free countries and that they are way ahead of the East; what's being done in the democratic countries to improve social conditions, to relieve the distress of the underprivileged; ways are shown to tackle different problems, what things could be like in the future; it's demonstrated what we still are lacking, what we have to do to reach such prosperity as shown here; they want to show how government-sponsored housing programs are promoted and how social conditions generally are improved; etc.

American propaganda:

1 2 2 2

It's propaganda meant to induce us to orient ourselves to the West, the lesson we are expected to understand is that America is almighty and that we have to submit to them; well, they express it themselves: "To live together in unity," Friedrich Luft feels on top of the world when he launches his speech full of high-sounding phrases and tells people what they should do to reach such a high standard of living, the objective of America is, in my opinion, to encourage the younger generation to emigrate; they hint at about the same things Russia does, the propaganda is the same in any case, what the Russians do over there at the Volga River, the Americans do in the Tennessee Valley, both want a good life to be shared by all; if you really want me to speak up, I'll tell you that I think America just carries on propaganda in an almost clumsy manner, I don't want to say more, but I'm sure you know what I mean; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

West Berlin/ Germ.	East Berlin/ Germ.	West Berlin/ Germ.	East Berlin/ Germ.
--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------

To front the Russians:

2%

8%

1%

-

They want to demonstrate to people the sort of life they can lead in a free country where there is no despotism, they want to give East Zone residents the chance to draw comparisons, so that they will realize that this is how things are in a free world, while they feel the whip of despotism themselves; how to promote friendship between the nations in a peaceful way, this is shown in contrast to the "paradise" over there, that's how they agitate; etc.

Other answers:

3

2

5

3

That Berlin is of such a great importance for the Americans, that's why they present a problem of such world-wide dimensions here; they wanted to show us the industries of the different countries and the educational methods used there; the housing problem, modern housing designs; life in Europe; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{2}{122\%}^{**}$$

$$\frac{1}{118\%}^{**}$$

$$\frac{12}{104\%}^{**}$$

$$\frac{13}{107\%}^{**}$$

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THEME CAN BE REALIZED ...

Not only was the theme comprehended by many of the visitors, but further inquiry showed that almost without exception, they were prepared to buy the idea. Asked, after the theme had been spelled out for them, whether they thought that it was probable that standards of living could be raised by such means, affirmative replies ran 96 per cent and more.

"The theme of (the idea behind) the exhibition in the Marshall House (is intended to demonstrate among other things ...) is (as you just said) to show that through peaceful co-existence, cooperation and industrialization the standard of living of all nations can be considerably improved. -

"Do you personally consider it probable that an improvement of the standard of living of all nations can be achieved in this way or do you consider this to be not probable?"

	<u>MARSHALL HOUSE</u> <u>SAMPLE</u>		<u>EXIT SAMPLE</u>	
	West Berlin/ Germany	East Berlin/ Germany	West Berlin/ Germany	East Berlin/ Germany
Consider it probable	97%	96%	96%	98%
Consider it not probable	2	3	2	2
Undecided	$\frac{1}{100\%}$	$\frac{1}{100\%}$	$\frac{2}{100\%}$	$\frac{-}{100\%}$

- 8 -

R E S T R I C T E D



## R E S T R I C T E D

## III. GENERAL APPRAISAL OF THE MARSHALL HOUSE EXHIBIT

The Marshall House exhibit at the 1953 West Berlin Industrial Fair received a very favorable reception from both its West Berlin and East German visitors. This appears in responses to the general inquiries reported in this section.

First, the Marshall House exhibit competed very favorably with the other national pavilions in visitors' estimation. Among West Berliners in fact it outranked its two closest competitors - the British and Indian pavilions - by about two to one, and vied evenly with the British pavilion among East Germans.

This is the way visitors who had seen the Marshall House and other pavilions when queried at exits of the Fair ranked the various exhibitions:\*\*

"Which of these pavilions left the best impression on you?" (Asked of those who had previously stated they had seen the Marshall House and one or more other pavilions.)

	West Berlin/West Germany	East Berlin/East Germany
Marshall House	30%	22%
British pavilion	18	19
Indian pavilion	14	4
Italian pavilion	9	6
French pavilion	5	10
Netherlands pavilion	5	3
Canadian pavilion	3	8
Austrian pavilion	3	6
Belgian pavilion	*	1
Pavilion of the Nations	-	-
None	4	5
Undecided	9	16
	100%	100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* This question was also asked of the Marshall House sample, i.e. people interviewed directly upon leaving the House. Among them also the Marshall House led, but since many of this sample had not yet had an opportunity to visit other pavilions, only results of the Exit sample are shown.

RESTRICTED

## REASONS MARSHALL HOUSE MADE BEST IMPRESSION

Aspects of the Marshall House exhibition that people found particularly impressive were: its arrangement and organization ("the original way in which it's arranged, the many pictures, the way in which things are displayed, the whole interior decoration job," is a typical comment); the Tennessee-Valley Project, ("the reclamation of the Tennessee Valley, this is really a wonderful thing"); the theme ("because the idea of "all nations living together in unity" is tops, that's it"); and the insight it offered into American life ("because they offered more demonstration material than anywhere else, you thus got an insight into the American way of life"). Comments in detail follow.

"What impressed you particularly in the American pavilion?"

## EXIT SAMPLE\*

West Berlin/ East Berlin/  
West Germany East Germany

Arrangement and organization of the exhibition:

13%

5%

You can see more pictures, the exhibition is arranged in a more attractive way, it's sensationally arranged; it has the most lasting effect as it's very ingeniously decorated, the exhibition is arranged in a modern and original way, especially that ultra-violet light business is striking; as everything is explained so thoroughly, people get a better understanding of things, they really did an excellent job, it was very impressive; this unique and original way in which the whole thing was executed; because it's planned in the most generous way, and it's well organized; the original way in which it's arranged, the many pictures, the way in which things are displayed, the whole interior decoration job; the composition of the whole thing, the organization generally; because it's liveliest, the whole way it's arranged, the composition is spirited, and then I was impressed by the mass of material offered; the way in which the rooms are decorated has a suggestive effect on people; the whole show, this ultra-violet light affair, I liked that best of all, you could study your hands in that light; etc.

Insight into the everyday life of the Americans (time-saving devices in the household):

6

3

Because here you are offered more demonstration material than anywhere else, you thus get an insight into the American way of life; as a woman it impressed me most that things in America are pretty much as they are here, only that life is much, much easier over there; I was impressed by the clear and brief way in which everything was presented, above all, descriptions of life over there; I was very much impressed by the Marshall House, I was interested in learning about the American way of life, everything is progressive and modern, everything about the household is functional, while tasteful at the same time; as they have ample means, they can devise things along more generous lines, the insight into the American way of life you got at the exhibition was impressive; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

\*Similar remarks were made by the Marshall House Sample, but because not all of them had yet had an opportunity to visit other pavilions, only figures for the Exit Sample are presented.

RESTRICTED

The presentation of the Tennessee Valley project:

6%

2%

The reclamation of the Tennessee Valley, this is really a wonderful thing; the Tennessee Valley project, its technical representation was excellent, besides it really is an outstanding feat; what you learn about increased productivity ensuring a better life for all nations, I'm thinking above all, of the example of the Tennessee Valley project; etc.

The idea of "living together in unity" - friendship between nations - the idea of a United Europe:

5

6

Because the idea of "all nations living together in unity" is tops, that's it; of all the pavilions, the Marshall House is the only one where ideals are expressed, a lot of food for thought is given to young people, they are prompted to concern themselves with the idea of a United Europe; this exhibition made me realize that America does everything to help Europe and that, in addition to material aid granted, it contributes toward a moral reconstruction of Germany and Europe; you profit most from visiting the Marshall House as in a way a cross-section of world developments is given, what visitors have seen in the Marshall House they will remember the longest; in connection with the good will expressed for fostering mutual understanding between nations, this pavilion makes an especially strong impression because of its supra-national, or international character; the glimpse you got of an ideal community as it may come about in the future, and the road shown that leads towards this end; etc.

The exhibition was very instructive:

3

2

I felt as if I had made a long journey, I received much information through this exhibition, I'm a trade unionist and I've found a lot of material which I can discuss with others; it offers most, as a European as well as a German you can learn something, while you can't learn anything in the other pavilions; America has presented everything in such a lucid manner, you really can say that your mind is stimulated and that you could brush up on many a thing you had forgotten; because it imparts more information than any of the others, and because things are explained so clearly; you got more out of it, you learn more in the Marshall House, just take those details about how the speed of travelling has changed, shown right when you enter the pavilion; the effort that's made to inform people, this will have a far-reaching effect on the next elections;

Building and housing developments:

1

2

Above all, the exhibition about housing conditions in America, that's what I'm especially interested in; I was impressed by the plans for new apartment blocks, I'm interested in this kind of thing; here you see those splendid buildings, you get more out of this than of the coronation, after all; I was very pleased of what was shown on modern architecture; the models of housing developments; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

West Berlin/ West Germany	East Berlin/ East Germany
------------------------------	------------------------------

1%

1%

All that's said about Berlin:

Those aerial photos of Berlin, it was very interesting for me to see my home town from a bird's-eye, to see what was destroyed under the war and what has been reconstructed; it's a survey on the development of Berlin, and that's what interests us most; this is quite a new approach, and I like it better than anything else, things are shown here that are interesting to us Berliners, and I think that's grand; etc.

Other answers:

It gave people a good idea of the work the Americans do under the Marshall Plan; America wants to make friends with us, the atmosphere here is very friendly and cordial; etc.

35%\*

21%\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MARSHALL HOUSE VISITORS LIKED EXHIBITION ...

Further indication that the exhibit was well received is found in replies to a series of detailed questions put to the Marshall House sample.

First, about nine out of ten visitors said they liked the showing, with the weight of opinion leaning toward liking it "very well," rather than simply "well." Not a single visitor stated he did not like it at all, and only a very small handful (2%) declared they did not like it "so well."

"What is your overall impression of the exhibition here in the Marshall House: did you generally like this exhibition very well, well, so-so, not so well or not at all?"

	West Berlin/ West Germany	West Berlin/ West Germany
Very well	53%	47%
Well	36	43
So-so	9	7
Not so well	2	2
Not at all	-	-
No opinion	-	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## ALL WOULD RECOMMEND IT ...

On two other tests of approval, the Marshall House exhibit does even better. Visitors to the House both from the West and the East were almost unanimous in the view that the exhibit was worth recommending to their friends and acquaintances. And equally impressive proportions (98%) stated that the exhibition was worth the time and effort - though observers at the Industrial Fair are aware people frequently had to queue up before gaining entrance to the Marshall House.

"Would you recommend the exhibition in the Marshall House to your friends and acquaintances or would you not recommend it?"

	West Berlin/ West Germany	East Berlin/ East Germany
Would recommend	98%	97%
Would not recommend	2	2
No opinion	*	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you find this exhibition here in the Marshall House is worth the effort and the time it took or is it not worth it?"

	West Berlin/ West Germany	East Berlin/ East Germany
Worth it	98%	93%
Not worth it	2	3
No opinion	*	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## EXHIBIT APPRECIATED BETTER FOR INFORMATIONAL VALUE AND ORGANIZATION ...

Although this year's Marshall House exhibit made use of a great number of attention-getting devices - films, projections, models, graphics, and the like - this appears not to be the sole reasons for the good reception it received. Indeed somewhat more people stated they were impressed by the information they received than by the arrangement and organization of the exhibit, and a considerable fraction was unwilling to separate the two. The question and returns follow.

"If you consider the exhibition in the Marshall House once again as a whole: what left the greatest impression on you - the way the exhibition was arranged, that is how it was carried out technically and organized, or the information and knowledge it offered?"

	West Berlin/ West Germany	East Berlin/ East Germany
Technical set-up and organization	34%	35%
Information and knowledge	41	38
Both	24	25
No opinion	1	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



TVA DEMONSTRATION WAS LIKED ...

Although the overall appraisal of the Marshall House exhibit was very favorable, certain sections were liked better than others. This appears in replies to a query asking Marshall House visitors to rank the five main parts of the showing from "liked best" to "liked least."

Summarized, this is the way the five features are ranked by West and East German visitors.

West Berlin/West Germany

	<u>High</u> 1st & 2nd choice	<u>Middle</u> 3rd choice	<u>Low</u> 4th & 5th choice	<u>No Rating</u>
The TVA presentation	55%	13%	22%	10%..100%
Free World Housing Projects	41	21	25	13
Aerial Films of Berlin	40	24	21	15
Graphics at entrance	26	14	43	17
Five Screens	25	17	44	14

East Berlin/East Germany

	49%	17%	22%	12%..100%
The TVA presentation	49%	17%	22%	12%..100%
Free World Housing Projects	47	16	24	13
Aerial Films of Berlin	42	25	18	15
Five Screens	30	19	39	12
Graphics at entrance	20	14	47	19

"On this card you will find some of the things shown here in the Marshall House. - Would you now please look at the card and tell me which of the items you liked best, what came second and so on down to the item you liked least of all. (CARD)

- A. The graphics at the entrance which show how the free nations live together in close unity

	West Berlin/ West Germany	East Berlin/ East Germany
First place	14%	12%
Second place	12	8
Third place	14	14
Fourth place	22	22
Fifth place	21	25
No opinion	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>
	100%	100%

- B. The five screens which in pictures and comments provide a view of industrial developments

First place	15%	17%
Second place	10	13
Third place	17	19
Fourth place	21	20
Fifth place	23	19
No opinion	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%

- C. The model of the Tennessee project (TVA) with light effect, comments and projections

First place	35%	34%
Second place	20	15
Third place	13	17
Fourth place	9	11
Fifth place	13	11
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%

- D. The series of models of community projects in Europe and in America (housing developments, transport, education, public health, and recreation)

First place	16%	21%
Second place	25	26
Third place	21	16
Fourth place	16	15
Fifth place	9	9
No opinion	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>
	100%	100%

- B. The displays of what has already been done in Germany and in Berlin and of what still remains to be done (aerial film of Berlin)

First place	13%	12%
Second place	25	30
Third place	24	25
Fourth place	13	12
Fifth place	8	6
No opinion	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%

## TVA "BEST LIKED" BY EXIT SAMPLE ...

The Tennessee Valley exhibit also drew much praise from the people interviewed at the Fair exits. Asked a general question on what they liked best in the Marshall House, the TVA demonstration led both among West Berliners and East German visitors. Films accompanied by commentaries were also singled out with some frequency, and a number mentioned the theme as the thing they liked best. Almost a fifth declared they liked everything about the Marshall House. (See Section IV for what they did not like.)

"And what did you like best in the Marshall House?"

West Berlin/ East Berlin  
West Germany East Germany

The model of the Tennessee project:

22%

29%

The model of the Tennessee Valley was the best, the idea in itself and the clear and comprehensible way of explaining it so that you have the possibility to find out for yourself how the whole thing is working; the plan of the Tennessee Valley was very fine because you could see from it how technique and industry can be employed for the benefit of mankind; the Tennessee project, it must be a beautiful landscape and a nice place to live at - on how large a scale this project is planned; the Tennessee project - you get information about the way such things are planned out in America; what they showed about the Tennessee project - I'm quite enthusiastic about the large scale of this plan and the results they want to get out of it; the great plan and huge project of the Tennessee Valley - because it provides room for a lot of people who will find their living there; well, the great project of the Tennessee river - that's something to impress every average man - the vast technical possibilities; the model of this enormous power plant in the Tennessee Valley - I have technical knowledge and was very interested in it; etc.

Films and lectures supplemented by photos:

22

10

The picture lectures - that was something you could understand well and grasp its meaning - that was interesting to me; that the picture lectures were supplemented by comments - that was very detailed information, I thought it was good; the comments explaining the films were very instructive as I didn't know much about America; the film about how to save material, that you can make your work easier for you by streamlining methods; industrialization, those film lectures right when you enter (the Marshall House) are very important - I work in industry; the film showings at the beginning of the exhibition gave valuable information about technique and traffic in America; etc.

The film about the reconstruction of Berlin (further comments):

9

7

The film about Berlin, you got the impression that you saw the whole thing from a plane; the photos (of Berlin) - because it may stop people's grumbling and their dissatisfaction, this sort of people who always want more than they get without asking where the money is to come from; that they showed the extent of damage in Berlin in 1945 and the way it looks now after it has been rebuilt with such a lot of ERP money - I felt like riding in a plane; the film about the reconstruction of Berlin, that's

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

specially interesting to us because it's our hometown; there was a part showing the reconstruction of Berlin explained by comments by Friedrich Luft; that piece about the reconstruction of Berlin, I believe Luft has talked about it - that's evident, as a Berliner you find that most interesting; etc.

The theme of the exhibition - about the peaceful way of living together of the nations (further comments):

8%

7%

The idea that there must be cooperation and that America does all in its power to promote this idea - that's shown very clearly in this exhibition; propaganda for cooperation - people can't be taught enough of it; the lectures about good and peaceful cooperation - from this idea I got a real idea of the honesty with which America strives for peace and understanding with all nations; I liked the main idea of the exhibition the most; I mean the propaganda for good cooperation of nations; the idea that all of us ought to act in unison in order to achieve a better living standard; the film lecture about the way of working - I mean about cooperation to promote economic progress - generally, the economy of all nations, that's what I mean; the film lecture about the living together of all nations, that was very impressive and showed the importance of this issue; etc.

Building and housing:

6

7

The pictures of houses, well, what houses people live in in America and the modern views they have, that was rather interesting; the pictures about house building, for me as a building engineer they were very interesting; that they showed the large scale and the style of house building in America; important problems relating to the community life of human beings were shown, housing and housing projects; the way of house building in America - there is house building here as well but if I think of the way they build here in the East Zone - that's just slightly better than nothing; etc.

The lighting system of the exhibition (UV light):

4

9

The passage lighted by UV lamps (bulbs), it was a new kind of making propaganda for something; the letter which can only be read in UV light, we never had such a thing before; this light that made people look quite different from what they look in the usual light; I told you already, the letter with the invisible writing, a technical novelty like that - you can hardly believe that's possible; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Possibility of) discussions with Trade Unionists:

1%

5%

The Trade Unionists, I was impressed that they were willing to discuss daily problems with anybody who wanted to talk to them; that it was possible to hold a conversation with these Trade Unionists - because by these conversations you could get information about America; etc.

Educational system and children's welfare in America:

1

What America does for its children - the playgrounds, that's something our magistrates should take an example from; the photos of the day-schools and their teaching methods, that was very illustrative; etc.

Other answers:

13

8

The way the exhibition was arranged and organized; comparison between the American way of living and ours over here; that they make efforts to acquaint us with the American way of life through our own methods; at the entrance, the big high relief about world traffic; the statistics on the Marshall Plan aid; etc.

I liked everything:

16

18

I really can't say, the overall impression was good, I might say excellent but nothing of special interest to me; I won't know what to say, everything was good; everything was good, I couldn't name anything special; the whole lot, I wouldn't mention anything nor can I name anything special; I can't tell you, everything was good; it was all nice, you know, I come from the East Zone, from the country side and we don't know these things there, I'm surprised at all the things you in the West have - all of it was good; I couldn't tell because I liked everything, it was good, all of it; etc.

Undecided:

$\frac{8}{110\%}$ \*\*

$\frac{8}{108\%}$ \*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## IV. CRITICISMS OF THE MARSHALL HOUSE

By the very nature of the situation, Fair visitors are, more likely than not, in a carefree, gala mood and thus not inclined to volunteer much criticism of anything they see there.\* Therefore, in order to get at anything adverse Marshall House visitors had to say about the exhibition they were deliberately invited to criticize in a series of questions the results of which are reported here.

One approach was to ask the Marshall House sample what they did not like about: 1) the theme or idea, and; 2) the set-up and organization of the exhibit.

As to the first - the theme or idea behind the show - nine out of ten declared they had no criticisms to offer. Even among the usually, more critically vocal, better educated groups, eight in 10 had nothing to criticize in this regard. The few who did voice objections wanted more about the U.S., thought the idea was too abstract or criticized not the idea but its presentation.

"We would now like to ask you to tell us what you did not like here in the Marshall House. We are interested in any criticism offered. First of all we would like to hear your criticism about the theme or the idea of the Marshall House exhibition."

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLENo criticism:

West Berlin/ Germany	East Berlin/ Germany
90%	89%

I miss information about the U.S., its standard of living and economic and political structure:

3	2
---	---

When I visit the Marshall House I want to learn something about America, they should have laid more weight on American matters instead of European problems; only very few American industrial firms had sent their products, I expected it to be an industrial show not a source for information on Europe; the theme as such is all right but they should have offered more about America for the visitor of the Marshall House expects such information, he wants to get an insight into American daily life; the theme "Living together in unity" must include a description of the American daily life, it must inform us e.g. about the life the American women lead in the country and in the cities; they should give more examples demonstrating how the Americans live, how they spend their spare time, how they work their way up i.e. more about America instead so much about Germany; I'd liked to learn more about the American standard of living, about the wages of the American worker compared with that of the German workman - if we are expected to create a United Europe we have to be shown what the benefits of our efforts will be (more illustrative objects); etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

\*In order to see whether reactions to the exhibit would change when people were removed from the Fair atmosphere, two groups of 50 persons each were interviewed at their homes, one group during the Fair week and one a week later. Their replies as reported in Appendix II, differ little, if at all, from those given by people interviewed at the Marshall House.

West  
Berlin/  
GermanyEast  
Berlin/  
Germany

Way of presentation unsatisfactory (too scientific):  
statistics and pictures should be replaced by models such  
as industrial products and technical innovations:

1

4

It's pretty difficult for a woman to see what's behind all these figures and since many women visit the Marshall House a great many of them will make the same objection, therefore, let's have fewer figures but more to please the eyes: furniture, table utensils or modern kitchen appliances from America; this time the exhibition is somewhat tiring, these figures are beyond me, the tenor of the show is too academic; the theme as such is wonderful but I miss the technical innovations; I think that the general idea of the exhibition could have been more clearly expressed by means of a film instead through pictures and statistics; unfortunately the idea is expressed in pictures only, more objective examples would have been more instructive; etc.

Confusing presentation harm the general idea:

1

2

The theme is good, very good indeed, the variety however and the way it is presented are overwhelming, though sticking to the theme, they should have narrowed it in order to make the exhibition as a whole more impressive and convincing to the visitor; the idea is good, very good, I must say, but I'm of the opinion that the House becomes too noisy on account of the spoken explanations, the theme itself is not well disposed, and there is no connecting link between the different parts, there are too many novelties for the relatively short time one devotes to a visit of the exhibition; the theme is all right but shouldn't become the subject of a whole exhibition because an exhibition breaks the theme down into particular subjects that make you forget the general idea; I'm of the opinion that the general idea was not clearly cut out, all that was very confusing, I really couldn't see the point; etc.

Too much and too loud propaganda at an unsuitable place:

1

2

There is almost nothing but propaganda, I'm not generally against propaganda but one must know when to leave off, I myself consider this exhibition as a means to make propaganda for the Golden West; It smacks of propaganda, we East Zone people are super-sensitive because we are overfed with propaganda stuff; there are no objections to the theme as such but the way it is demonstrated is not too good because it is too obvious that the whole thing is propaganda for a union of all West European countries against the East; they shouldn't lay the main stress on American matters, America may follow its particular propaganda tactics but it should use it in a less aggressive way, less ballyhoo would make its propaganda easier to understand and bearable, American propaganda is awkward and dry, it's like all other American products: fabricated en masse without an individual touch; I dislike the fact that an industrial fair was used as a means to make propaganda although the things propaganda was made for were interesting, my suggestion: to make a notice at the entrance to the fair indicating that the Marshall House has its special way to demonstrate the fundamental idea of the exhibition: to further trade and industry; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

West	East
Berlin/	Berlin/
Germany	Germany

Overwhelming and incomprehensible for the East Zone visitor and the common man:

The theme is more or less an abstract one, quite a few visitors will doubtlessly prefer something more realistic; the theme doesn't appeal enough to the common man, the level is too high, even though the idea is all right, it suffers through misrepresentation; I'm not talking about myself - I'm sure that the things shown here actually exist - but there is a possibility that visitors from the East Zone or those of a lower educational level cannot understand what they have been shown, there are too many positive factors shown and they might have a depressing effect upon the above mentioned people; I'm under the impression that despite of the slogan "Living together in unity" only a certain group of persons are approached, e.g. where is the average little man who can afford a modern apartment, who has enough funds to buy all these novelties? etc.

Different criticisms of the representation of the theme:

The word "planning" is used too often, it sounds especially unpleasant in the ears of East Zone visitors who are constantly fed with this word, one shouldn't build up a whole exhibition on this theme, I furthermore dislike it that at this exhibition many-storied apartment houses are declared model housing projects, congestion of people is the consequence, homes are degraded to stables and family life is affected unfavorably through them; the American trade union members and the pamphlets they distributed were unnecessary in my opinion, trade unions exist all over the world, it's a special problem, and the Marshall House is not the right place to discuss it; etc.

Various suggestions for a different way to represent the theme:

I miss any reference to the fact that Russia is a vast empty area while the other parts of the world get closer together, this should be more emphasized; they should complete the theme and demonstrate that even in Russia there are enough humans who strive for their freedom and who are also willing to live in peace with the 450,000,000 humans of the free world; suggestion: comparison between the technical developments in America and Russia, propaganda for technical achievements involves political propaganda as the country with the greater industrial output proves that also its policy is all right; besides the main theme they should have given us some information on rocket research and trips into the universe because America is leading in this field; etc.

Other answers:

As I already told you, people don't get so strong an impetus to strive for a better life, such as others have achieved already, as they did last year; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one per cent.

$\frac{1}{101\%}$ \*\*

$\frac{1}{101\%}$ \*\*

## CRITICISMS OF ORGANIZATION AND SET-UP ...

But though few had criticisms to offer about the idea behind the exhibition, more visitors could point out things about its technical set-up and arrangements they took exception to. Again, however, more than a half had nothing to criticize.

People with above average schooling tended to be more critical than others, especially among East German visitors, as these figures indicate.\*

	Criticisms	No criticisms
<u>West Berlin/West Germany</u>		
Elementary schooling	40%	60% ... 100%
Above elementary schooling	53	47
<u>East Berlin/East Germany</u>		
Elementary schooling	30%	70%
Above elementary schooling	66	34

Though the criticisms tended to be scattered, the following points were made with some frequency: too much was presented, the 5-screen show was confusing, more models and plastics (or fewer pictures) should be used, the films projection left something to be desired.

"And what about the way the exhibition is carried out technically and organized: would you please give us your criticism of this?"

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLENo criticism:

West	East
Berlin/ Germany	Berlin/ Germany
53%	54%

Too much was offered, too many graphics, statistics, pictures, photomontages:

14	8
----	---

It's overabundant, it's impossible to absorb all that's shown, the impressions you get are too manifold, though the photostats are very clear and are well arranged, you can't assimilate all that; too much is shown in too small a space; there were a few pictures too many, you couldn't follow all that; the same amount of material should be shown along a route that's ten times as long as the present one and accordingly more time should be spent on the tour, as things are now, it's just too much what was shown, you can't read all those many poster and picture captions crowded into a narrow space; etc.

It was too much to show pictures on five different screens simultaneously - it was confusing:

12	12
----	----

Those five screens where pictures are shown at the same time have a rather confusing effect on people; there's too much that confronts you all of a sudden, right on stepping in those red pictures rush upon you, for instance, then those five screens where pictures are seen simultaneously, you simply don't know what to look at, it would have been better to show these things one after the other in different rooms; those five screens are a little confusing, you simply can't manage to see and hear everything that's presented; it's too much to show five pictures at a time, you can't comprehend what's going on as you can't look at more than one screen at a time; in that film projection room downstairs, it's

(Cont'd on next page)

\* This is one of the few instances of marked group differences. See Appendix I for reactions of population groups.



not a good thing that several films are shown at the same time, you are at a loss where to look; those four screens in the first room are a little bewildering, you are undecided as to where to look, you have a hard time to concentrate; I consider five screens to be too many, four, or better even, three, would be quite enough, to fascinate the visitors, if there are five, you can't pay as much attention to the individual film as would be necessary; it's too much what's rushing upon you, this idea with those five screens, for instance, is grand, but it's impossible to follow what's going on there all at the same time; in my opinion, too much is shown generally, those five screens are too much; you don't know where to fix your eyes upon first; it seems a bit exaggerated to me to use five screens as the idea behind the whole thing is to give people a chance to derive solid information from the showing; etc.

More models and plastic reproductions should be shown:

They should show more high-relief models through which the man in the street is made to see things and to reflect on them, pictures are too tiring; the whole thing has too sobering an effect because of all those statistics, as a rule, people take a keener interest in plastic models, they make a greater impression on them; I would have liked to see more technical products, technical developments should have been practically demonstrated to a greater extent, they shouldn't only show pictures; it's tiring that the topic is treated in such an objective and purely technical manner, about 50 per cent of the visitors will not be interested in these statistics; models are more illustrative than pictures; the Tennessee Valley project should be shown in relief, I mean, a model of it should be exhibited, so that it would be easier for people to form an idea of how power is produced; they should exhibit more objects because they have a greater appeal to people than pictures; etc.

Criticism of the lighting system:

It's too dark when you enter the room, there should be either floor lights or colored lighting, some people are nervous or a little unsteady in the dark; those darkened rooms make me think of a fun fair, it's not serious enough; that transition from the light into the darkness is too abrupt, it takes a while until you get used to the darkened room, and during that time your attention is distracted from that which is shown; the lighting effects are mysterious, they distract people from the topic on hand, you feel inclined to regard this as a corny feature that's typically American; they could have produced better lighting effects; it's a bit dark in the exhibition rooms; it's not a good thing that you step from the hall right into complete darkness, there should be some sort of in-between stage; about the organization: some person should be stationed at the entrance who warns people, especially those who wear glasses, that it's pitchdark inside; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



West  
Berlin/  
GermanyEast  
Berlin/  
Germany.Films and photos were ineptly projected:

As I am an expert, I can't help saying that the sound track leaves much to be desired, and that the projectionists should take care to spare the visitors from looking at those catalogue numbers of the individual films; the pictures of the Berlin films should be presented at eyes level so that the visitors can get a good look at them; the individual pictures of the aerial film become blurred because of the reflector projection; those aerial pictures waver, they don't stay fixed, the color tables in the fore-room are indistinct; the whole film business just serves to make your eyes swim, you'd better by-pass it; the aerial picture of Berlin is rather blurred, it's indistinct; the Berlin film is somewhat indistinct, the pictures are blurred; that first film that's shown downstairs passes too quickly before your eyes; the Berlin film is indistinct, and as to the five screens, I'm sorry to say that the technical side of this venture leaves much to be desired, a thing like that shouldn't occur in a model pavilion which I regard the Marshall House to be; etc.

Visitors can't look at things leisurely as the crowds shove them along:

The film projection room, when that throng of people pushes on you don't have the time to look at things as thoroughly as you would like to; people should be admitted in batches so that they can walk around leisurely; once in that throng, you are pressed on and pass through the rooms too quickly; there's a large crowd of people who want to get in, you don't have enough time to look at things; too many people mill around the centers of attraction, people should be admitted in batches, it's better to admit fewer visitors who get a chance to assimilate what they see than to admit so many who are absorbed into the stream that pushes on; that terrible bustle, you really don't get a chance to look at things peacefully; there are too many people who push their way through the exhibition in a short time; etc.

Criticism of the loud-speaker commentaries (form, contents):

The comments, I mean, the tape-recorded comments could be cut down, contrary to last year I felt the visitors were sort of fidgety, I think those many loud-speaker programs are to blame for that; I feel it's a nuisance to be sort of drowned in an ocean of noise when entering the darkened room, that smacks a little of propaganda ballyhoo and makes you think of Eastern methods; what I didn't like were those many announcers, you hear three of them, all at a time, when passing through those rooms, that bothered me a little; the loud-speakers ought to be better synchronized, you hear two commentaries at a time; that loud-speaker system doesn't seem to function accurately; the loud-speaker system is too loud, you still hear the speaker while the next topic is dealt with; while the Berlin aerial film is shown, the loud-speakers are turned on too loudly, it booms in your ears; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

- 24 -

R E S T R I C T E D

Those many youngsters are a nuisance:

Those many youngsters are a nuisance, they are restless and noisy, children should be admitted only to guided tours; the kids are a terrible nuisance; there are too many school classes, you can't concentrate; those terrible crowds, above all, those many kids, it's not a good thing to admit adults and children at the same time; there were such an awful lot of youngsters; it's no use admitting school children as they can't make anything of the exhibition, anyway; etc.

There should be guided tours - visitors would understand new things more easily:

Guided tours are indispensable at the exhibition, for as things are now, we've seen only half of what is shown; when you get to the passage where you want to read, those girls who distribute the leaflets should give explanations so that you would know what the whole thing is about; in some instances you have to do too much thinking until you understand what the whole thing means, the level of the exhibition is too high; etc.

More attention should be paid to give a dignified and composed air to the exhibition - more resting places should be established:

I think the exhibition hasn't been prepared carefully enough, nor has enough attention been given to aesthetic considerations, I feel the exhibition should have a more festive air, it should be done in such a way as to make the visitors, especially young people, feel some respect, this could easily be done, a few flower arrangements, a few large ceramic vases, some decorations of bunting would work miracles and everything would make a more refined impression; in the downstairs film projection room there should be seats available so that elderly people can look at the films leisurely; a lounge is missing where people can sit down and rest; etc.

Other answers:

Those gardening tools and household appliances exhibited downstairs are a little cheap, they are rather worthless stuff; as I told you just now: the way this letter is presented is a little clumsy for German taste, using typical Berlin jargon: it's rather cooky; they should show some war-damaged cities, too, and how with modern technical means and with the help of the Americans new cities are built out of the ruins, not enough is shown of things like that; you can't manage to get close to the pictures about housing developments, they should have projected them on the walls; it might have been an idea to put up stalls where East Zone residents would have got a meal on showing their identification cards; it's terribly hot in there, the ventilation should be much better; maybe they could do more to attract people's attention outside the exhibition, they could distribute pamphlets and carry on propaganda; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

A second approach designed to tap any reservoir of adverse criticisms, was one which has proved valuable in other Evaluation Staff studies. This was to present a series of negative statements of the kind which, if accepted, would indicate serious faults in the exhibition. But despite the fact that the statements were suggestive in character and thus likely to bring out the maximum criticism, four of the six statements were rejected entirely by majorities ranging from 73 to 89 per cent, and the remaining two by half the visitors. The statements and extent of agreement/disagreement follow.

"We have collected some critical remarks by visitors to the Marshall House about the exhibition and its technical side and organization here (Card) and would now like to know which of the remarks you would entirely agree with, those you would agree with in large part, agree with a little, or not at all."

Entirely Largely A little Not at Undecided  
all

The exhibition should have shown more of America and much less about Europe

	7%	8%	11%	73%	1%...100%
West Berlin/Germany	12	10	11	66	1
East Berlin/Germany					

Some places in the exhibition were blocked up by visitors so that one couldn't see them clearly enough

	8	21	20	50	1
West Berlin/Germany	10	22	23	45	-
East Berlin/Germany					

Some places of the Marshall House were too dark

	3	7	19	70	1
West Berlin/Germany	4	7	16	73	-
East Berlin/Germany					

The films and slide-exhibition were technically poor

	2	9	38	48	3
West Berlin/Germany	3	11	30	55	1
East Berlin/Germany					

The explanations of the announcers had a disturbing effect on visitors

	1	4	11	83	1
West Berlin/Germany	1	2	16	81	-
East Berlin/Germany					

The exhibition was too propagandistic in purpose.

	2	2	6	89	1
West Berlin/Germany	1	4	7	87	1
East Berlin/Germany					

Bearing out the tendency to concentrate such criticism of the Marshall House exhibit as occurred to its technical details are the comments made by the people interviewed at the Fair exits. Queried in general terms on what they did not like, over half replied that there was nothing they objected to. But those who had criticisms to make pointed to various specific technical arrangements they had not liked, to the multiplicity of offerings, poor lighting and ventilation, overcrowding and the like.

"And now, is there anything about the exhibition in the Marshall House which you didn't like?" (We are interested in any criticism).

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE

West	East
Berlin/ Germany	Berlin/ Germany

There is nothing to be criticized. - I liked everything - the exhibition was interesting and instructive:

53%

59%

Everything was nice, everything was very interesting, I can't think of anything that was poor; I didn't dislike anything; I have nothing to criticize; set-up and propaganda were good, the manner in which it was carried out was at any rate better than the techniques the Russians are using; I have no negative criticism to offer; well, everything was excellent and worth knowing; everything was wonderful; I merely had an overall impression and that was favorable; no, because just there I found things were very interesting, and because of the explanations given the show wasn't so dry as it easily is in these large halls; the exhibition was good and very instructive for me; no, I really liked everything fine, the subject was very well presented, they have really done an excellent job; no, there isn't anything wrong, the whole exhibition was very cleverly planned; no, there wasn't anything I didn't like, I was very pleased this year; I have no criticism to offer, the subject was generously dealt with and it was very interesting; I really liked everything about the Marshall House, I was especially pleased by the simplicity of the installations that were exhibited or shown in pictures; no, everything was presented in a way to make it interesting for visitors; I found it very good; I like everything equally well, I have nothing to criticize; etc.

Technical and organizational deficiencies (details given): 17

23

On the whole I found it rather nondescript as no practical examples were given, it was boring, not thrilling at all; I didn't like the statistics, I'd rather see something else; too few explanations are given on electro-technical machines, they should be more elaborate; the illustrating material is too monotonous, no new ideas developed; there were too many charts, more lively subjects should have been presented; not so much statistical material should be offered to the man in the street, for he will not understand it and it will appeal to him but little; the photos are boring and meaningless, to present things in a lively manner is always best; that it was difficult to orient yourself in the middle of the film projection room; you have to stand for too long a time during

(Cont'd on next page)

West  
Berlin/  
GermanyEast  
Berlin/  
Germany

the film showings; I think those household utensils suspended by a small ribbon looked rather cheap; you don't manage to get close enough to the exhibits, they were roped off at such a distance that you couldn't see them well, and then I felt the text on the signs was rather poor German; I thought those poles to which the signs were fixed were a nuisance, you could thus look behind the scenes; we would have liked to get one of those leaflets which you can read under ultra-violet light, but the ladies in charge told us to share them with the people who stood next to us; that's really rather rude and impolite, small kids got such a leaflet which was refused to us, and you couldn't find anybody to complain to, either; the confines of the different areas should have been more clearly marked; etc.

The overabundance of the offerings was confusing and tiring:

7

10

There was too much at a time, too many films; those film showings were confusing, it's rather bewildering to see films on several screens all in one room; the concurrent running of several films in one room confuses people; the quantity of what is shown is simply overwhelming; judging from a psychological point of view; after having looked at those many pictures for some time, people are confused; there was too much that was rushing upon you all at a time, a lecture, films, and those many pictures, I didn't know where to look at first; the exhibition was too crammed, they wanted to show too much at a time, thus you missed quite a few interesting things; etc.

Poor lighting:

7

6

Right at the start you entered a darkened room, I had a hard time to get accustomed to the different lighting at first, it's much too dark everywhere; it was too dark, you really had to find your way through the house by touch; at first you feel it's too dark, you are taken by surprise and are blinded, you feel a little scared; the sudden darkness confused me so much that I couldn't pay any attention to the pictures, I was more or less pushed through the Marshall House; in the show rooms the lights were too dim; I didn't like it that it was so dark when I entered the room; it was too dark, you couldn't see well, I'm rather old, you know, the steps of the staircase should have been better lit, I had trouble finding my way; the darkness is a strain on the eyes; it makes you rather uneasy to know that you have to pass through those narrow doors in darkness; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

- 28 -

R E S T R I C T E D



West  
Berlin/  
GermanyEast  
Berlin/  
Germany

On account of overcrowding no concentration was possible - you had to rush through the exhibitions:

4%

4%

Only that it was too crowded and therefore I couldn't look at all things leisurely, you were simply pushed ahead and thus it was impossible to study things carefully; I got the impression that you simply gloat through the show rooms; you have to move on quickly, thus you don't have enough time to look over everything; there was a lot of jostling, you couldn't read those letters leisurely; etc.

Everything was presented for effect, sensation and propaganda:

2

3

Those three films on three different screens, it's too much cut out for satisfying people's desire for sensations, I didn't like it; the propaganda was rather clumsy, it reminded me of Russian propaganda; there was too much propaganda, it was nothing but pictures and you were sort of drowned in loud-speaker commentaries, it wasn't really an exhibition but a propaganda show; there was too much claptrap; etc.

The exhibition didn't leave an especially favorable impression on me:

1

I didn't get an idea of things, everything was lifeless and nothing appealed to me, it's all rather futile; you didn't get so vivid an overall impression as you did last year; everything was just mediocre; etc.

Other answers:

2

2

I missed a representative of the US; too little is shown of industrial matters and the information given on America is not detailed enough; this special exhibition of Hodget articles, they were no good; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{11}{104\%}^{**}$$

$$\frac{3}{110\%}^{**}$$

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## V. EVIDENCE OF EFFECTIVENESS

## RECOLLECTION OF LAST YEAR'S MARSHALL HOUSE EXHIBIT ...

To furnish a measure of the relative appeal of the Marshall House exhibit, people who had also visited last year's exhibit were asked to compare the two. According to a survey made about the Marshall House exhibit at the 1952 Industrial Fair, 96 per cent of the visitors stated they had received a "good impression" of it.\*

The results obtained from this line of inquiry prove, however, to be more revealing as a study of impact of the Marshall House exhibits than simply as a measure of relative appeal of the two shows.

Of this year's visitors to the Marshall House who recalled attending the exhibit there last year, eight in 10 said they remembered what was shown there. And as many as six in 10 of them buttress their claims by mentioning the "ideal house" or the theme "We build a better life." Some recalled the exhibition of the history of the motor car, also part of last year's show, while others obviously were confused with other Marshall House exhibits, e.g. the U.S. farm at the Green Week Agricultural Fair, or the "Train of Europe" and the like.

This extent of recall after a year's time could be considered remarkable even if last year's Marshall House exhibit had been a single isolated attraction. But this of course was not the case. Last year, as this year, the exhibition was only one relatively small part of a large and extensive Industrial Fair with numerous other exhibits, attractions and features. Considered thus, these findings suggest that the Marshall House exhibits have a remarkably effective impact on their visitors.

The question and results are given below. For all except the first table, two percentages are shown - one based on all Marshall House visitors to this year's fair, and the other - in parenthesis - based on visitors both to this year's and last year's Marshall House exhibits.\*\*

"Did you visit the Marshall House (the American pavilion) at last year's Industrial Fair?"

	<u>West Berlin/West Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin/East Germany</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	50%	42%	48%
No	<u>50</u> 100%	<u>58</u> 100%	<u>52</u> 100%

\* See "An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Marshall House Exhibit," Report No. 166, Series No. 2, Reactions Analysis Staff, PUB, dated December 23, 1952.

\*\* The figures presented for last year's exhibit are based on the combined Exit and Marshall House samples, the only instance throughout this report where they are combined. The results for each sample were almost identical, as could be expected.

"Do you remember what kind of exhibition was shown in the Marshall House a year ago?" (Asked of those who had visited the Marshall House last year).

	<u>West Berlin/West Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin/East Germany</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Yes</u>	41%(81%)	32%(75%)	38%(80%)
The "ideal house," "We build a better life," the modern house, better living with the model home, etc.	30%(60%)	21%(50%)	27%(58%)
Cars - models of old cars, development of American motor cars	3 ( 6 )	2 ( 6 )	3 ( 6 )
American farmers home, agricultural machinery & a farm house, etc. (Pro- bably "Grüne Woche" exhibit)	3 ( 6 )	7 (15 )	4 ( 9 )
A complete model rail- way, a model railway - upstairs pictures about UN (Train of Europe)	2 ( 5 )	1 ( 2 )	2 ( 4 )
Others: the economic structure of the U.S.; about same as this year, but not so manifold; America and its states, its life and culture, etc.	9 (17 )	5 (13 )	8 (16 )
<u>No, can't recall</u>	<u>9 (19 )</u> 50%(100%)	<u>10 (25 )</u> 42%(100%)	<u>10 (20 )</u> 48%(100%)

COMPARISON OF 1952 AND 1953 EXHIBITS ...

05572

As to how this year's Marshall House exhibit compares with last year's, opinions divide. About equal numbers said the 1953 show was better as found the 1952 show better.

"How do you like this year's exhibition in the Marshall House compared to last year's: is it better or not so good as last year? (Much better or somewhat better?) (Somewhat worse or much worse?)" (Asked of those who recalled what was shown in last year's exhibit.)

	West Berlin/ Germany	East Berlin/ Germany	<u>Total</u>
<u>This year:</u>			
Much better	8% (17%)	8% (18%)	8% (17%)
Somewhat better	5 (11)	4 (9)	5 (10)
Same	12 (22)	7 (17)	10 (21)
Somewhat worse	11 (22)	9 (22)	10 (22)
Much worse	4 (7)	4 (8)	4 (8)
Undecided	1 (2)	* (1)	1 (2)
	41% (81%)	32% (75%)	38% (80%)

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## REASONS FOR PREFERENCES ...

The reasons given for preferring this year's M House exhibit over last year's - and the converse - why the 1952 show was preferred do not offer too much guidance for exhibition planners. As a reading of the comments shows, the theme of this year's exhibit - despite its apparent abstraction - was one of its chief attractions to those people who liked it better than last year's. On the other hand, the concreteness of last year's exhibit - the model house, equipment and the like - received leading mention among those preferring it over the 1953 show.

"What was it that appealed to you more strongly this year? What did you like better this year?"

(Asked of those respondents who liked this year's exhibition "much better" or "somewhat better" than last year's).

West Berlin/Germany  
East Berlin/Germany

This year they selected a better theme for the exhibition:

76% (12%)

The house provided information which concern us all - it showed that a people in this world cannot exist without cooperating with the other nations, as far as I know, last year they didn't propagate such great ideas; last year you certainly couldn't learn so much as this year and it's just the right thing for the present situation because we are about to become a united Europe much in the same way as the USA, the idea of the exhibition: "to live together in unity" appeals to me more strongly; the theme: "peaceful co-existence of nations" is shown much clearer this way than by showing individual features; the exhibition expresses an idea in a clear, detailed and informative way; the idea behind it is simply grand; because this one is much more impressive and even such people who don't do a great deal of thinking can gain from it - it is more complete this time; that the world should get acquainted with the idea of a unification of Europe and that cooperation is recommended; it becomes clearer to people and is more impressive that America is helping us; it was not so one-sided, peaceful co-existence of all nations was shown and not only America; and as I already said, just the idea of cooperation, international understanding is an urgent necessity and concerns all nations alike; etc.

Good photos and film showings:

4 (8)

That is was dark, and the photos they showed; the film showings which were very good and illustrative; that the whole show, films and explanations, functioned very smoothly; the slide lectures; I was especially impressed by the films and the explanations which were synchronized to a certain scene; through films you get a better insight into things than through pictures; through the films you saw more of industrial progress than last year; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



05574  
3% (7%)Arrangement and organization of the exhibition are better, more interesting and instructive than last year:

Technical side; the arrangement this year is more interesting; the over-all arrangement: I think it is more interesting because it is more differentiated, I was impressed by the fact that things were shown in such detail; this year they give an overall picture whereas last year they gave a survey on certain sectors; it is more varied, they give more explanations, there were more opportunities to learn something in this year's exhibition; it is more interesting this year, it has more ideas and more originality; the set-up of the Marshall House, they know how to interest visitors; this year it's better organized; there is much you can learn and there will be good results, I'm sure I have never seen an exhibition that made such a vivid impression on people, it is of considerable pedagogic value; it is more easy to understand, the way it is arranged, I understood it better this time; etc.

Positive comments on the Tennessee project and UV lighting system - other special points mentioned:

The luminous writing, that thing for the Trade Unions, the Tennessee project - very interesting; the Tennessee project and the community housing project; the UV lighting system, because it was new to me; the UV light installation; the Tennessee project; this exhibition was very interesting to me because of the Tennessee project; etc.

This year's exhibition is more comprehensive and more varied:

It is more comprehensive, there's much more to learn for you; it's generally larger; it is more varied than last year; etc.

Other answers:

They show us that things are getting on and that encourages us quite a bit when we have to return to the East Zone; etc.

\* Less than one half of one per cent

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

2 (4)

\* (1)

\* (1)

.15% (33%)\*\*

"What was it that appeared to you more strongly last year? What did you like better last year?" (Asked of those respondents who thought this year's exhibition "somewhat worse" or "much worse" than last year's).

West Berlin/Germany  
East Berlin/Germany

Models are better than tables and pictures:

5% (12%)

It's always better to look at real articles, than at statistics - the effect is better, real things are more to people's liking; last year greater efforts were made to show things in practice - in my opinion, object lessons are more effective than tables and pictures; last year it was shown how technical appliances worked and that was something you could remember, the pictures this year will soon be forgotten; it was so impressive and based on practical life - this year it's more theoretical - and a little too much so; it was easier to understand for the average people, this time it's too scientific, more in the line of learned people; last year there was a better way of showing things, this time the display was limited to pictures and charts; you almost had the feeling of being in the East, I mean to say that all these big pictures and posters reminded you of East Zone practices; the theme last year was more in accordance with real life, not just theory as this time; last year there were real articles, such as furniture, the house - this year there are mostly pictures - you get a better idea of things if you can look at real objects; models gave you such a good idea of things, you felt right in the middle of everything and could make use of what you had seen, for a simple nature that way is more appealing than if you have to study before you can understand what is the meaning of the display; it was more stimulating and practical examples were given, this year it was more tiring through the many statistics and graphics, because of the darkness; etc.

Comments about the house (furniture, etc.), cars, engines, etc. in last year's exhibition:

4 (8)

The development of the automobile industry, that was more interesting, also the one-family house, very interesting and functional; the furniture they showed which was as simple and comfortable as one could wish for; furniture and equipment of the house; the way of furnishing American homes; the house was beautifully furnished; all the new appliances and devices the Americans use in modern homes appealed strongly to me; I was particularly interested in furniture and equipment of the one-family house; modern housing was especially to my liking; I liked that one about the farmhouse, they showed all things connected with farming; the furniture; last year there were more technical things - cars and engines; and all the household devices in the kitchen and the nursery with the door made up as a black-board were very impressive; the house and the appliances; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

Organization and overall arrangement were better in last year's exhibition:

2% (0%)

Last year they offered more that was nice to look at; the exhibition appeared to be more comprehensive and had a better effect on people, due to its better organization; last year there was more coherence between the different subjects; this year it's all mixed up; I liked the general arrangement of last year's exhibition better; organization and overall arrangement were better; organization and arrangement of the exhibition are not so good this year; the one last year was more comprehensive, you got a clearer picture of America; the overall impression was better and more comprehensive; the overall impression - the way of arranging was clearer; etc.

Last year's exhibition gave a better idea of the daily life of the Americans:

1 (3)

Because last year we learned about the way of life of an American family, starting with the kitchen; that's something we too should be able to achieve; last year the exhibition was especially interesting for us housewives because it showed in great detail how an American family lives and the many technical devices they have; that was more about daily life; you could see more about the way the Americans really live; last year they showed the living standard of the average American; that I as a worker find especially interesting is the way the American workers live and how much their wages can buy; life of foreigners in their own country, the way they live and work and how they spend their time; I got a better insight into the American way of life and, after all, that is what I expect to be shown in the American pavilion; etc.

Contrary to the last one there is too much propaganda at this year's exhibition:

1 (1)

Too much propaganda in this exhibition; not nearly as much propaganda as this year; I thought that last year they didn't make so much propaganda or you didn't notice it so strongly; propaganda is the real purpose of any exhibition but last year the mark was never overstepped, I liked the exhibition better because it was on a more neutral level; the political accent, the American propaganda that tries to make the Americans appear like angels is not to my liking at this exhibition, last year this accent was not so strong, the Americans showed something that was really positive; etc.

Other answers:

1 (2)

It appealed more strongly to me, you could get more out of it; the articles on display and the way they were displayed, the meaning of the exhibition was shown very clearly; etc.

14% (31%)\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## MANY STATED THEY LEARNED SOMETHING NEW AT THE EXHIBIT ...

That this year's Marshall House exhibition was not only well received but also carried impact is suggested by the finding that a relatively large proportion of visitors - 46 per cent of Western and 64 per cent of Eastern Germans - declared they had learned something from it which they had not know before. Here again the Tennessee Valley project got leading mention: many declared that though they had heard of TVA they had not realized its scope and magnitude. The housing projects were also new to quite a few people, as was the use of the ultra-violet light. And a surprisingly large fraction even found the theme, or at least its realization, a new idea.

"And did you learn something new from this exhibition here in the Marshall House? (Something you didn't know before?)"

	West Berlin/West Germany	East Berlin/East Germany
Yes	46%	64%
No	54	36
	100%	100%

"What was it, for example?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Yes" to previous question).

## MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE

West Berlin/ Germany	East Berlin/ Germany
----------------------------	----------------------------

About the existence and the scope of the Tennessee Valley project:

16%      21%

I knew what TVA stands for, but I had no idea of the size of the project, above all, I didn't know that the American government is doing so much to promote it; the whole Tennessee Valley project, all the aspects of it; the Tennessee Valley project is such a tremendous undertaking, that it rather looks as if a wonder had been performed, I had had no idea that the TVA is of such a great importance; the Tennessee Valley project, though I had heard quite a few things about it, I didn't realize the magnitude of the project; it was new to me that so much progress has been made in the harnessing of the powers of nature as is shown in the Tennessee Valley project; all about that project in the Tennessee Valley, the history of its origin, how it was developed, first the plans, then how they were carried out, and lastly, the effects, or rather what has been achieved; I was surprised about the Tennessee Valley project, above all, I was surprised to learn that construction work was continued under the war; the dimensions of the Tennessee Valley, I have seen in the States myself, I rode through the district, but still the magnitude of the project didn't dawn on me; I had never heard of the Tennessee Valley project, I didn't know that there was such a grandiose thing as that in the whole world; those gigantic dams and power plants in the Tennessee Valley, my homeland is in the East, so I had seen only the Russian plants, and they aren't so immense; I was interested in the Tennessee Valley authority, I hadn't known anything about its importance for the country's economy; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



West  
Berlin/  
GermanyEast  
Berlin/  
Germany

9%

11%

About the progress made in reconstruction and town planning in Berlin and West Germany:

I was surprised to learn that so much work has been done in Germany and Berlin, I mean I was surprised about the size of the projects that have already been completed; I was quite surprised to learn what progress has been made in the reconstruction of Berlin, you don't notice it so much day by day; I was very surprised to see that war damages have been repaired to such a considerable extent and that in Germany and Berlin so much has been rebuilt, the survey given on new construction projects for Berlin, I was amazed about the scope of reconstruction plans; I didn't know the first thing about the techniques used for reconstruction purposes and about the results, the new face of Germany that's evolving was unknown to me; about building projects in the Berlin area, the idea of children's play-grounds; etc.

About developments in the field of building and housing projects in America and elsewhere:

8

12

The building designs shown at the exhibition were quite new to me and I was enthusiastic about those model houses, about the lay-out and the generous spacing of houses; the large-scale building projects were unknown to me and I was very interested in these things; some of the details were new to me, such as the lay-out of homes; I didn't know that such intensive work is done on plans for homes and schools; those building designs, when studying these housing developments you realize that much is being done in capitalistic countries to make community life more agreeable for people; I was surprised to find that the Americans live in better homes than we do, and then that there are so many small houses in the States and not only skyscrapers as I had imagined; those large-scale housing developments as they have been carried out in America; etc.

About peaceful co-existence - free nations can live better through co-operating with each other - we are just a part of the wide world - the world is shrinking:

5

8

It dawned on me that I had never realized that I'm not only a German but also a European, the whole of Europe is our homeland, down to the present day I hadn't known that, or rather I had never been aware of that fact; I was surprised to learn that there are so many ways leading to a life together in unity, I came to realize that I was rather behind the times for I didn't know that distances practically don't exist any more; I could convince myself that it's the aim of all nations to get together and that it's not true what people over here often say, that the Western powers are hostile towards us and that all they want is to exploit us; I came to realize that it's a very good idea that individual nations get together and work on a common project; I hadn't believed that it's possible to achieve so much through co-operation; quite a lot was news to me, I've come here for the first time, I had heard quite a few things about

(Cont'd on next page)

- 38 -

R E S T R I C T E D



cooperation, but I had never realized that through living together peacefully and through working together people would prosper; almost everything was new and interesting to me, I hadn't known that it's within the reach of Europe to live as well as America does, nor did I realize that the world is so small; it's amazing how much the world has shrunk, it's demonstrated in so illustrative and clear a way that you really understand it; the new method used to make people understand what they have to do in the future to reach a higher standard of living generally; etc.

About progress made in the field of technics, working methods and industrialization:

4% 9%

All that was shown on the progress made in the field of technics in the States; what was shown on industrialization, these things were new to us, we live in the East Zone; I was not familiar with the working methods demonstrated at the exhibition, I was quite surprised and I'm very glad I visited the fair; etc.

About the importance of ultra-violet light and its use:

3 8

I learned new things about ultra-violet light, I hadn't known before that you can read your paper even in the dark; about this ultra-violet light business, that was new to me; I learned that some writing becomes visible under ultra-violet light; what I learned about ultra-violet rays was new to me; about ultra-violet light and those shaded lamps; that business with the letter and the ultra-violet light; this writing that becomes visible only under ultra-violet light; etc.

Demonstration techniques and arrangement of the exhibition:

3 2

The way in which things are demonstrated to visitors through pictures, figures and explanations, no objects are exhibited to illustrate the matter on hand; the particular technique that's used so that the same film is shown on five screens simultaneously; the decorations, I'm a decorator and those abstract decorations were new to me; the way problems are illustrated through graphic charts; etc.

All that was shown was new to me:

2 7

We live in the East Zone, to us everything was new as we get only one-sided information over there; the exhibition was a source of important information to me as I know little on almost all the things that were shown, we live behind the Iron Curtain; to me everything was new and I liked it a lot; etc.

About the American school system, education of young people, aid program for the younger generations:

2 1

About the American school system, I had only known some general outlines about it, now I've got a real insight into this matter; about the education of young people; about the American-sponsored aid program for young people as shown in the film; etc.

Other answers:

4 2

The different appliances for facilitating household work, that vegetable lifter that's operated with a lever and the shower device for the bath-tub; the time saving devices for housewives and the tools, the magnetic screw-driver which comes in handy for every artisan; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

56% 82%

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

One of the features of the Marshall House exhibit was a leaflet containing messages written by the High Commissioner Dr. Conant and the late Lord Mayor of West Berlin, Dr. Reuter. These messages first became legible under the ultra-violet light used in the passage way leading from the Marshall House, but could also be read in the sunlight.

Though the ultra-violet lighting attracted much attention - particularly because of its effect on the appearance of the visitors - the results of the survey suggest that as a device for getting a message across it probably was not too useful. This is seen by comparing replies of the two samples, the one queried on leaving the Marshall House, and the one queried at the exits of the Fair.

Most (94%) of the Marshall House group stated they had received the leaflet, and though a large proportion had not read the messages, about seven in 10 knew who they were from.

However, only seven in 10 queried at the Fair exits stated they had received the leaflet, and only four in 10 knew who had written the messages. Since both groups should have had an equal chance to get a leaflet, the presumption must be that by the time visitors left the fairgrounds, many had forgotten they had it (pamphlets and brochures were generously distributed at the Fair), or had thrown the leaflet away, and had not in the meantime taken the opportunity to look at it.\* The questions and replies for both samples follow.

"Did you get a leaflet at the Marshall House the writing of which becomes visible only under ultra-violet light?"

#### MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE

	West Berlin/ Germany	East Berlin/ Germany
Yes	94%	94%
No	6	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

#### FAIR EXIT SAMPLE

(Marshall House visitors)

	West Berlin/ Germany	East Berlin/ Germany
Yes	73%	69%
No	27	31
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Can you tell me who wrote these letters? (Who are the authors?)"  
(Asked of those who had received the leaflet).

#### MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE

	West Berlin/ Germany	East Berlin/ Germany
Correct (Conant, Reuter)	67%	75%
Incorrect	9	5
Don't know	18	14
	<u>94%</u>	<u>94%</u>

#### FAIR EXIT SAMPLE

(Marshall House visitors)

	West Berlin/ Germany	East Berlin/ Germany
Correct	41%	42%
Incorrect	18	17
Don't know	14	10
	<u>73%</u>	<u>69%</u>

\*Not such discrepancy occurs in two other questions asked of both samples: understanding of the theme of the exhibit and recollection of the 1952 Marshall House exhibit.

The majority of people who received the leaflet had not read them when queried about its content. But of those who had, the Marshall House visitors were able to recount the messages in a more detailed fashion than those queried at the gates.

"Do you remember what it said?" (Asked of all respondents who had received the leaflet).

MARSHALL HOUSE		EXIT SAMPLE	
SAMPLE			
West Berlin/ Germ.	East Berlin/ Germ.	West Berlin/ Germ.	East Berlin/ Germ.

The importance of an understanding between nations - peaceful cooperation leads to freedom and prosperity for all nations:

10% 17% 5% 9%

A demand for cooperation of all nations; both letters dealt with living together peacefully and stressed the importance of good neighborship; they want to demonstrate a feeling of friendship between all nations of the Western world; Dr. Reuter and Mr. Conant addressed all visitors, I can't remember the exact wording but it was something about the subject of the living together of nations in peace and freedom; that there has to be cooperation so that we all can build up a better future; they refer to the exhibition and speak about a living together of nations in unity; this letter asks us to maintain a cooperative spirit; unity with all nations, European freedom and equal rights for all nations; that America sticks by us and that we should live together in unity and join in our efforts for reconstruction; it explained the meaning of the Marshall Plan and asked for good cooperation with America; the good connections of Berlin with the rest of the free world; etc.

Professor Reuter expressed his thanks for the help rendered by America for the reconstruction of Berlin:

7 11 1 3

It was a strange feeling to hear the Lord Mayor quoted in this way now that he is no longer with us, Reuter expressed his gratitude towards the Americans; Ernst Reuter's thanks to the Americans; Reuter's thanks for the help rendered by the US; once again by Ernst Reuter, the expression of his gratitude toward Conant; I just glanced at it and remember that our late Professor Reuter expressed his thanks to America for the help it rendered; Reuter reminds us of the blockade and the help America rendered during that time and that it should keep on trying to help the East Zone; by Ernst Reuter, what he had done for us in the Zone and that the things he achieved were done with American help; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

West East  
Berlin/Berlin/  
Germ. Germ.

West East  
Berlin/Berlin/  
Germ. Germ.

An appeal to the people of Berlin to continue the reconstruction of their city and to believe in a better future - America promises further assistance:

2% 4% 1% 3%

It was an appeal of our Lord Mayor to the people of Berlin to take part in the reconstruction of the city; as far as I remember: if Berlin goes on to hold its ground it might achieve the same prosperity as America; they promise us a better life and we are to believe in a better future; Conant said that we people of Berlin will soon have a better future - I liked the letters very much; Conant promises further help; etc.

I can't remember the wording, just glanced at it and besides, it was too noisy in there:

6 5 12 7

It is an announcement of our Professor Reuter, I don't remember the wording accurately enough to be able to repeat it; no, since I got so many impressions there I can't remember this one; no, I just glanced at it, I was merely interested in the technical side of the thing; no, I couldn't read it so quickly; I can't remember, I read it too hastily; I don't remember; etc.

Other answers:

2 2 1 1

Conant and Reuter explained to the people that there must be cooperation if a better life is to be achieved, Reuter said that reunification will come about soon; speeches by the High Commissioner and Reuter by which they greet the visitors; an overall account of the fair; something about trade unions, Reuter said something - there were so many children, I couldn't read it very thoroughly; something about the life of Ernst Reuter; etc.

Letter not read:

71 61 53 47  
98% \*\* 100% \*\* 73% 69%

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

BUT THEY LIKED THE TECHNIQUE ...

Although the leaflets were not too effective message-wise, the manner in which they were presented caught the fancy of visitors, as may be noted in the following comments.

"Could you give any comment on the two letters or on the manner in which they were done?" (Asked of all respondents who had received the leaflet)

	<u>MARSHALL HOUSE</u>		<u>EXIT SAMPLE</u>	
	<u>SAMPLE</u>			
	West	East	West	East
	Berlin/	Berlin/	Berlin/	Berlin/
	Germ.	Germ.	Germ.	Germ.
<u>It's an original idea as well as an effective propaganda - the interest of the visitor is awakened - he won't throw the letters away carelessly:</u>	28%	25%	14%	14%
<p>It was quite a clever idea to use this kind of light, a thing like that interests the visitors and thus they will read the leaflet which they might otherwise throw away; it's quite an original idea, in this way most people actually read the note; it was an original way of handing out a leaflet, though I didn't read the text yet; it smacks a little of claptrap which will make a great impression on uncritical visitors, in spite of this objection, I think the idea is good; I think it's an interesting thing that the writing becomes visible only under ultra-violet light, it's a very clever way of attracting people's attention; it's very effective, how strong an effect it will have on people depends on the educational level of the individual visitor, in any case it's commendable that the Americans make such an effort to interest and please the Germans; it's a propaganda presented in a very pleasant manner, and I really wonder how many patients will come to me to just decipher this letter, for word has got around that you can read it at "the dentist's"; it's ingeniously devised and really a big hit, it proves very effective to arouse the interest of the visitors; it really appeals to people and this special feature will prove to be a good and inoffensive propaganda for this house; etc.</p>				
<u>It's a technical innovation - it's interesting and surprising at the same time:</u>	20	24	4	12
<p>The way this thing is carried out was new to me, new and surprising, I guess you need a special light for that?; in technical respect the thing is striking, it's quite attractive; it's something novel, a new technique; it's a new thing that's really stunning; I'm positive that it means a great progress to be able to read your paper even in the dark; etc.</p>				

(Cont'd on next page)



Comments explaining the technical process:

17% 8% 10% 9%

It's due to the rays that the writing becomes visible; it's a letter done in a specific writing, you can read it only in the dark; yes, it's been written with fluorescent ink, you can read the text under ultra-violet light or in normal light if you hold the leaflet at an angle while reading it; the paper is phosphorated and the writing becomes luminous only when exposed to ultra-violet light, that's all; in a special printing process a special ink is applied which becomes visible only under ultra-violet light; etc.

It's a technical toy characteristic for the Americans - it distracts people's attention from the meaning of the text:

6 4 \*

It's an amusing little trick, but I think it will not prove as effective as one hoped it would be as the letters are too long, people would read three lines, but they will think it a waste of time to read the whole page; very striking, but it distracts you from the contents; I think it's just an ingenious little toy, the meaning of the whole thing gets lost, however; I think it is a rather clumsy attempt to approach people, because of their contents these letters should be taken seriously, and that's why I feel the way they are presented is rather undignified, they are offered like a sensation to people; I believe what's achieved now is not what the planners of the whole thing had in mind, the original way in which it was done distracts people's attention from the text, they can't concentrate any more; it's typical for the Americans, just a big ballyhoo; etc.

Comments referring to the text of the letters:

2 1 2 -

I guess that because of the activities of Mr. Reuter America takes a special interest in Berlin, and that is expressed here; I'm glad that in a letter both Mr. Conant and Mr. Reuter stand up for working together and tackling reconstruction projects jointly; etc.

Circumstances prevented visitors from reading the letters immediately:

1 - 1 1

No, I couldn't read it thoroughly, you can't find a minute's quiet in there to concentrate; it had a rather mystifying effect at first, most of the visitors will not read it right away, the loudspeaker talking about some other topic still echoes in your ears, so you can't switch over to something else in a jiffy, I mean to turn to the letter right away; etc.

Other answers:

2 4 1 -

People have had too much of such stuff, that's why they aren't too keen on reading a thing like that; the whole thing is a little eerie, it's like some sort of witchery; I think the thing as such is good, though it is somewhat strange and ghost-like as the Lord Mayor died yesterday; my eyes hurt when I try to read the letters; I really found it impressive, though when reading it your eyes hurt after only a short while; etc.

No / No opinion:29 29 42 33  
95%\* 95%\* 74%\* 69%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## APPENDIX I

## Group Differences

One of the findings of this study lending credence to the generally favorable reactions to the Marshall House exhibit is the absence of marked differences in attitudes among various population groups. As already stated, visitors tended to be relatively heavily drawn from the better educated elements of the population and were predominantly male. However, as the following tabulations show, there is on the whole not much difference between their reactions and those of their counterpart groups.

"What is your overall impression of the exhibition here in the Marshall House: did you generally like this exhibition very well, well, so-so, not so well or not at all?"

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE

West Berlin/West Germany

	Very well	Well	So-so	Not so well	Not at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	52%	36%	10%	2%	-	-	...100% 321
Women	58	34	6	2	-	-	97
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	62	31	6	1	-	-	185
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	52	37	10	1	-	-	140
Abitur (Diploma), University	39	42	15	4	-	-	90
(Above average education)	47	39	12	2	-	-	230)
<u>Age:</u>							
18 - 24 years	36	44	19	1	-	-	88
25 - 34 "	46	44	7	3	-	-	83
35 - 49 "	53	37	8	2	-	-	121
50 years and over	72	21	6	1	-	-	126

East Berlin/East Germany

	Very well	Well	So-so	Not so well	Not at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	46%	42%	9%	2%	-	1%...	100% 159
Women	55	43	2	-	-	-	33
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	52	37	9	2	-	-	96
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	50	43	6	-	-	1	59
Abitur (Diploma), University	25	62	7	2	-	4	35
(Above average education)	40	51	6	1	-	2	95)
<u>Age:</u>							
18 - 24 years	26	54	16	2	-	2	58
25 - 34 "	34	60	4	2	-	-	35
35 - 49 "	62	35	2	1	-	-	50
50 years and over	67	27	5	-	-	1	49

"If you consider the exhibition in the Marshall House once again as a whole: what left the greatest impression on you - the way the exhibition was arranged, that is how it was carried out technically and organized, or the information and knowledge it offered?"

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE

West Berlin/West Germany

	Technical set-up and organization	Informa- tion and knowledge	Both	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	36%	40%	24%	*...100%	321
Women	27	46	25	2	97
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	35	42	22	1	185
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	35	41	24	-	140
Abitur (Diploma), Universi- ty	29	41	29	1	90
(Above average education	33	41	26	*	230)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	37	47	16	-	88
25 - 34 "	39	31	30	-	83
35 - 49 "	38	40	21	1	121
50 years and over	24	46	29	1	126

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	37%	38%	25%	*...100%	159
Women	30	36	25	9	
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	35	36	27	2	96
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	32	37	28	3	59
Abitur (Diploma), Universi- ty	40	47	13	-	35
(Above average education	35	41	22	2	95)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	36	33	28	x	58
25 - 34 "	26	55	19		55
35 - 49 "	33	39	26	2	50
50 years and over	44	30	25	1	49

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## R E S T R I C T E D

"On this card you will find some of the things shown here in the Marshall House. Would you now please look at the card and tell me which of the items you liked best, what came second and so on down to the item you liked least of all."

- A. The graphics at the entrance which show how the free nations live together in close unity.
- B. The five screens which in pictures and comments provide a view of industrial developments.
- C. The model of the Tennessee-river project (TVA) with light effects, comments and projections.
- D. The series of models of community projects in Europe and in America (housing developments, transport, education, public health, and recreation.)
- E. The displays of what has already been done in Germany and in Berlin and of what still remains to be done (aerial film of Berlin.)

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLEWest Berlin/West Germany1st place

	A	B	C	D	E	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	13%	17%	38%	13%	14%	5%...100%	321
Women	16	8	24	25	20	7	97
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	12	16	36	17	12	7	185
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	18	15	29	13	21	4	140
Abitur (Diploma), Uni- versity	12	14	40	16	14	4	90
(Above average edu- cation	16	14	34	14	18	4	230)
<u>Age:</u>							
18 - 24 years	11	19	37	18	12	3	88
25 - 34 "	12	20	29	23	13	3	83
35 - 49 "	19	11	32	16	16	6	121
50 years and over	11	13	39	9	19	9	126

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	12%	19%	31%	23%	15%	6%...100%	159
Women	11	5	48	25	7	2	33
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	9	17	36	22	10	6	96
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	11	17	29	22	17	4	59
Abitur (Diploma), Uni- versity	20	18	31	15	9	7	35
(Above average edu- cation	15	17	30	19	14	5	95)
<u>Age:</u>							
18 - 24 years	15	9	26	31	15	4	58
25 - 34 "	17	21	42	9	11	-	35
35 - 49 "	5	24	35	18	12	6	50
50 years and over	11	17	34	19	8	11	49



"We have collected some critical remarks by visitors to the Marshall House about the exhibition and its technical side and organization here (CARD) and would now like to know which of the remarks you would entirely agree with, those you would agree with in large part, agree with a little, or not at all."

1. The exhibition should have shown more of America and much less about Europe.

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE  
West Berlin/West Germany

1st place

	Entirely Almost	A little	Not at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	15%	13%	71%	1%...100%	321
Women	18	5	76	1	97
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	17	13	69	1	185
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	18	10	72	*	140
Abitur (Diploma), University	9	10	79	2	90
(Above average education	14	10	75	1	230)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	18	11	71	-	88
25 - 34 "	7	15	76	2	83
35 - 49 "	17	9	73	1	121
50 years and over	19	11	69	1	126

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	23%	11%	65%	1%...100%	159
Women	14	16	70	-	33
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	27	13	59	1	96
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	18	13	69	-	59
Abitur (Diploma), University	13	2	85	-	35
(Above average education	16	9	75	-	95)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	27	10	62	1	58
25 - 34 "	28	4	68	-	35
35 - 49 "	11	12	77	-	50
50 years and over	22	19	58	1	49

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"We have collected some critical remarks by visitors to the Marshall House about the exhibition and its technical side and organization here (CARD) and would now like to know which of the remarks you would entirely agree with, those you would agree with in large part, agree with a little, or not at all."

2. Some places in the exhibition were blocked up by visitors so that one couldn't see them clearly enough.

1st place

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE  
West Berlin/West Germany

	Entirely Almost	A little	Not at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	28%	22%	49%	1%...100%	321
Women	32	15	53	-	97
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	36	22	41	1	185
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	26	20	54	-	140
Abitur (Diploma), University	21	17	61	1	90
(Above average education	24	19	57	*	230)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	23	20	56	1	88
25 - 34 "	35	12	53	-	83
35 - 49 "	35	19	45	1	121
50 years and over	24	28	48	-	126

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	35%	22%	43%	- ...100%	159
Women	16	30	54	-	33
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	36	22	42	-	96
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	24	21	55	-	59
Abitur (Diploma), University	35	25	40	-	35
(Above average education	28	22	50	-	95)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	42	12	46	-	58
25 - 34 "	34	25	41	-	35
35 - 49 "	32	27	41	-	50
50 years and over	17	30	53	-	49

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"We have collected some critical remarks by visitors to the Marshall House about the Exhibition and its technical side and organization here (CARD) and would now like to know which of the remarks you would entirely agree with, those you would agree with in large part, agree with a little, or not at all."

3. Some places of the Marshall House were too dark.

1st place

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE  
West Berlin/West Germany

	Entirely Almost	A little	Not at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	9%	21%	69%	1%...100%	321
Women	13	13	74	-	97
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	11	20	68	1	185
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	8	20	71	1	140
Abitur (Diploma), University	12	14	74	-	90
(Above average education	10	18	72	*	230)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	4	21	75	-	88
25 - 34 "	12	18	70	-	83
35 - 49 "	13	18	67	2	121
50 years and over	11	20	69	-	126

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	10%	17%	73%	- ...100%	159
Women	16	12	72	-	33
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	13	17	70	-	96
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	6	18	76	-	59
Abitur (Diploma), University	9	13	78	-	35
(Above average education	7	16	77	-	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	2	20	78	-	58
25 - 34 "	17	15	68	-	35
35 - 49 "	9	11	80	-	50
50 years and over	19	19	62	-	42

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"We have collected some critical remarks by visitors to the Marshall House about the exhibition and its technical side and organization here (CARD) and would now like to know which of the remarks you would entirely agree with, those you would agree with in large part, agree with a little, or not at all."

4. The films and slide-exhibition were technically poor.

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE

1st place

West Berlin/West Germany

	Entirely Almost	A little	Not at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	12%	40%	46%	2%...100%	321
Women	8	34	54	4	97
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	12	38	47	3	185
Middle and/or High school					
w/o Abitur	10	40	48	2	140
Abitur (Diploma), University	10	37	50	3	90
(Above average education	10	38	50	2	230)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	12	46	42	-	88
25 - 34 "	11	33	51	5	83
35 - 49 "	8	44	45	3	121
50 years and over	13	31	53	3	126

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	15%	30%	54%	1%...100%	159
Women	14	32	52	2	33
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	10	26	62	2	96
Middle and/or High school					
w/o Abitur	18	36	46	-	59
Abitur (Diploma), University	18	36	46	-	35
(Above average education	18	36	46	-	95)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	5	36	58	1	58
25 - 34 "	30	21	49	-	35
35 - 49 "	21	21	56	2	50
50 years and over	8	39	51	2	49

"We have collected some critical remarks by visitors to the Marshall House about the exhibition and its technical side and organization here (CARD) and would now like to know which of the remarks you would entirely agree with, those you would agree with in large part, agree with a little, or not at all."

5. The explanations of the announcers had a disturbing effect on visitors.

1st place

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE

West Berlin/West Germany

	Entirely Almost	A little	Not at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	6%	12%	81%	1%...100%	321
Women	2	5	92	1	97
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	5	13	81	1	185
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	2	9	89	-	140
Abitur (Diploma), University	9	9	80	2	90
(Above average education	5	9	85	1	230)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	6	11	83	-	88
25 - 34 "	6	7	85	2	83
35 - 49 "	5	15	79	1	121
50 years and over	4	9	87	-	126

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	4%	17%	79%	- ...100%	159
Women	2	7	91	-	33
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	2	15	83	-	96
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	3	14	83	-	59
Abitur (Diploma), University	9	22	69	-	35
(Above average education	5	17	78	-	95)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	2	14	84	-	58
25 - 34 "	6	34	60	-	35
35 - 49 "	4	8	88	-	50
50 years and over	2	12	86	-	43



"We have collected some critical remarks by visitors to the Marshall House about the exhibition and its technical side and organization here (CARD) and would now like to know which of the remarks you would entirely agree with, those you would agree with in large part, agree with a little, or not at all."

6. The exhibition was too propagandistic in purpose.

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE

West Berlin/West Germany

1st place

	Entirely Almost	A little	Not at all	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	5%	7%	87%	1%...100%	321
Women	2	3	95	-	97
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	1	6	92	1	185
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	1	5	94	-	140
Abitur (Diploma), University	14	9	77	-	90
(Above average education	6	7	87	-	230)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	12	6	82	-	88
25 - 34 "	5	5	90	-	83
35 - 49 "	2	6	91	1	121
50 years and over	-	9	91	-	126

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	6%	7%	86%	1%...100%	159
Women	2	7	91	-	33
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	4	7	88	1	96
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	6	7	87	-	59
Abitur (Diploma), University	9	9	80	2	35
(Above average education	7	8	84	1	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	7	5	87	1	58
25 - 34 "	13	9	76	2	25
35 - 49 "	2	8	90	-	50
50 years and over	-	8	92	-	43

- X -

R E S T R I C T E D

"Did you visit the Marshall House at the Industrial Fair  
last year?"

05595

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE + EXIT SAMPLE

West Berlin/West Germany

	Yes	No	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	54%	46%...100%	460
Women	56	44	136
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	52	48	262
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	57	43	205
Abitur (Diploma), University	56	44	126
(Above average education)	56	44	331)
<u>Age:</u>			
18 - 24 years	60	40	154
25 - 34 "	45	55	120
35 - 49 "	49	51	157
50 years and over	62	38	165

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	52%	48%	201
Women	35	65	40
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	49	51	126
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	46	54	67
Abitur (Diploma), University	53	47	46
(Above average education)	49	51	113)
<u>Age:</u>			
18 - 24 years	45	55	68
25 - 34 "	52	48	48
35 - 49 "	40	60	62
50 years and over	60	40	63

"Do you remember what kind of an exhibition was shown in the Marshall House a year ago?" (Asked of respondents who answered "Yes" to previous question.)

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE + EXIT SAMPLE

West Berlin/West Germany

	Yes	No	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	44%	11%	45%...100%	460
Women	46	9	45	136
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	41	11	48	262
Middle and/or High school				
w/o Abitur	48	9	43	205
Abitur (Diploma), University	44	12	44	126
(Above average education)	47	10	43	331
<u>Age:</u>				
18 - 24 years	45	15	40	154
25 - 34 "	38	7	55	120
35 - 49 "	43	7	50	157
50 years and over	50	12	38	165

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	39%	13%	48%...100%	201
Women	27	8	65	40
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	37	12	51	126
Middle and/or High school				
w/o Abitur	33	13	54	67
Abitur (Diploma), University	45	9	46	46
(Above average education)	38	11	51	113
<u>Age:</u>				
18 - 24 years	31	14	55	68
25 - 34 "	43	10	47	48
35 - 49 "	38	12	60	62
50 years and over	50	10	40	63

"How do you like this year's exhibition here in the Marshall House compared to last year: is it better or not as good as last year? (Much better or somewhat better?) (Somewhat worse or much worse?)" (Asked of all respondents who remembered last year's exhibition in the Marshall House.)

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE + EXIT SAMPLE

West Berlin/West Germany

	Much better Somewhat better	Equal	Somewhat worse Much worse	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	15%	12%	16%	1%	56%..100%	460
Women	14	14	17	1	54	136
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	16	12	14	*	58	262
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	16	15	16	1	52	205
Abitur (Diploma), Uni- versity	13	10	19	1	57	126
(Above average education	15	13	17	1	54	331)
<b>Age:</b>						
18 - 24 years	15	12	18	-	55	154
25 - 34 "	12	9	16	1	62	120
35 - 49 "	13	15	14	1	57	157
50 years and over	20	14	16	*	50	165

East Berlin/East Germany

<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	14%	9%	16%	1%	60%..100%	201
Women	12	6	10	-	72	40
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	14	7	16	1	62	126
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	10	11	12	-	67	67
Abitur (Diploma), Uni- versity	19	8	17	-	56	46
(Above average education	14	10	14	-	62	113)
<b>Age:</b>						
18 - 24 years	11	5	15	-	69	68
25 - 34 "	10	7	26	-	57	48
35 - 49 "	11	10	7	-	72	62
50 years and over	22	11	14	3	50	63

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Can you tell me who wrote these letters? (Who are the authors?)"  
 (Asked of those respondents who got a leaflet at the Marshall  
 House.)

MARSHALL HOUSE SAMPLE  
West Berlin/West Germany

	Correct	Incorrect	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	70%	8%	16%	6%..100%	321
Women	57	12	26	5	97
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	59	9	26	6	185
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	69	11	14	6	140
Abitur (Diploma), Universi- ty	81	5	7	7	90
(Above average education	74	8	11	7	230)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	78	8	8	6	88
25 - 34 "	76	5	11	8	83
35 - 49 "	70	10	15	5	121
50 years and over	50	10	34	6	126

East Berlin/East Germany

<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	79%	5%	11%	5%..100%	159
Women	50	7	30	13	33
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	71	6	17	6	96
Middle and/or High school w/o Abitur	75	3	12	10	59
Abitur (Diploma), Universi- ty	87	7	6	-	35
(Above average education	80	4	10	6	95)
<u>Age:</u>					
18 - 24 years	75	4	9	12	58
25 - 34 "	87	2	11	-	35
35 - 49 "	76	4	15	5	50
50 years and over	62	9	24	5	49



## APPENDIX II

Results of Home Interviews

As stated in a footnote in the report, 100 additional interviews were made in the homes of respondents in order to ascertain what effect, if any, the gala, carefree atmosphere usually associated with Fairs might have on reactions to the Marshall House exhibition. Two groups of 50 persons each were accordingly selected in the same random fashion as the regular Marshall House sample. One group was interviewed during the course of the Fair, (designated Sample A in the results given below) and the other - designated Sample B - a week after the Fair. Though the number of cases is too small for the drawing of definite conclusions, the results strongly suggest that people interviewed in the quiet of their own homes were just as favorably impressed, even after a week or more had elapsed since their visit, as those queried immediately upon leaving the Marshall House.

The questions and results are as follows. (Questions calling for spontaneous comments are omitted, as the results were very similar to those already reported.)

"What is your overall impression of the exhibition here in the Marshall House: did you generally like this exhibition very well, well, so-so, not so well or not at all?"

	SAMPLE A	SAMPLE B
Very well	32%	26%
Well	50	54
So-so	18	10
Not so well	-	6
Not at all	-	2
No opinion	-	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"On this card you will find some of the things shown here in the Marshall House. - Would you now please look at the card and tell me which of the items you liked best, what came second and so on down to the item you liked least of all."

	A	B
The graphics at the entrance which show how the free nations live together in close unity		
First place	10%	8%
Second place	12	-
Third place	16	12
Fourth place	24	30
Fifth place	30	30
No opinion	8	20
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The five screens which in picture and comments provide a view of industrial developments

First place	20%	14%
Second place	20	18
Third place	10	18
Fourth place	26	24
Fifth place	18	18
No opinion	6	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The model of the Tennessee-river project (TVA) with light effects, comments and projections

First place	42%	44%
Second place	30	24
Third place	14	10
Fourth place	8	10
Fifth place	6	10
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%

The series of models of community projects in Europe and in America (housing developments, transport, education, public health and recreation)

First place	20%	26%
Second place	24	34
Third place	18	20
Fourth place	26	10
Fifth place	10	4
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>
	100%	100%

The displays of what has already been done in Germany and in Berlin and of what still remains to be done (aerial film of Berlin)

First place	8%	8%
Second place	14	20
Third place	40	34
Fourth place	10	10
Fifth place	24	20
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
	100%	100%

"The theme of (the idea behind) the exhibition in the Marshall House (is intended to demonstrate among other things ...) is (as you just said) to show that through peaceful co-existence, cooperation and industrialization the standard of living of all nations can be considerably improved. -

"Do you personally consider it probable that an improvement of the standard of living of all nations can be achieved in this way or do you consider this to be not probable?"

Consider it probable	93%	98%
Consider it not probable	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%

"If you consider the exhibition in the Marshall House once again as a whole: What left the greatest impression on you - the way the exhibition was arranged, that is how it was carried out technically and organized, or the information and knowledge it offered?"

Technical set-up and organization	28%	26%
Information and knowledge	56	46
Both	16	26
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%

"And did you learn something new from this exhibition here in the Marshall House? (Something you didn't know before?)"

	SAMPLE A	SAMPLE B
Yes	62%	46%
No	38	52
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%

"Would you recommend the exhibition in the Marshall House to your friends and acquaintances or would you not recommend it?"

Would recommend	94%	94
Would not recommend	4	2
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%

"Did you get a leaflet at the Marshall House the writing on which becomes visible only under ultra-violet light?"

Yes	98%	96%
No	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%

"Can you tell me who wrote these letters? (Who are the authors?)" (Asked of those respondents who got a leaflet at the Marshall House.)

Correct	56%	68%
Incorrect	30	22
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>
	98%	96%

"Did you talk to commercial advisors or trade union specialists here in the Marshall House?"

Yes	12%	6%
No	88	92
No answer	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%

"Did you visit the Marshall House at the Industrial Fair last year?"

Yes	40%	50%
No	<u>60</u>	<u>50</u>
	100%	100%

"Do you remember what kind of an exhibition was shown in the Marshall House a year ago?" (Asked of all respondents who visited the Marshall House at the Industrial Fair a year ago.)

Yes	32%	38%
No	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>
	40%	50%

"How do you like this year's exhibition here in the Marshall House compared to last year: is it better or not as good as last year? (Much better or somewhat better?) (Somewhat worse or much worse?)" (Asked of all respondents answering "Yes" to previous question.)

Much better	2%	4%
Somewhat better	2	12
Equal	16	4
Somewhat worse	12	18
Much worse	-	-
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	32%	40%**

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Do you find this exhibition here in the Marshall House is worth the effort and the time it took or is it not worth it?"

	SAMPLE A	SAMPLE B
Worth it	100%	92%
Not worth it	-	4
No opinion	-	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"We have collected some critical remarks by visitors to the Marshall House about the exhibition and its technical side and organization here (CARD) and would now like to know which of the remarks you would entirely agree with, those you would agree with in large part, agree with a little, or not at all."

The exhibition should have shown more of America and much less about Europe

Entirely	10%	4%
Almost	10	-
A little	10	14
Not at all	70	80
No opinion	-	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Some places in the exhibition were blocked up by visitors so that one couldn't see them clearly enough

Entirely	14%	20%
Almost	16	20
A little	22	18
Not at all	48	40
No opinion	-	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Some places at the Marshall House were too dark

Entirely	12%	18%
Almost	10	14
A little	12	22
Not at all	66	46
No opinion	-	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The films and slide-exhibition were technically poor

Entirely	4%	10%
Almost	8	8
A little	22	26
Not at all	64	56
No opinion	2	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	SAMPLE A	SAMPLE B
The explanations of the announcers had a disturbing effect on visitors		
Entirely	4%	-
Almost	4	2
A little	6	18
Not at all	84	78
No opinion	2	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

The exhibition was too propagandistic  
in purpose

Entirely	2%	-
Almost	4	4
A little	12	12
Not at all	82	84
No opinion	-	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"At this year's Industrial Fair also a number of foreign nations  
again have their own pavilions. Which of the pavilions listed  
on this card did you visit?"

France	88%	82%
England	34	26
Canada	66	64
Italy	84	78
India	80	72
Belgium	66	60
Netherlands	84	76
Austria	80	76
Pavilion of the Nations	56	40
None	2	8
	<u>640%**</u>	<u>582%**</u>

\*\* Some respondents named more than one pavilion.

"Let's include the Marshall House in these foreign pavilions:  
which of these pavilions (including the Marshall House) left  
the best impression?"

France	4%	6%
England	10	6
Canada	6	2
America(Marshall House)	46	44
Italy	-	4
India	12	14
Belgium	-	-
Netherlands	16	14
Austria	-	-
Pavilion of the Nations	2	-
None	-	-
No opinion	2	4
	<u>98%</u>	<u>94%</u>



A SURVEY ANALYSIS OF THE FACTORS INFLUENCING  
THE OUTCOME OF THE 1953 GERMAN FEDERAL ELECTIONS

PREPARED BY  
EVALUATION STAFF  
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

## INTRODUCTION

Though the 1953 German Federal election has now entered into history, a correct understanding of its implications and significance will be fundamental for political guidance for a long time to come. To assess the meaning of an election it is necessary to go beyond the bare returns themselves into such basic questions as who voted for whom and why? To provide the kind of information needed for such a perspective, the Evaluation Staff following the election conducted a survey between September 14th and September 27th, and subsequently a second verifying and amplifying study between October 22nd and November 2nd, 1953.

Both post-election surveys were based upon representative probability samplings of the West German population 21 years of age and over, embracing respectively 1270 and 904 cases for a total of 2174.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## SOME SUMMARY HIGHLIGHTS

### I. Pre-Election Trend

The CDU election victory marked the culmination of a long term drawing up and past the SPD, plus shifts in the final two weeks that sharply increased the CDU lead over its principal adversary.

The extent of the CDU victory, and the standing of competing parties, was precisely foreshadowed in final pre-election surveying.

### II. Who Voted For Whom?

Analysis of voting by population categories (sex, age, education, income, occupation, origin and religion) demonstrates that the CDU succeeded to a remarkable extent in appealing to the various diverse elements of the West German electorate, bowing to the SPD only among the occupational categories of skilled and semi-skilled workers and (less certainly) the religious categories of Protestants and other non-Catholics.

Examination of voting in terms of religious affiliation discloses that the CDU-SPD competition quite crossed confessional lines with 33 per cent of the SPD vote emanating from Catholics, and 41 per cent of the CDU vote from Protestants - thus suggesting that both parties have something to lose from policies that might promote confessional divisionism.

### III. Why People Voted As They Did

As judged from campaign emphases indicated by their auditors, the CDU and SPD candidates were electioneering on the assumption that their parties' stand on German defense participation, European integration and German reunification would primarily decide how West Germans would vote.

But returns indicate that the major reasons for voting CDU were, in order of frequency (1) traditional Christian loyalty, (2) Adenauer's world-wide prestige, (3) Adenauer's appeal as a leader and (4) the economic prosperity associated with the CDU regime.

So rather than specific policy considerations, what seem to have been endorsed in the election returns are Chancellor Adenauer and the German economic boom. Endorsement of Adenauer is a gain for the West in his championing of Western policies, but it should not be taken as equivalent in its dynamics or its implications to an endorsement of the policies themselves.

Traditional motivations - workers' party, economic program, church independence - appear to have actuated the bulk of the SPD vote.

The SPD campaign emphasis on the reunification issue does not appear to have been optimum election strategy in the light of the meager reference to this issue as even of second or third place interest in voting SPD.

In addition, any assumption that the SPD had the more attractive position on German reunification would seem to be controverted by the disclosure that the CDU made more gains out of this issue than did the SPD, and did their best in this respect among no less than the core elements of the SPD - German workers.

It apparently is no mystery to the West German people as to the motivations involved in the CDU coming off so well in the elections. The reasons cited reveal a close correspondence with the facts of CDU election motivations as presented above.

On the converse question of why the SPD didn't do better, the West German electorate came up with some rather pointed criticisms, not a few of which emanate from the SPD voters themselves.

#### IV. The Question Of American Support For The CDU

Despite recent increase in the feeling that America favors the CDU, the preponderant view among West Germans continues to be that America does not support any particular German political party.

Among respondents influenced by Secretary Dulles' remarks or other considerations to infer a pro-CDU stand on the part of the US, favorable reactions to such support appear to outweigh unfavorable.

#### V. The Significance of The DRP Returns

Rejection of Communism in the 1953 election results is convincing as almost all German voters can be assumed to be familiar with the tenets of the Communist party of Germany (KPD). It is on the side of caution, however, to consider the rejection of rightist extremism in the minute DRP vote somewhat less conclusive in view of the fact that three quarters of the electorate (77%) evidence no awareness of the DRP platform.

Among the voters with some awareness of the DRP stand, however, reactions were predominantly adverse with the majority taking the view that there are no good sides whatever to the DRP program.



VI. Reactions To The  
Election Results And To The Conduct Of The Election Campaign

The outcome of the Bundestag elections was a source of satisfaction to the majority (58%) of West Germans. Only 14 per cent registered themselves as disturbed in any way by the outcome, with concern chiefly voiced on the score that remilitarization might now be in the offing, or that with its great power the CDU might become autocratic.

Only a quarter among West Germans had criticisms to offer about the conduct of the election campaign, focusing mainly on alleged mud-slinging campaign tactics and campaign waste.

VII. Present Thinking On Democracy In Germany

The predominant opinions among West Germans sampled after the Bundestag elections are that democracy has become stronger in West Germany over the course of the past few years, and that Germans today have the capacity to govern themselves democratically.

In addition, political interest - outweighed by lack of such in survey returns of November 1951 - shows signs of having inched upward to approximately even terms with expression of disinterest.

Gains in political interest over the past two years appear to be most marked in two significant population groupings - youth and semi-skilled workers.

There is also some suggestion of a more than average gain among women, which if verified is of importance in that feminine indifference to politics is not the least hurdle to strengthening democratic political institutions in West Germany.

I. Pre-Election Trend

CDU VICTORY FORESHADOWED IN LONG TERM TREND ...

The CDU victory in the 1953 Bundestag elections marked the culmination of a long period of development as evidenced in surveys extending back to March 1951. It will be noted in the detailed trend record of party preference indications that the CDU trailed the SPD throughout 1951, but rose to even terms with the SPD in late 1952 and early 1953, and finally took the lead never to lose it in April of 1953. To this long term development, however, was apparently added a drawing apart in the two weeks prior to the elections that almost doubled the magnitude of the CDU lead over its principal adversary.

Other pre-election trend indications were that neither the FDP nor the BHE and DP were evincing any signs of growth in their following, and seemed on the contrary to be doing no better than holding their own from survey to survey as the date for the Federal election approached.

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

	Mar@ (800)	Apr@ (798)	Jul (799)	Aug (800)	Sep (796)	Oct (1200)	Oct (1193)			
1951 Trends:										
SPD	26%	25%	22%	22%	26%	23%	24%			
CDU/CSU	19	23	19	15	21	16	19			
FDP	6	7	5	5	6	6	6			
DP			Not ascertained							
BHE			Not ascertained							
KPD	*	*	1	*	1	1	1			
SRP		Not ascertained			2	1	*			
Other parties	10	11	6	7	6	7	7			
No party	18	15	28	31	15	25	19			
No opinion	21	19	19	20	23	21	24			
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%			
1952 Trends:	Jan (1199)	Feb (796)	Apr (1172)	May (1188)	Jun (786)	Jun (1595)	Jul (796)	Aug+ (1195)	Dec+ (1196)	Dec+ (1196)
SPD	24%	23%	26%	21%	23%	20%	20%	25%	24%	27%
CDU/CSU	19	19	21	18	19	18	17	24	23	26
FDP	6	6	7	6	5	7	7	6	7	6
DP				Not ascertained				1	3	2
BHE				Not ascertained				3	5	3
KPD	*	1	1	*	1	*	1	1	*	0
SRP	1	1	*	*	*	1	1	1	*	1
Other parties	5	6	5	6	7	5	4	3	4	2
No party	25	24	18	29	25	33	33	13	7	9
No opinion	20	20	22	20	20	16	17	23	27	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
1953 Trends:	Jan (1600)	Apr (764)	Jun (740)	Jun (732)	Jul (625)	Aug (670)	Aug22/Sep 3 (664)			
SPD	23%	22%	21%	22%	22%	20%	18%	23.7%	27.5%	
CDU/CSU	22	28	28	29	24	27	31	40.8	50.8	
FDP	6	4	4	5	3	5	6	7	11.5	
DP	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1.3	1.6	
BHE	2	3	4	2	4	3	3	3.9	4.9	
KPD	*	1	*	*	*	*	-	-	-	
Other parties	2	2	4	2	3	2	1	1.3	1.6	
No party	31	27	26	22	24	22	15	19.7	-	
No opinion	12	12	12	16	18	20	23	24	-	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.
- Question worded somewhat differently - "Suppose there would be elections tomorrow, which party would you vote for?"
- + Trend checked with alternative wording - "Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now in West Germany - for which party would you cast your vote?"

Hirsch-Wether  
p. 428



## CDU LANDSLIDE PREDICTED IN FINAL PRE-ELECTION SURVEY ...

In the final pre-election survey the simple preference index was supplemented with more refined and intensive questioning designed to (1) reduce no preference and no opinion indications to an absolute minimum to increase the assurance that the indicated preferences would predict actual election returns and (2) to take into account the possible complications arising from the introduction of a complicated two-votes-system in the balloting in which the first vote related to the party of the preferred local candidate and the second related to party preference in general. The results of this line of inquiry are tabulated below (see appendix I for questions employed). One has only to compare the survey results with the election returns to see how accurately forecast was the generally unanticipated CDU landslide.\*

## ELECTION PREDICTIONS

(Based on Final Pre-Election Survey of 664 Cases  
Obtained Between Aug 22 and Sept 3, 1953)

	<u>Election Returns</u>	<u>Survey Results</u>	<u>Error</u>
<u>Voter Turnout:</u>	86.2%	84.7% 565	1.5%
<u>Party Vote:**</u>			
CDU	45.1% 45.2	46.0% 229	0.9%
FDP	9.5	8.2 46	1.3
DP	3.3	1.4 8	1.9
Coalition (not further specified by respondent)	-	5.3 30	-
SPD	28.8	28.8 143	0.0
BHE	5.9	4.5 25	1.4
KPD	2.2	0.5 3	1.7
BP	1.7		
GVP	1.2		
DRP	1.0		
Zentrum	0.8	5.3 30	0.1
DNS	0.3	(All others)	
Others	0.2		
	100.0%	100.0% 563	
		AVERAGE PARTY ERROR	- 1.0%
<u>Coalition Vote:</u>			
CDU	45.1%	46.0%	
FDP	9.5	8.2	
DP	3.3	1.4	
Coalition (not further specified by respondent)	-	5.3	
	57.9%	60.9%	3.0% Error

Though the 1953 Federal election is now a matter of history, the remarkable correspondence of survey results and election returns documented above is of methodological importance in its indication that survey methods can accurately sound out the facts of political attitudes and thinking in Germany.

- \* The survey results (in somewhat cruder form as processed hastily on Saturday before election and analyzed in Mehlem via telephone contact with data in Frankfurt) were delivered on Saturday afternoon before the election to the Director of the Office of Public Affairs, HICOG.
- \*\* Voting procedure was such that each voter had two votes - the first for local party candidate, the second for party in general. The present comparison relates to prediction of the more important figures - the general party vote.
- How to take account of the 5.3 per cent of respondents who indicate a voting preference for the governing coalition, but could not specify party, posed a problem. Risky assumptions would be involved in either allocating them proportionately to the coalition parties, or one-third to each party. It was decided that it would represent the least departure from the data if one simply rested on the obtained figures for the CDU, FDP, and DP vote, but employed the marginal "coalition" group in any coalition prediction.

## II. Who Voted For Whom?

### INTRODUCTION AND A LIMITATION ...

In moving on to the central concern of the present inquiry - the whys and wherefors of the outcome of the 1953 German Federal Election - the logical first question is, who voted for whom? Under a secret ballot system the ideal source of such information - election returns themselves - can only shed light on geographical variations in voting,\* and in some few instances where separate records are kept, on sex variations. Sample survey inquiry is the only method available to sketch in a complete picture of how various significant population elements compare and contrast in their voting decisions.

Post-election survey study, however, is somewhat less than ideal in the present respect because respondents' knowledge of the election outcome can affect their willingness to correctly indicate how they voted. For prestige reasons, experience has revealed, supporters of losing parties are occasionally unwilling to indicate their vote or are led to misrepresent their vote as being on the winning side.

However, in the present study comparison of the overall party distribution of the obtained voting indication, with the known election returns yields a rather reassuring correspondence save only that the losing parties - particularly the SPD - are each somewhat below their true proportions, with some of their supporters apparently inclined in view of the election outcome to vouchsafe no answer.

	<u>National election returns</u>	<u>Post-election voting indications** (1921 cases)</u>	
<u>Turnout:</u>	86.2%	83.6%	
<u>Vote:</u>			
CDU	45.1%	45.0%	54.0%
SPD	28.8	21.7	26.1
FDP	9.5	6.2	7.4
DP	3.3	2.5	3.0
BHE	5.9	5.1	6.1
BP	1.7	1.5	1.8
DRP	1.0	.1	.1
KPD	2.2	.4	.5
Other parties	2.5	.8	1.0
No answer given	-	16.7	-
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The close correspondence of the CDU figures offer grounds for believing that respondents' indications of CDU vote are reasonably accurate, rather than distorted by any appreciable post-election misrepresentation in order to be on the winning side. Those chary of indicating their backing for losing horses are apparently content to take refuge in no answer rather than going as far as outright untruth. The rather close correspondence of official turnout figures with respondents' statements in this connection lends, of course, additional confidence in the candor of the replies.

\* Since this better source of data is available for geographic variations, these are not treated in the present report. Analysis of voting correlates within geographical regions was foregone because the size of sample was inadequate for such a purpose.

\*\* The complexity of two votes was simply disregarded in the inquiry on this score since it was evident from the election returns that the great bulk of the population voted for the same party in both votes. No respondent raised any question in this connection so obviously the very few who split their votes answered as they saw fit - a very minor approximation in the light of the larger approximation of the whole approach.

### CDU VICTOR AMONG MOST POPULATION ELEMENTS ...

Scrutiny of the election returns as subdivided by sex, age, education, income and other important population categories (see page following) demonstrate as do no other figures the remarkable extent to which the CDU apparently succeeded in appealing to diverse elements of the West German electorate. Even with the assumption that the SPD obtained the lion's share of the undisclosed vote, this party appears to have out-gained the CDU only among skilled and semi-skilled laborers in the occupational categories, and only among individuals neither Catholic nor Protestant (a population element of insignificant size) in religious groupings.

Other informative indications that emerge from the same table are that SPD's support is greatest not with the lowest income groupings, but with the middle ranges. CDU support rises consistently with income, but is comparatively high at 44 per cent even at the lowest income level (under 150 DM monthly). Among other parties, the FDP vote appears to correlate very strongly with amount of income and the BHE vote with lack of it.

Some other facts are better shown when returns are percentaged in another direction, as in the second table following. This table reveals that almost three quarters of the BHE vote emanates from people whose monthly income is less than 300 DM and clearly suggests that the vote in this connection is not so much specifically refugee (as the large majority of refugees voted for other parties), as it is a have-not protest by less successful refugee elements against their present economic circumstances.

### CDU-SPD COMPETITION CROSSES CONFESSIONAL LINES ...

Of no little significance is the disclosure, too, that fully 33 per cent of the SPD vote in the election was derived from Catholics - this despite the fact that with the CDU landslide the SPD vote is probably close to hard core elements. The religious composition figures for the CDU vote corroborates geographical and other indications that this party has in 1953 attracted appreciable Protestant support - now revealed to be a very considerable 41 per cent. Such crossing of religious lines in SPD and CDU voting tends to suggest, of course, that both parties might have something to lose from policies that promote confessional divisionism.

Other indications - equally rich in implications - are in the interest of brevity left to the interested reader to glean from the tables.

"Would you please tell me for the candidate of which party you voted?"

	SPD	CDU	FDP	DP	BHE	Other parties	No answer given	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>								
Men	25% <sup>221</sup>	42% <sup>320</sup>	7%	3%	5%	106	3% 53	882 - 132 = 750
Women	19% <sup>418</sup>	48% <sup>368</sup>	5	2	5	104	2 41 19 197	1037 - 197 = 840
<b>Education:</b>								
Elementary school	24	373	43	68	5	2	5 155 3 78 18 280	1554 - 280 = 1274
Beyond elementary	11	40	53	193	13	5	5 66 2 25 11 40	364 - 40 = 324
<b>Age:</b>								
21 to 24 years	23	27	45	54	8	3	3 13 4 8 14 17	119 - 17 = 102
25 to 34 years	21	86	44	180	8	2	5 53 3 21 17 70	410 - 70 = 340
35 to 44 years	26	105	44	178	5	4	4 36 2 24 15 62	405 - 62 = 343
45 to 54 years	24	113	43	203	5	2	5 47 3 24 18 84	471 - 84 = 387
55 to 64 years	18	53	50	149	7	2	6 39 3 15 14 41	297 - 41 = 256
65 years and over	14	29	51	106	5	2	6 23 2 8 20 42	208 - 42 = 166
<b>Income:</b>								
Up to 149 DM	15	44	3	2	11	4	21	268
150 - 299 DM	23	45	4	1	7	3	17	593
300 - 399 DM	28	42	6	2	3	1	18	424
400 - 499 DM	28	42	6	4	4	3	13	229
500 - 599 DM	21	49	10	5	2	2	11	143
600 - 799 DM	13	55	15	1	1	6	9	102
800 DM and more	8	57	15	10	-	2	8	65
<b>Occupation (respondent):</b>								
12.5 { Professionals	12	6	48	25	13	6	2 9 6 6 13 6	52 - 6 = 46
Businessmen	7	8	58	63	8	5	- 9 3 9 19 20	109 - 20 = 89
13.6 { White-collar workers	20	35	46	30	12	3	3 26 3 10 13 23	174 - 23 = 151
Skilled laborers	36	81	35	79	4	2	4 18 4 14 15 34	226 - 34 = 192
35.0 { Semi-skilled laborers	37	63	34	58	3	2	6 15 1 5 17 29	170 - 29 = 141
Domestic Service	21	11	39	21	6	4	6 6 6 5 18 10	53 - 10 = 43
13.0 { Farmers	7	12	57	95	8	6	2 17 5 18 15 25	167 - 25 = 142
Housewives	21	132	46	289	5	2	5 63 2 25 19 119	628 - 119 = 509
25.9 { Unemployed	15	6	50	20	5	2	10 6 8 4 10 4	40 - 4 = 36
100.0 { Not employed: pens., retired, etc.	20	58	44	128	5	1	10 44 2 9 18 53	292 - 53 = 239
<b>Origin:</b>								
Natives	22	47	7	3	*	3	18	1556
Expellees, Refugees	20	38	3	2	26	-	11	363
<b>Religion:</b>								
Catholics	16	140	57	498	2	*	5 61 4 35 16 139	873 - 139 = 734
Protestants	25	247	36	355	10	4	5 148 2 59 18 171	986 - 171 = 809
Others	37	7	26	5	11	-	5 3 - 0 21 4	19 - 4 = 15
Nones	46	7	20	8	12	2	- 10 10 4	41 - 4 = 37
	394	858				212	94 320	1920 1598

"Would you please tell me for the candidate of which party you voted?"

	SPD (416)	CDU (865)	FDP (119)	DP (48)	BHE (98)	Other parties (54)	No answer given (319)
<b>Sex:</b>							
Men	53%	42%	56%	50%	48%	56%	40%
Women	<u>47</u> 100%	<u>58</u> 100%	<u>44</u> 100%	<u>50</u> 100%	<u>52</u> 100%	<u>44</u> 100%	<u>60</u> 100%
<b>Education:</b>							
Elementary school	91	78	59	63	83	83	87
Beyond elementary	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>41</u> 100%	<u>37</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%
<b>Age:</b>							
21 to 24 years	7	6	9	6	4	9	5
25 to 34 years	21	21	29	19	19	24	22
35 to 44 years	25	21	16	33	18	19	19
45 to 54 years	27	23	19	19	26	24	27
55 to 64 years	13	17	18	13	20	15	13
65 years and over	7	12	9	8	13	9	13
Answer refused	*	-	*	2	*	*	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<b>Incomes:</b>							
Up to 149 DM	10	14	8	10	30	20	17
150 - 299 DM	33	31	21	12	43	33	31
300 - 399 DM	29	20	23	21	12	11	23
400 - 499 DM	16	11	12	21	10	11	9
500 - 599 DM	7	8	12	15	3	6	5
600 - 799 DM	3	7	12	2	1	11	3
800 DM and more	1	4	8	15	-	2	2
No answer given	<u>1</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%	<u>10</u> 100%
<b>Occupation (respondent):</b>							
Professionals	1	3	6	6	1	6	2
Businessmen	2	7	7	11	-	6	7
White-collar workers	8	9	17	13	6	9	7
Skilled laborers	20	9	8	8	9	14	11
Semi-skilled laborers	15	7	4	6	10	2	9
Domestic Service	3	2	3	4	3	6	3
Farmers	3	11	12	21	4	16	8
Housewives	33	34	27	23	34	24	36
Unemployed	1	2	2	2	4	6	1
Pensioners, retired	14	15	12	6	29	11	16
Students	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Apprentices	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<b>Origin:</b>							
Natives	83	84	90	88	4	100	87
Expellees, Refugees	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%	<u>10</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>96</u> 100%	<u>-</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%
<b>Religion:</b>							
Catholics	33	57	14	8	48	63	43
Protestants	60	41	80	90	51	30	55
Others	2	1	2	-	1	-	1
None	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>-</u> 100%	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.



### III. Why People Voted As They Did

#### ASSUMPTIONS IN ELECTION CAMPAIGNING ...

Before delving into the facts of voters' reasons for their election decisions, it is instructive to see first the assumptions that were made in this connection in the pre-election campaigning. Catalogued in order of frequency below are the reports of the West German electorate, as sampled in the present study, on the themes that were chiefly emphasized in the election campaigning by the CDU and the SPD. One need only glance at the most frequent categories of reply to observe that in the minds of the auditors at least, the CDU and to a somewhat lesser extent the SPD were electioneering on the assumption that their parties' stand on German defense participation, European integration and German reunification would be among the foremost determinants of how the German electorate would cast their ballots in the 1953 Federal elections.

"What were, in your opinion, the chief points that were presented by the CDU during the election campaign?"  
(Asked of all voters.)

	All Voters	CDU Voters	Non- CDU Voters
<u>Reunification of Germany - restoration of Eastern territories:</u>			
"German reunification."	14%	16%	12%
"The reunification of East and West Germany."			
"Reunification with East Germany."			
"That Germany will be reunited."			
"Reunification and restoration of the Eastern provinces."			
"To get the Eastern territories back."			
"Reunification subject to certain conditions."			
<u>European integrations:</u>	12	14	10
"A consolidation of West Europe, to realize the European treaties."			
"A union between the Western countries."			
"The creation of a United West Europe."			
"Unification of Europe."			
"A union between the European countries, ratification of pending treaties, joining forces with the West, no neutrality as this might mean isolation for us."			
"To accept the European treaties."			
"The European treaties."			
<u>EDC - rearmament:</u>	12	10	14
"They consider the EDC treaties to be the most important issue there is."			
"To champion the EDC treaty."			
"An early ratification of the EDC treaty."			
"Their main point was setting up a new army."			
"They placed special stress on remilitarization."			
"Participation in the West European defense system."			
"A well-organized defense system against Russia together with other countries: with France, Italy and others."			
"The defense contribution."			
<u>General economic policy:</u>	10	12	8
"A free enterprise economy."			
"To give strong support to industry and to stick to the free enterprise system."			
"Erhard's economic policy through which the masses benefit."			
"Above all, they played up their economic policy."			
"They promised to continue their free enterprise policy."			
"To stick to their present economic system was a point of their platform."			

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All Voters	CDU Voters	Non- CDU Voters
8%	11%	6%

Solution of specific socio-economic problems:

- "To increase old age pensions and the salaries of civil servants in a fair way."
- "They promised to speed up the equalization of burdens and to do something about the refugee problem."
- "Housing construction."
- "They promised to look after the refugees, to build new homes and to see to it that pensions will be increased."
- "Granting special privileges to families with many children."
- "They promised to help those people who had had saving accounts before the currency reform."
- "That relatives of war dead and expellees shall get more money."

The CDU is a Christian party:

- "They pointed out that it's a Christian party."
- "The most important point of their platform is religion."
- "That Christian principles as laid down in the Ten Commandments are honored, that people shouldn't lie or steal."
- "They presented themselves as Christians and as promoters of church interests."
- "Religious interests are attended to."
- "A Christian philosophy of life."

Achievements and success of recent years were pointed out:

- "Achievements in the field of foreign as well as national affairs."
- "They pointed to their achievements, their success in the field of foreign policy."
- "That the CDU has established valuable relations to foreign countries."
- "They have a good record and they told people about their achievements."
- "They told people what they have accomplished during the past four years."
- "They brought forward the argument that they've got a lot of things done during the past four years."
- "The achievements they can look back on."

Continuance of present course:

- "They will stick to the political course they've followed up till now."
- "they will continue the policy they've pursued up till now."

Solution of socio-economic problems (general):

- "To raise the standard of living."
- "I believed the CDU would be best for us, and that it offers a fairly decent standard of living for us."
- "Better living conditions."
- "A higher standard of living for Germany."
- "A high standard of living."
- "Employment and bread and a decent home for everybody."
- "A comfortable life for every German."

Other points:

- "That they want to keep Adenauer."
- "He wanted to be on friendly terms with the Americans."
- "They all help us, at least they want to do so."

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All Voters	CDU Voters	Non- CDU Voters
2%	5%	%

General approval of the CDU:

"What points? - Lord Almighty! - the CDU is my party, that's just it."

"I approved of all points of their campaign program."

"What they've done up till now was o.k."

"We knew what this party has done under its term of office and we were content."

It was just election propaganda:

"The alleged improvements achieved since the CDU took office."

"All these old slogans about Christian principles and freedom."

"They concentrated their efforts on soft-soaping the refugees, I guess."

"The whole election propaganda was just so many honeyed words to catch the votes of refugees and to wheedle the businessmen and the women."

No interest in CDU propaganda:

"I didn't pay any attention to their program as I knew perfectly well what party I was going to vote for."

"I didn't go into this as I had made up my mind beforehand as to what party I would vote for."

"I didn't pay any attention to it as I had decided beforehand to vote for the All-German bloc (GVP)."

"We had come to the conclusion that only one particular party was acceptable to us and therefore we didn't bother about all the others."

Not interested in politics:

"I didn't attend any of the election meetings."

"I don't bother about things like that, I leave that to my husband."

"I took little interest in all that."

"I hardly took any notice of the goings-on."

"I didn't concern myself with that."

"I never concern myself with politics, it's a matter of principle."

"No, I really don't know, I was worried about some inheritance problems."

No opinion for other reasons:

"When listening to the radio you felt every party was right, I really can't tell the difference."

"I really couldn't make out who was right, everybody claimed to be right, after all."

"I didn't take a thorough interest in this, after the CDU had started its powerful propaganda it was quite clear to me that they would win."

No opinion / No answer:

25	20	29
132%	140%	127%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"And how about the SPD: what was chiefly presented by the SPD during the election campaign?" (Asked of all voters.)

	All Voters	SPD Voters	Non- SPD Voters
<u>Rejection of the EDC treaty and of German rearmament:</u>	18%	28%	16%
"Rejection of the EDC treaty."			
"Their firm attitude against the EDC treaty."			
"Opposing the EDC treaty and remilitarization."			
"Their fight against the European treaties."			
"Their fight against the EDC treaty and the obligations connected with it."			
"That they want to maintain Germany's demilitarized status, that's the main point."			
"Against a defense participation."			
"Against army contingents."			
"Fighting against rearmament."			
"Against rearmament."			
"Against militarism."			
"No soldiers."			
<u>German reunification - Four-Power conference - Understanding with East:</u>	14	23	12
"Reunification of Germany."			
"Germany's reunification, initiation of a Four-Power conference."			
"Four-Power conference about reunification."			
"Under all circumstances the reunification with East Germany."			
"Peaceful reunification of Germany."			
"A Four-Power conference at all costs."			
"An understanding with the East."			
"An understanding with Russia."			
"Friendly relations with the East."			
"Prevention of war at all costs."			
<u>Solution of socio-economic problems (general):</u>	14	32	9
"The right of the working classes."			
"Better provisions for the working classes."			
"The rights of the working classes."			
"That's our party, it stands up for the working classes."			
"It's more or less the party which stands up for the working classes."			
"Social justice and consideration of the socially underprivileged."			
"To do something against poverty and misery."			
"Improvements of the social situation."			
"The social idea figures in a prominent place."			
<u>General economic policy:</u>	9	13	8
"Nationalization of the coal and steel industries."			
"Nationalization of big firms."			
"Nationalization of big enterprises."			
"Nationalization of firms."			
"That all firms would be state-controlled, planned economy."			
"Nationalization of coal mining and steel industry, of chemistry on a large scale, price controls."			
"A big tax reform."			
"A sounder economic policy."			
<u>Disapproval of CDU policy:</u>	9	7	10
"That Germany's political course is wrong."			
"Warnings against dictatorship and capitalism."			
"That a better Bundestag should be elected, one that advocates the interests of the working classes."			

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All Voters	SPD Voters	Non- SPD Voters
---------------	---------------	-----------------------

"Down with Adenauer, vote for Ollenhauer."

"Dr. Adenauer's government is reproached with being not socially-minded."

"Adenauer works for the benefit of other countries."

"By all means a better Bundestag."

"In any case it was against the government."

Solution of specific socio-economic problems:

"Higher pensions and a more just equalization-of-burdens' law." 7% 14% 5%

"Closer examining of the refugee problem."

"Co-determination law and a more just handling of the equalization-of-burdens law."

"Better provisions for war victims."

"Mainly house-building, a just equalization-of-burdens for pensioners and the disabled."

"Housing projects for workers instead of office building."

"Non-denominational schools."

"Strengthening of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB)."

Other answers:

"It's not true that people are so bad off, people aren't so bad off." 2 4 2

"I know what the SPD wants, even if I don't agree with it in all points."

"If they would only stop with their ballyhoo."

No interest in SPD propaganda:

"I was not at all interested in what the SPD said." 4 \* 5

"I don't remember anything from the SPD."

"I didn't attend an SPD meeting."

"I didn't listen to things said by the SPD."

"I didn't pay any attention to it (the SPD election program) because I knew from the start for whom I would vote."

Not interested in politics:

"I didn't attend any meeting and haven't read any posters." 14 8 16

"Didn't attend any election meetings."

"I didn't read any of those leaflets, I always threw them into the fire."

"I don't want to know anything about politics, nothing at all."

"I never was interested in politics."

"I don't engage in those things."

"I didn't care about it, I've got to do the household chores while the wife works outside the home, I've other troubles."

No opinion for other reasons:

"That wasn't quite clear." 4 5 4

"I don't want to have anything to do with it, not with any party."

"I couldn't get that straight."

"I won't say anything about this."

No opinion / No answer:

30 15 34  
125% 149% 121%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## REASONS ADVANCED FOR VOTING CDU ...

But the first clue that what the politicians were talking about in the election campaign and what the people were thinking about might be rather dissimilar, emanated from an initial open inquiry as to people's reasons for choosing to vote for the CDU or SPD.\*

The returns from CDU voters are catalogued below and indicate, it will be observed, that the reasons which are advanced most frequently for voting for the CDU are such considerations as Adenauer's personality and prestige, traditional religious loyalties, the economic gains of the past years, and more generally the past achievements of the CDU administration. It is particularly to be noted that the political issues which played such a role in election campaigning - defense participation, European integration, even reunification come in for vanishingly small mention as reasons for voting the CDU ticket. More will be said about this after further data have been brought to bear on the point.

"Can you tell me the reasons why you voted for the CDU? (Did you have any other reasons for that?)"

% of CDU  
Voters

Adenauer's personality, his prestige in the world:

30%

- "The reasons are Adenauer's personality."
- "Because Adenauer is the leader and we are not bad off."
- "Adenauer is another Bismarck for me."
- "Because in times like this, Adenauer is our man."
- "I feel that Adenauer's personality inspires confidence."
- "I regard him as the best politician."
- "The appreciation Adenauer enjoys in the world is the first step toward an independent German state."
- "Up till now Adenauer only did what was good for us, he is held in high esteem abroad and we did very well by it."
- "Because the Americans back up Adenauer and that's to our advantage."
- "Adenauer has good relations with the Western powers and is on friendly terms with them."
- "Adenauer's prestige in the world, good relations between the CDU and America."
- "Because Adenauer has great prestige in the world and in America."

For religious reasons:

21

- "Because I'm very religiously-minded, as a Roman Catholic I cannot but vote for a candidate who is a Christian."
- "Because we are Roman Catholic people and therefore we vote for a Christian party."
- "For me it was only the question of protecting and furthering Christianity."
- "We are Roman Catholics and then you would elect a party based on Christian principles."
- "Because as a true Christian I couldn't vote differently."
- "That's the Christian party and I vote for it because they want to do what's right."
- "Because of its Roman Catholic tendency."
- "You are bound to the church somehow, although I don't go to church I still vote for a party the church is in favor of."
- "Because it's a party based on Christian principles."

(Cont'd on next page)

\* Supplementary returns on the parallel question of why people didn't vote for the SPD or the CDU can be found in Appendix II.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

% of CDU  
Voters

19%

The economic gains during the last years:

- "I was impressed by the economic boom and by the solution of the housing problem."
- "Under the CDU government we have economically recovered and are well off."
- "I was led to it by the successes of the last years."
- "They really got things in a good shape during the last years and we appreciated that."
- "Because I'm of the opinion that the government party did the most for us - because the economic policy of the government was very successful up till now."
- "Because there were great achievements within the last four years, everything is to be had, pensions have been raised."
- "Because it was the CDU which stabilized our economy, old people are provided for and things will still improve."
- "Because the CDU has done most for our economic recovery."
- "After the first world war the SPD was in power and it ruined us although there was no war damage in the country - just look what the CDU has made out of the debris."

Satisfaction with the achievements of the CDU:

17

- "There are many achievements and the government should be given the chance to continue their present course."
- "Because I'm content with its political program as regards domestic affairs."
- "A government that has done such a good job can safely be re-elected, as far as other parties are concerned, you can never know what they might do."
- "For reason of good results the CDU has achieved in the last four years."
- "I'm of the opinion that what they've done up till now was just right."
- "The CDU has done quite a lot and therefore I voted for them once more."
- "They've done a good job up to now, I was always in favor of the CDU."
- "Because it's the only party that kept Germany going."

The CDU is the best party (general):

9

- "It's the best party."
- "We believe that it is the best party."
- "Because I think they'll do best of all."
- "It is the best party."
- "Because I consider it to be the right party."
- "Because I regard it as the best party."

The CDU best represents the interests of the middle class:

4

- "Because the CDU represents the interests of the middle classes best of all."
- "Because it's the only middle-class party."
- "Because of my duty as a citizen, to strengthen the middle-classes."
- "Because it's a party of clear middle course which doesn't tend to the right nor to the left - and because it represents the interests of the middle classes."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

% of CDU  
VotersRecommendations by other persons:

4%

- "I was influenced by my colleagues."
- "Because I have been told by many acquaintances, I personally haven't the faintest idea."
- "We had talked it over before."
- "I voted for it because my husband and I agreed on it."
- "Because we all voted for it."
- "Well, my husband told me."
- "Well, I voted the same way my husband and the others did, I didn't have a special reason for it."
- "Because my husband told me to do so."

To prevent radicalism taking over:

3

- "I don't want the radicals."
- "Because I'm more in favor of a non-radical party."
- "Because we don't want Communists."
- "That the Communists won't get on top."
- "Much sooner should Adenauer stay on than the Communists take over."
- "Because I'm afraid of Communism - never leftist."

Liking for local candidate:

2

- "Because Frau Dr. Probst is very well liked and has really done a lot, she helped many poor people, found them jobs and settled their pension problems for them."
- "Because this candidate belongs in the Federal government, we couldn't have found a better one."
- "First of all Professor Wahl is a personality held in high esteem in Heidelberg and then I always voted for this party."

The CDU is for peace and advocates Germany's reunification:

2

- "Because I don't want war and I believe that this is also the aim of the CDU."
- "Because I believe that the CDU will maintain peace for us."
- "That peace will be maintained."
- "I'm against war and I'm all for a peaceful reunification."
- "Because the CDU won't be in favor of a war."
- "It's all for maintaining peace, it's going to reunite Germany."

The CDU champions German rearmament:

1

- "Because it can be expected that West Germany will soon have an army again."
- "Because they are in favor of remilitarization."
- "Because unemployment will disappear once there is a European army."
- "Because we hope that unemployment will disappear if we have rearmament and that my husband would find work then."

Other reasons:

3

- "I'm against splinter groups and voted for the CDU as the strongest non-socialist party."
- "The party is humane."
- "We have to be sensible, there is no other possibility."
- "I just did my duty."
- "Then the Russians won't come here."

No opinion/No answer:1  
116%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## REASONS GIVEN FOR VOTING SPD ...

Reasons advanced for voting for the SPD revolved in the main around the SPD's traditional role as the party of the workers and of social and economic reform. Only the order of one in ten among the motivations cited alluded to considerations bearing upon German rearmament and even more interesting, only a bare one per cent explicitly referred to SPD support of German reunification as a reason for voting SPD.

"Can you tell me the reasons why you voted for the SPD? (Did you have any other reasons for that?)"

% of SPD  
Voters

The SPD advocates the cause of the workers:

69%

- "I've always voted for the SPD, there is no other party for the working classes."
- "The SPD has always been the only party for the workers, and I'm a working class woman."
- "The SPD attends to the interests of the working classes, they represent us workers."
- "Because I belong to the working classes, there is no other party that stands up for us."
- "As a worker I can't think of a party other than the SPD to vote for."
- "I've never voted for any other party, the SPD advocates the cause of the working classes and thus my interests, too."
- "We are trade union members and a working class family, any other party is out of question for us."
- "It's the party for us poor, I've never voted for any other party."
- "We've always voted for the SPD and we'll never changed our minds."
- "I've been a member of the SPD for 50 years and I'll stick to it."

Economic and social gains can be expected from an SPD government:

9

- "Because the SPD favors the idea of higher pensions."
- "Because I expect the SPD to do still more for our class: a reduction in taxes and the 40-hour week."
- "They favor the 40-hour week."
- "I thought that if the SPD were in office they would see to it that the workers could live more comfortably, the SPD would certainly have increased the wages and got the rich to pay higher taxes."
- "The SPD promised to do more for the workers than other parties: an 8-hour working day, more taxes for employers and less heavy taxes for employees."
- "It looks after the interests of the physically handicapped, it sends them to recreation centers, for instance."

Because the SPD opposes the EDC and German remilitarization:

7

- "I disapprove of the EDC treaty as I don't want my husband to become a soldier again."
- "Because the SPD disapproves of the EDC treaty, and I, too, hate the idea of a new army and another war that will follow such remilitarization."
- "I disapprove of the EDC treaty."
- "Because it is against Germany's remilitarization under the present circumstances."
- "Because it is the strongest opponent to the military service law."
- "Because I share its opposition to Germany's joining the defense community."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Victory would have given SPD chance to show its capabilities:

5%

"Because I like to see how the SPD handles the government business, it might have been more successful than the present government."

"They should give a chance to the SPD to show what they can do."

"I wanted the SPD to show whether it is more efficient than the present government coalition parties or not."

"The SPD ought to demonstrate what it can do, it might handle governmental affairs more efficiently than the CDU."

The CDU is too partial to business:

4

"Adenauer attends to the interests of the capitalists."

"Because the CDU favors businessmen, it saw to it that they became rich within a short time."

"Because the CDU consists but of capitalists, I as a worker can't agree with their social ideas."

"The CDU looks but after the entrepreneurs."

Liking for local candidate:

4

"Because the SPD candidate looked after the war widows."

"Because of the local SPD candidate."

"Because I knew the man who was nominated by the SPD."

"Friendly contacts with the candidates."

"Because the SPD candidate did me some favor, he saw to it that I got a job after having been out of a job for five years, I promised to vote for him to pay him back, otherwise I would have voted for the CDU candidate."

Necessity of a constructive opposition:

3

"A democratic government needs an opposition."

"To prevent the CDU from getting an overwhelming majority, a not too radical opposition is necessary."

"Government coalition parties won't do alone, we need a constructive opposition."

"I thought that we needed an aggressive opposition again."

Rejection of the clergy and its influence in politics:

3

"To help to deprive the clergy of their political power."

"I disapprove of Adenauer's favoring the clerical clique."

"I don't think much of Christians at the present time, that's why I don't vote for the CDU."

The SPD wants peace:

2

"The SPD wants peace."

"The SPD stands up for a peaceful coexistence of all nations."

"Above all, I want to live in a peaceful world, a stable peace can only be built on the base of socialist principles."

The SPD is the counterbalance to the KPD:

1

"Since the KPD is out of question, the SPD is the most suitable party for us workers."

"I don't give my vote to the Communist party as I know the Russians."

"Only a strong party can counterbalance the KPD."

The SPD aims at the reunification of Germany:

1

"The SPD sees to it that Germany gets reunited."

"Because reunification of Germany is point number one in the SPD party program."

Other answers:

7

"The SPD is the only party that attends to Germany's interests in the Saar issue."

"Because I consider the domestic policy of the SPD to be all right."

"The SPD wants a national army instead of hirelings within the EDC."

No opinion/No answer:

2  
11/26

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## FURTHER PROBE OF CDU MOTIVATION ...

If political considerations of interest to the West have played as minor a role in German voting decisions as respondents' comments thus far seem to suggest, then much of the emphasis in the election campaigning missed the primary interests and concerns of the voters and care must be taken not to draw erroneous implications from the election outcome. However, though the results of the open-end inquiry are suggestive they are not entirely conclusive. In spite of respondents' being pressed for their major reasons (i.e. in the plural) for voting CDU or SPD, in most cases they only cited one, thus leaving the possibility open that Western policy considerations may have figured importantly in a second or third place role in influencing election choices. Moreover, the absence of bias and suggestiveness that is the greatest strength of an open question is also in part its weakness in that respondents may not at the moment think of considerations that they might weigh more highly if they were reminded of their existence. For these reasons it was deemed desirable to push the motivation inquiry further, employing in a second survey a so-called "cafeteria" query which remedies the deficiencies of the open question approach.

The essence of this mode of inquiry is that in the light of hypotheses advanced, and the results of prior open questioning, all important alternative answers are incorporated in a list from which the respondent - thus reminded - may make his choice. The results of such a questioning as applied to reasons for voting for the CDU are tabulated below. The table is the most informative one in the entire paper and warrants careful study.

"There are, of course, various reasons which cause one to vote for a party, but in most cases one reason is more important than another. Can you tell me now which of these reasons was the most important one for your voting for the CDU? (And what would be in second place?) (And what in third place?)"

	First place	Second place	Third place
The CDU is a Christian party	40%	7%	6%
Adenauer has acquired respect, friends and prestige for Germany throughout the world	18	24	17
Adenauer is a great leader	16	20	11
The CDU led us to prosperity and economic recovery	11	17	18
The CDU best advocates German reunification	7	15	12
The CDU had the most capable candidate in my constituency	2	2	4
The CDU is for our military participation in the EDC - the European Defense Community	1	4	4
The CDU is for a political union of West Europe	*	4	10
The CDU had the best solutions for important issues in my constituency	-	*	4
My most important reason for voting for the CDU is none of the above reasons, but ... (supplied by respondent)	3	1	2
No opinion	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## INDICATION ...

The results delineated above amplify the indications which emerged from open inquiry into reasons for voting CDU, and underscore the suggestion that CDU espousal of German defense participation and of European integration had relatively little to do with influencing people to vote in its favor. CDU support of reunification played a somewhat greater role, but still on the minor side. The major reasons why people voted for the CDU, it now seems apparent, are in order of frequency (1) traditional Christian loyalty, (2) Adenauer's worldwide prestige, (3) Adenauer's appeal as a leader and (4) the economic prosperity associated with the CDU regime.

None of the above is to imply that West Germans are necessarily negative on the political issues that have been alluded to. No one would maintain, for example, that any appreciable number of Germans are opposed to German reunification. And it is of course probable that some people mean to include the CDU position on these policies in speaking of Adenauer's prestige and leadership. But if this latter is the case the suggestion is strong - in the absence of any appreciable explicit reference to defense or integration policies in even third place - that many West Germans support Western policies because Adenauer supports them, rather than vice versa. This carries the implication, of course, that Adenauer's support is of no small importance in insuring rank and file approval of Western defense and integration policies in Germany.

If it is true that in CDU voters' motivations, religious factors, economic factors and the psychological factors of Adenauer's leadership and prestige greatly overshadowed the explicitly political,\* then care must be taken in the implications that are drawn from the election returns. What seems to have been endorsed by the German rank and file is Chancellor Adenauer and the German economic boom. Endorsement of Adenauer is a gain for the West in his championing of Western policies, but it should not be taken as equivalent in its dynamics or its implications to an endorsement of the policies themselves.

The further comment may be made from the table, for the sake of completeness, that local candidates and local issues do not give any indication of being primary determinants of the election outcome.

\* That for a significant number defense and integration considerations are not just being overshadowed by more pressing reasons, but are simply not being checked even when room is available, is indicated by the 20 per cent no opinion that was registered for first, second and third choice taken together.

## FURTHER PROBE OF SPD MOTIVATIONS ...

The same mode of inquiry applied to reasons for voting SPD reveals that traditional SPD motivations - workers' party, economic program, church independence - actuated the bulk of the SPD vote. Only the SPD's anti-defense stand among political issues played any important motivational role. All the SPD campaign emphasis on the reunification issue would appear to have added up to considerable waste motion in the light of the meager reference to this issue as even a second or third place reason for voting SPD. Such a finding carries the suggestion, of course, that the German interest in reunification is not the overriding preoccupation that some have supposed.

"There are, of course, various reasons which cause one to vote for a party, but in most cases one reason is more important than another. Can you tell me now which of these reasons was the most important one for your voting for the SPD? (And what would be in second place?) (And what in third place?)"

	First place	Second place	Third place
The SPD has always been the workers' party	57%	14%	5%
The SPD is against our military participation in the EDC - the European Defense Community	14	21	11
The SPD has the best economic and social programs	11	11	16
The SPD is independent of church influence	6	22	11
Because I'm dissatisfied with my economic circumstances	3	5	8
The SPD best advocates German reunification	2	8	9
Because I'm dissatisfied with Adenauer and the Federal government	1	6	8
The SPD had the most capable candidate in my constituency	*	*	4
The SPD had the best solutions for important issues in my constituency	*	-	3
Ollenhauer is a great leader	-	*	2
My most important reason for voting for the SPD is none of the above reasons, but ... (supplied by respondent)	3	2	3
No opinion	<u>3</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## GROUP VARIATIONS IN CDU MOTIVATIONS ...

The relative importance of various motives for voting for CDU in the past election vary somewhat among different population elements (see page following for table), though in general similarities are overriding.

Men, better educated, younger, better off, professional and laboring groups, protestants and non-natives are less actuated by traditional Christian loyalty in voting CDU than are their counterpart groups. The difference is particularly marked by economic status with fully 71 per cent of the lowest income group who voted for the CDU\* citing the fact of its being a Christian party as their primary reason.

Though the religious motive is in almost all population categories the single most frequent reason for voting CDU, except among Catholics and people of low income already alluded to it is matched or outweighed by more secular considerations taken as a group.

There are indications - only hints in view of the limited number of cases involved - that Adenauer's personality as a leader ranks more strongly as the prime motive for voting CDU among younger respondents and among those of comparatively better economic status than among the older and the less well off.

As might be expected the lowest income groups are least inclined to allude to prosperity and economic recovery as their primary motive for voting CDU. But what is interesting is that above the very lowest income category differences in citing the prosperity motive (in first, second or third place) are not great, and suggest that this kind of satisfaction has diffused to even the economically less fortunate levels of the West German electorate.

Voting for the CDU because it is for European integration reaches its maximum among the young and the better educated, but in no group exceeds one in four placing such a motive even as high as third place.

## GROUP VARIATIONS IN SPD MOTIVATIONS ...

With the election results being what they were, the number of cases of SPD voters are too few for hard and fast conclusions as to population group differences in election motivations. But many of the trends are suggestive (see second page following), and one at least is deserving of discussion.

Some readers will already have noticed in comparing the overall CDU vs SPD motivation findings that despite a general assumption that the German reunification issue was more a source of appeal for the SPD than for the CDU, 34 per cent of CDU voters cited best advocacy of reunification (in third place or better) as a motive for voting CDU, whereas only 19 per cent among SPD voters did so. This point reaches its greatest significance in the group comparisons where the rather remarkable fact will be observed that among skilled and semi-skilled laborers 56 per cent of those who voted for CDU said that they did so (in first, second or third place) because of its best advocacy of reunification. But among laborers who voted for the SPD only 26 per cent - or less than half as many - said they did so because of the SPD's stand on reunification. There is more than a suggestion in this that in fact the CDU made more gains out of the reunification issue than did the SPD, and did their best in this respect among no less than the special preserves of the SPD - German workers.

So added to the indication that reunification can be exaggerated in importance as to its significance to West Germans, is the suggestion that on this issue the SPD had by no means (as of the time of the election at least) the better end of the stick.

\* For which cases are too few to be more than suggestive, however.

REASONS FOR CDU  
VOTING

	CDU is a Christian party			Adenauer has acquired respect, friends and prestige for Germany			Adenauer is a great leader			CDU led us to prosperity and economic recovery			CDU best advocates German reunification			In my capable candidate			CDU is for military participation in EDC			CDU is for political union of West Europe			CDU had the best solutions for import-issues in continental Europe			Other reasons			No. of cases				
	%1	%2	%3	%1	%2	%3	%1	%2	%3	%1	%2	%3	%1	%2	%3	%1	%2	%3	%1	%2	%3	%1	%2	%3	%1	%2	%3	%1	%2	%3					
men	31	6	5	20	26	15	17	20	9	14	13	18	7	18	13	2	1	3	2	6	7	1	5	13	-	-	4	5	1	2	1	4	11	162	
men	48	8	7	17	23	17	14	21	13	9	20	19	7	13	11	2	2	4	*	2	2	*	3	9	-	-	*	3	1	1	2	2	7	13	214
men	45	7	6	16	25	14	12	19	11	10	18	19	8	14	12	2	2	5	1	4	4	*	3	9	-	*	4	4	1	2	2	7	14	285	
men	26	8	6	23	22	26	26	26	11	13	14	16	6	18	12	2	-	1	2	3	4	1	7	16	-	-	2	1	1	2	-	1	4	90	
men	30	4	7	16	26	14	19	16	11	14	21	18	13	19	8	1	1	4	1	2	5	2	5	17	-	1	4	3	1	-	1	4	12	101	
men	42	9	4	20	22	17	17	19	11	8	20	18	5	12	14	2	2	4	1	5	3	-	5	12	-	-	3	3	1	4	2	5	10	164	
men	46	8	9	16	24	17	11	28	12	14	8	18	5	15	11	2	2	3	1	4	5	-	1	3	-	-	4	3	2	2	2	8	16	108	
men	71	-	9	15	11	13	4	28	11	4	11	9	2	13	6	-	7	4	-	7	-	-	4	13	-	-	9	2	2	-	2	17	26	46	
men	40	6	2	14	26	20	15	19	14	10	19	16	7	14	12	2	1	6	2	6	3	1	2	7	-	-	4	5	-	1	4	7	15	106	
men	38	4	8	22	22	12	16	19	6	12	23	19	8	19	14	1	1	4	-	1	8	-	5	15	-	1	2	2	1	5	1	4	7	84	
men	30	13	8	18	28	19	19	18	13	15	13	23	10	14	10	3	1	1	2	4	5	1	5	8	-	-	3	2	2	2	-	2	8	125	
men	32	8	7	25	25	17	17	22	13	13	15	20	5	14	9	2	-	-	1	4	8	-	6	12	-	-	4	5	2	1	-	4	9	85	
men	25	11	6	19	32	11	13	19	13	21	13	19	12	21	23	4	-	4	-	2	4	2	-	9	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	2	9	47	
men	56	6	6	10	16	10	14	26	4	6	14	16	4	20	16	2	4	8	-	8	4	-	6	-	-	-	8	8	-	4	-	6	18	50	
men	45	9	5	19	21	18	14	18	13	9	21	21	8	16	9	2	2	3	-	2	4	-	3	11	-	1	3	1	2	2	2	5	11	127	
men	49	2	7	12	33	21	11	25	14	12	14	16	9	-	7	-	-	5	2	5	-	-	5	7	-	-	2	-	-	2	5	16	19	43	
men	50	6	6	14	24	16	14	23	12	10	17	17	6	15	12	1	1	3	1	3	5	*	3	9	-	*	4	2	1	2	2	7	14	220	
men	29	9	5	22	25	17	18	18	10	12	18	21	10	13	11	3	2	5	1	5	4	1	5	13	-	-	4	3	1	2	1	4	8	149	
men	42	8	5	16	25	16	16	20	12	11	17	17	6	13	12	2	2	4	1	4	4	1	4	11	-	*	4	3	1	3	2	6	12	315	
men	35	3	11	26	18	20	11	25	8	10	18	26	13	23	11	-	2	2	2	3	5	-	5	7	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	3	8	61	

Less than one half of one per cent.



REASONS FOR SPD  
VOTING

	Workers' Party	Against military participation	Best economic & social programs	Independent of church influence	Disaffected with economic circumstances	Best advocates German reunification	Disaffected w/ Adenauer & Federal Government	Most capable candidate in my constituency	Best solutions for import. issues in my constituency	Ollenhauer is a Great Leader	Other reasons	No opinion
Sex:												
Men	52 18	4 16 18 12	12 15 19	8 23 15	5 5 7	1 8 12	1 5 7	1 1 4	1 - 4	- -	1 2 2	1 5 13 83
Women	62 9	6 13 23 10	9 8 13	5 22 8	1 6 9	2 8 6	1 7 9	- - 5	- - 2	- 1 3 5	1 5 2	15 24 87
Education:												
Elementary school	58 14	5 14 21 10	12 11 17	4 21 12	3 6 8	1 8 8	1 6 8	1 1 4	1 - 3	- 1 3 3	1 4 2	10 18 157
Beyond elementary	46 8	- 15 15 23	- 8 8	23 30 8	- 8 8	8 15	- 8 8	- - 6	- - -	- - 8 8	- - -	15 22 13
Age:												
21 to 34 years	53 16	2 19 19 8	14 10 16	6 27 17	4 2 8	- 6 15	- 12 10	2 - 2	- - -	- 2 2 4	8 -	4 12 51
35 to 54 years	54 13	17 11 25 13	11 12 13	7 20 9	3 5 9	3 10 7	2 3 11	- - 6	1 - 3	- 1 1 5	1 2 3	10 19 86
55 years and over	70 12	3 15 12 12	6 12 24	6 22 6	- 12 6	- 6 3	- 3 -	- 3 3	- - 6	- - 6 3	- - -	18 31 33
Income:												
Up to 149 DM	64 7	- 22 14 7	7 14 14	- 14 7	- 7 14	- - 7	- 15 -	- - -	- 15 -	- 7 -	7 7 15	- 15 21 14
150 - 299 DM	60 12	5 10 28 12	10 9 23	4 18 2	5 5 10	- 12 9	2 4 9	- 2 5	- - -	- - 4 5	- 2 2	10 19 57
300 - 399 DM	65 15	4 13 13 13	8 10 8	4 31 15	2 4 8	4 6 11	- 6 8	- - 2	- - 4	- - 2 2	2 6 2	13 19 48
400 DM and more	43 16	6 19 23 8	14 12 14	12 23 21	2 6 4	2 6 8	2 6 10	2 - 6	- - 2	- - 2 2	2 -	2 6 19 49
Occupation:												
Prof., Bus'men, White-collar w.	25 31	- 19 6 6	25 13 13	19 6 19	- 19 -	6 13 12	- 6 -	6 -	- - 6	- - 6 -	6 19 -	- 19 16
Skilled & Semi-sk. laborers	53 17	2 19 21 9	12 15 17	7 22 12	3 - 10	- 9 17	- 9 9	- - -	2 - 3	- - -	- 2 -	2 7 14 58
Farmers	60 -	- 40 -	- - -	- 40 -	20 - 20	- - -	- 20 -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- 20 20 20	- - 40 5
Housewives	63 12	9 13 24 10	5 5 16	3 23 10	3 7 9	3 5 3	2 5 9	- - 3	- - -	- - 3 5	2 2 2	3 17 26 58
Not employed: pens., ret. etc	71 -	4 4 18 26	17 13 18	4 27 14	- 4 4	- 17 4	4 4 9	- 4 -	- - 4	- 4 4	- - -	- 9 13 23
Religion:												
Catholics	52 18	2 18 22 9	13 17 18	9 15 13	6 7 6	- 4 16	- 9 6	- - 2	- - 7	- - 2 2	2 4 -	- 6 15 54
Protestants	59 9	7 13 19 13	10 9 14	3 27 8	2 3 9	3 10 6	2 5 9	1 1 6	- - 1	- 1 3 4	2 3 3	13 21 105
Origin:												
Natives	58 14	6 13 23 10	9 11 18	6 20 12	4 6 6	1 8 6	1 6 8	1 1 4	1 - 3	- - 3 4	1 4 2	10 20 142
Expellees, ref.	50 11	- 18 11 14	18 11 7	7 32 7	- - 18	3 11 21	4 7 11	- - 7	- - 4	- - 3 -	- 3 -	- 11 11 28

## WHY DID THE CDU DO SO WELL? ...

It apparently is no mystery to the West German people as to the motivations involved in the CDU coming off so well in the elections. The most frequent themes in the reasons cited below reveal a remarkable correspondence with the actual facts of CDU election motivations as presented earlier. Whatever may have been the opinions of political leaders or journalist observers, it is evident that few of the German public at large are under the impression that the CDU's stand on reunification, integration or defense policy played any predominant role in determining the election outcome.

"As you probably know, the CDU received with 45 per cent the most votes, and thereby it got 15 per cent more votes than the second strongest party - the SPD. What were the reasons, in your opinion, that the CDU came off so well?"

All Voters (790)	CDU Voters (376)	Non-CDU Voters (414)
29%	31%	27%

Adenauer's personality and achievements:

- "The personality of the Chancellor was the decisive factor."
- "This victory of the CDU is only due to Adenauer himself, people didn't vote for the CDU but for the man Adenauer."
- "The personality of the Federal Chancellor alone caused that."
- "Adenauer is known to be a capable politician, he is an outstanding personality."
- "The name Adenauer got even undecided people to go to the polls."
- "It's thanks to Dr. Adenauer himself and the great achievement he has brought about, they are an indisputable fact."
- "People are well aware of what Adenauer has achieved."
- "Because up till now Adenauer handled everything satisfactorily, he is a shrewd politician."
- "I believe that one of the reasons is Adenauer's success in the past years."
- "Because the great majority of the German people have faith in Adenauer, and it's thanks to Adenauer's policy that Germany has prospered."
- "The outcome is due to Adenauer, we Germans tend to a certain kind of hero-worshipping."

The Christian, Catholic character of the CDU:

21	13	28
----	----	----

- "Above all, it's because the CDU stands up for Christian ideas."
- "Because it is the most appropriate party for Christian people."
- "Because it is a Christian party and the majority of the German people are religious."
- "Because there are a great many religious people in Germany who naturally put the greatest confidence in the CDU."
- "The CDU owes its victory to the Catholic Church."
- "Because the CDU is a Catholic party."
- "From the pulpit the priests told people to vote for the CDU."
- "Many people voted for the CDU because the Church told them to do so."
- "People in general allow the Church too great an influence on themselves and get taken in by it."

(Cont'd on next page)

All Voters	CDU Voters	Non-CDU Voters
16%	19%	14%

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Successful economic policy of the CDU:

- "Because the CDU's economic policy caused an unparalleled boom in Germany."
- "Because we experienced an economic boom."
- "Adenauer's policy has proved to be successful, everybody expects some economic advantage for himself."
- "The German people have been recovering ever since the currency reform, and this recovery is put to Adenauer's credit."
- "Because the majority of the people recognize that Germany's economy took an upward turn under the CDU government."
- "Because they were successful in the economic field."
- "Because Adenauer looks after the people and stands up for their interests, he got Germany on its feet again, as he knows how to handle things."
- "People get taken in by the present economic boom."

The successful record of the CDU (general):

16	19	14
----	----	----

- "The CDU has been very successful during its past four years' term of office."
- "The CDU has been very successful."
- "Because it became clear to the people that of all the parties the CDU is the best, at least it was very successful."
- "The good results that were achieved in the past term of office."
- "Because we did well in the past four years."
- "Because the CDU demonstrated its capability when it led the nation out of the chaos of 1945."
- "Because the majority of the people were satisfied with the work the government carried out."
- "Because the CDU had done good work."
- "CDU did all right, we like it best of all."

The CDU restored Germany's prestige abroad:

9	13	6
---	----	---

- "Because Adenauer acquired friends for Germany."
- "Because Adenauer achieved a lot during the past four years, above all abroad."
- "Adenauer restored Germany's prestige."
- "I think it is due to the clever foreign policy the CDU pursues."
- "Their foreign policy: Germany's prestige has been restored, that made a favorable impression on the people."
- "Because Adenauer is the right person to promote our interests in foreign countries."

Certain segments of the population voted for the CDU:

6	2	10
---	---	----

- "It's probably due to the peasant class that Adenauer came off so well."
- "I believe that it's chiefly people in rural districts who voted for the CDU."
- "People in the country use to vote for the CDU."
- "I believe that we women helped Adenauer win."
- "The votes of the women."
- "Especially the young voters helped to increase the number of the CDU voters."
- "I know that a great deal of the working class people gave their votes to the CDU."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

All Voters	CDU Voters	Non-CDU Voters
6%	1%	10%

CDU conducted a more effective election campaign:

"It's due to the effective propaganda they made."

"They had the largest propaganda funds at their disposal."

"They made more ballyhoo about the election."

"Their cleverly directed propaganda campaign."

"I believe that the CDU used more effective propaganda methods than the other parties."

"It's all due to the propaganda fuss, they had the largest amount of money for that purpose."

The CDU is the best party (general):

4	6	2
---	---	---

"It appears that it is better than the others."

"Because you can't vote for another party because they all are no good."

"The best one has more followers."

"Apparently that according to the opinion of CDU voters the CDU is the best party."

The CDU was supported by financiers and business people:

4	1	6
---	---	---

"The CDU is backed up by the rich."

"The CDU could depend on business people."

"It was strongly supported by manufacturers."

"Because all these business people are all for CDU."

"Because they are backed up by the capitalists."

Refugees voted for the CDU:

4	1	6
---	---	---

"Nearly all refugees voted for the CDU."

"CDU stood up for the interests of the refugees very determinedly."

"The refugees gave their votes to the CDU as this party cares about their worries."

"The great number of refugees who believe that Adenauer is more capable than other politicians."

"It's mainly due to the masses of refugees."

Failure of the SPD (general):

3	4	3
---	---	---

"Because the opposition failed. SPD didn't do productive work during the Bundestag sessions."

"Because the promises made by the SPD didn't materialize."

"Because the SPD vetoed proposals too often."

"SPD has already disappointed us once, another experiment might be too risky."

"Because the SPD turns thumbs down on everything."

"Ollenhauer's stubbornness."

The CDU is for European integration:

2	2	1
---	---	---

"Because everybody should be reasonable enough to see that unification of Europe must be brought about."

"The political course of the CDU has met with the approval of the people; above all, I'm thinking of the line they've adopted to bring about a United Europe."

"They sponsored the EDC."

Hope for further CDU gain:

1	1	1
---	---	---

"Because I believe they will do still better in the next four years to come."

"Because their voters believe that they will be still better off in future."

"Because CDU voters believe that there will be a further improvement of the economic situation."

(Cont'd on next page)

All CDU Non-CDU  
Voters Voters Voters

(Cont'd from preceding page)

The CDU most strongly advocates Germany's reunification: 1% 1% 1%

"Because the CDU is pressing the reunification issue forward as much as it ever can."

"Because the CDU so strongly advocates reunification."

"Because this party wants to bring about a reunification of Germany."

"They do a lot to pave the way for a reunification of Germany."

The CDU policy is oriented toward the West: 1 1 \*

"Because of the strengthening of West Germany through siding with the West against the East."

"Adenauer is strongly oriented toward the West."

"The CDU is more strongly oriented towards the US than the SPD, and that's better for us."

Other reasons: 4 4 4

"The CDU guarantees the independence of the individual family."

"Because the CDU wants to help the war widows and orphans and also the pensioners."

"I think it was just a mere accident."

"Because the majority of the people was all for it."

"Because the masses of people didn't know what to vote for."

"Because the East Zone failed completely."

"Because everybody sees to it that the Russians, the Communists, won't take over."

"Because everybody is afraid of the Russians."

"Because they act very energetically."

"The CDU has a better understanding for the young."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{19}{146\%}$   $\frac{12}{131\%}$   $\frac{25}{158\%}$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## WHY DIDN'T THE SPD DO BETTER? ...

On the converse query of why didn't the SPD do better, the West German electorate, as sampled in the present study, come up with some rather pointed criticisms of the SPD - that it has allegedly lost people's trust and confidence, that its opposition is unconstructive, that its leadership is poor, and the like. And it adds not a little pertinence to these criticisms to find that more than a few are voiced by the SPD voters themselves.

"And why, do you believe, didn't the SPD come off better in the Bundestag elections - what are, in your opinion, the reasons for that?"

	All Voters (790)	SPD Voters (172)	Non-SPD Voters (618)
<u>The SPD have lost people's trust and confidence:</u>	13%	8%	14%
"Because they promise a lot and don't do better than the others."			
"They promise much and keep little."			
"They didn't keep the promise they made."			
"Because they also are up to trickery, there's a lot of propaganda but the promises they make are never kept."			
"Because they didn't keep the promises they had made."			
"The SPD didn't keep the promises made in their election campaign."			
"Because they have done nothing for the people."			
"Because up to now they didn't achieve a thing."			
"Because the SPD failed completely and didn't achieve anything - why, I even know Communists and Socialists who voted for the CDU."			
"In the long run they don't accomplish anything."			
<u>Their opposition is unconstructive:</u>	12	2	14
"They are opposed to the government on principle and not for tangible reasons."			
"Because the SPD says 'no' to everything just for the sake of opposition."			
"In my opinion they are just perpetual vetoers."			
"Because they always say 'no' to any course that is to be taken."			
"Because of Ollenhauer's stubbornness and because he is against all and everything."			
"They haven't done anything since the end of the war except opposing the government."			
"The SPD hasn't proved that it is capable of ruling - it said 'no' to all and everything but hasn't introduced any concrete proposals."			
"Their stubborn attitude towards every kind of cooperation with the government."			
<u>There are no competent leaders in the SPD:</u>	9	14	8
"Because the SPD lacks good leader personalities like Dr. Schumacher and there are no young people to take over - lack of personalities."			
"Schumacher is dead and Ollenhauer doesn't appeal to people."			
"This man Ollenhauer isn't a personality like Dr. Adenauer."			
"Because there is no longer a man like Schumacher."			
"The leadership of the party isn't the same any more as when Dr. Schumacher was still alive."			
"Because this party lacks personalities and their people here who are to act on our behalf are just dirty fellows."			

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

All Voters	SPD Voters	Non- SPD Voters
4%	2%	5%

It's too close to Communism:

- "Because this party is so much like Communism."  
 "The SPD slowly drifts toward the course of the KPD, it's too radical."  
 "It's because they have more connections with the Communists."  
 "The SPD has something in common with Communism and we all know what Communism means, that's the only reason why we were against them."  
 "Because people said that they would side with the Communists."  
 "Because of the events in the East Zone - there are many people who believe that the SPD is dependent on the Communists, or at least, that they pursue the same course in some respects."

Rejection of SPD's foreign policy:

- "People know that only by siding with the West there can be safety in the future - but, with the SPD in power, the connections with the West would be severed."  
 "The majority of people tend toward the cultured West - the SPD always turned against the West."  
 "They are against the unification of Europe."  
 "Their attitude toward the EDC treaty was detrimental to their cause."  
 "The SPD pursued an East-oriented policy."  
 "Because they are against the EDC treaty which will come about in spite of them."  
 "Because they say 'no' to everything, army - I'm against war but an army would take the young men off the street - and there won't be so many crimes any more."

4	2	5
---	---	---

It is not Christian-minded:

- "Because it isn't a party based on Christian principles."  
 "Because the SPD isn't Christian-minded."  
 "For religious reasons."  
 "I suppose that it is because this party doesn't care much for Christian principles."  
 "Because people around here are Roman Catholics."

4	4	4
---	---	---

The SPD election propaganda failed:

- "Their propaganda wasn't too good."  
 "The SPD propaganda method were too spiteful."  
 "Because it hasn't made enough propaganda, it doesn't have so much money as the CDU."  
 "They didn't make sufficient propaganda, they didn't hold election meetings."  
 "People didn't like their propaganda."

4	9	2
---	---	---

The CDU has a successful record:

- "Thanks to the Adenauer government our recovery has made such a progress that it would not be fair to vote for any party other than the CDU."  
 "Many people might have said to themselves that the CDU government has improved their living standard."  
 "I believe that reasons like Germany's economic boom, its foreign policy and its prestige in the world caused many voters to desert the party."  
 "The CDU was in office, for this reason it is clear that everybody could see how successful they were."

4	2	4
---	---	---

Rejection of SPD economic policy:

- "The SPD is in favor of a planned economy but people don't like experiments in this field."  
 "Farm people and the majority of the workers are all for a liberal economic system."

3	2	3
---	---	---

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

All Voters	SPD Voters	Non- SPD Voters
---------------	---------------	-----------------------

- "If the SPD came into power there would be a planned economy and that's what people don't want."  
 "People associate in their minds the abolition of the free enterprise system with the rationing system during and after the war."  
 "It means that our children would have to eat rationed food again."

Adenauer's personality:

2%	3%	1%
----	----	----

- "People were taken in by Adenauer's powerful personality - many of them voted for Adenauer but not for the CDU."  
 "Because Adenauer's personality attracted many voters."  
 "Because of their criticism of Adenauer whom many people hold in high esteem."  
 "They have nobody to compare with a person like Adenauer."  
 "The SPD was no match for Dr. Adenauer."

The SPD has failed before:

2	1	3
---	---	---

- "The SPD has failed before."  
 "Many people are still fed up because of the failure way back."  
 "In 1933 the SPD was the strongest party and failed."  
 "The SPD was in power once before and couldn't hold its ground."  
 "Because it was often said that it was the SPD's fault that Hitler came into power."

The SPD program is unclear:

2	1	2
---	---	---

- "The SPD doesn't have a clear-cut program and it's not certain at all that they will do better."  
 "There was no clarity of purpose."  
 "I think the SPD is none too steady and doesn't follow a clear course."  
 "I suppose that many voters refrained from voting for the SPD because its course is none too steady - they never say what they really want."  
 "It never says a clear 'yes' or 'no', it is apt to diverge from its own program."

The church intervened on behalf of the CDU:

2	6	*
---	---	---

- "It was largely due to the fact that ministers in the pulpit made political propaganda."  
 "Perhaps that workers might have thought it would be sinful if they wouldn't vote for the CDU because the church had made propaganda for it."  
 "Because a strong influence was exerted by the church on the Roman Catholic workers to get them to vote for a party based on Christian principles and not for the SPD."  
 "Roman Catholic workers were influenced by the church."

The party has disappointed the workers:

2	1	2
---	---	---

- "Many people, especially among the working classes, have lost confidence in the SPD."  
 "Because the SPD didn't keep the promises they had made to the workers."  
 "Because it's a fact that workers have lost confidence in the SPD - they really haven't accomplished anything."  
 "Workers have seen that the SPD hadn't accomplished anything."  
 "Promises made to the workers were not kept."  
 "The SPD doesn't advocate the cause of the workers strongly enough, it just pretends to do so."

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	All Voters	SPD Voters	Non- SPD Voters
<u>Rejection of SPD or its program (general):</u>	2%	4%	3%
"The majority of the people apparently didn't like the program."			
"Because the program they've planned isn't so good."			
"I don't understand why, perhaps people don't like the program."			
"They are not so well liked."			
"I think that the SPD doesn't have so many friends."			
<u>The program is outdated:</u>	2	1	2
"The SPD sticks too much to its old programs."			
"Still the same old story dating back to 1912."			
"Strong likeness to Marxism which has no longer many followers in Germany."			
<u>Rejection of SPD trade union policy:</u>	2	1	2
"A very important reason is that they've made the trade unions break their neutrality."			
"Issues concerning trade unions were neglected."			
<u>The CDU election propaganda was superior:</u>	1	5	*
"Perhaps the others made more propaganda, well, the CDU, I mean."			
"Because of the strong and capitalistic propaganda from the right wing."			
"Because many workers let themselves be taken in."			
<u>Political immaturity of voters:</u>	1	5	1
"Unfortunately many workers forget that they belong to the working classes as soon as they are a little better off."			
"Because people don't think."			
"Because many voters made fools of themselves."			
<u>The SPD didn't do so badly, it came off satisfactorily:</u>	1	4	1
"We SPD members of long standing are quite satisfied with the outcome of the elections - we got 11 seats, that's all."			
"The SPD gained one million of votes."			
"But there was a slight increase of votes."			
<u>The party is corrupt:</u>	1	*	1
"People don't want it any more, there's always this influence-peddling, they favor their own people only."			
"The way of spending party funds."			
<u>Rejection of SPD cultural policies:</u>	1	-	1
"Because the SPD's opinion differs from people's attitude regarding the problem of denominational schools."			
"Because the SPD is all for non-denominational schools."			
"Because they are against denominational schools."			
<u>Farm people are against the SPD:</u>	1	-	1
"Because the farm people cannot expect so much from the SPD as workers could."			
"Farm people vote for the CDU only."			
"Here in the rural districts people don't like the SPD."			
<u>Other reasons for the failure of the SPD:</u>	5	5	5
"Because those SPD followers who came from refugee circles and were former Nazis and former leaders of local farmers' groups were disappointed and deserted the SPD because they didn't gain the advantages they had hoped for."			
"Perhaps that the foreign countries would have stopped food exports to Germany if Adenauer hadn't been re-elected."			
"Because their methods were somewhat brutal, they intended to overthrow the government and take over themselves - it just came over the radio."			
"Because the CDU followers were very eager to go to the polls."			
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	35 119%	37 115%	34 118%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

#### IV. The Question Of American Support For The CDU

##### FAVORABLE REACTIONS PREPONDERATE AMONG MINORITY SEEING SUCH SUPPORT ...

Secretary Dulles' pre-election remarks, which have been interpreted as an overt indication of American backing for Chancellor Adenauer and the CDU, do not appear to have penetrated very widely among the West German electorate, with indication of only a 12 per cent rise from July levels in the proportion who believe America favors the CDU. Now as before the opinion preponderates among West German voters that America does not support any particular party.

"Do you have the impression that the Americans in any way support a particular political party in West Germany or don't you have this impression? (Which party is that?)"

IF "Yes, supports CDU":

"Do you, in general, approve of it or not that the Americans support the CDU?"

	<u>Late July 53</u>		<u>Late Sept 53</u>			
	<u>All</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Voted</u>		<u>Others</u>	<u>Did not</u>
	<u>(597)</u>	<u>(1270)</u>	<u>CDU</u>	<u>SPD</u>	<u>(396)</u>	<u>vote</u>
Support CDU -						
approve	8%	17%	25%	10%	12%	14%
Support CDU -						
disapprove	8	11	2	30	14	5
Support CDU -						
No opinion	4	4	3	5	4	2
Support other parties	1	1	*	2	*	-
Don't support a						
particular party	50	40	45	38	40	31
Don't know	29	27	25	15	30	48
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Among respondents influenced by Secretary Dulles' remarks or other considerations (see pages following) to infer a pro-CDU stand on the part of the US, favorable reactions to such support appear to preponderate. It should not be overlooked in the comments which are tabulated below that some of the approval of American support of the CDU stems from respondents' interpretation of such support as backing for the West German administration which the CDU was and remains, rather than partisan backing for a particular German political party in an election campaign.

"Do you, in general, approve of it or not that the Americans support the CDU?"

IF "Approve":

"Why do you approve of it?"

% of West  
Germans

It is in any case advantageous for Germany:

5%

"Because we'll never fare badly with the Americans as friends."

"I think it's better for us to be on good terms with the US."

"Because we are doing well with American support, at least for the present."

"Because we can only profit by America's assistance."

"As long as this support is given within the known limits it means a material gain for the German people."

"If they wouldn't support the CDU, things would look different."

"As long as it is done in this way and they don't expect us to repay them."

(Cont'd on next page)



% of West  
Germans

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany can't stand on its own feet, it needs a strong ally: 3%

- "We can't do without help, we can call ourselves lucky that America supports our government."
- "I agree to it because we need friends in our position."
- "Because the Americans are powerful partners who can help us any time they want to."
- "Because we depend on the Americans, without America's help conditions would be the same as in the East Zone."
- "It's the first time that Germany has an ally to be reckoned with."
- "We depend on the West anyway, we therefore should be content that the West agrees with our government."

Joining with America means economic advantages:

2

- "Because it brings economic advantages for us."
- "Because the people, too, will profit when the Americans support the CDU with money or similar things."
- "Well, the support doesn't do us any harm, it isn't our money, and in the end the German people will profit from it."
- "It's the best thing we can do at the moment; without America we wouldn't have reached our present standard of living."
- "Because our economy will get a boost and our standard of living will become higher."

Supporting the government coalition parties is always a good thing:

2

- "Because I consider it a good thing to support the leading party."
- "It's good for us if the Americans support the party in office."
- "It supports our strongest party, that means it supports all West Germany."
- "It must not necessarily be the CDU but I favor the idea of supporting the leading party in order to achieve important aims for Germany."

Adenauer's personality guarantees good cooperation - common interest:

1

- "Because it is of high value for the political future that our greatest political partner works with us, besides there are personal ties between Adenauer and the American government."
- "Because it proves that the world policy of the CDU and Adenauer is right."
- "Also the people profit when the Americans help the government, and with the government I mean Adenauer."

American CDU support counterbalances Russian sponsored KPD/SED:

1

- "This support is necessary because the Russians do the same thing with the KPD."
- "Russia supports the KPD consequently America has the right to support the CDU."
- "It's East versus West, the Americans support the CDU while the East supports the KPD."
- "They have to support somebody as the Russians sponsor the SED."

The CDU pursues a good and Christian policy:

1

- "It's better to support the CSU than any other party; the CSU doesn't want anything that is objectionable."
- "Because the CSU is the party that handles our affairs best."
- "The CDU is the only party that has the interests of the whole nation and of Europe in view."
- "Because the CDU helps to keep Christian ideas alive."

(Cont'd on next page)

% of West  
Germans

(Cont'd from preceding page)

America and Germany depend on mutual assistance:

1

"America and the CDU help each other that's quite natural."

"We need the Americans, without them we'll be done for very soon, but they need us too, otherwise they wouldn't make that fuss about us."

"The Americans need our help, that's quite clear, they depend on us and we depend on them."

This support proves American friendship:

"Because this aid has dissolved the doubts of the sincerity of American intentions that were still alive here and there."

"I'm convinced that America can be considered as a real friend of the CDU and FDP, i.e. of the whole German people."

Other reasons:

"America and Germany should have joined earlier thus the last war with all its misery would have been prevented."

"Because the Americans support other governments, too."

"The Americans helped us to get rid of the Nazis. Let them help the CDU, that's quite all right."

"If this support is done out of compassion I have no objections."

"I guess they support us because it serves their own ends; we must guard against being taken in."

No opinion/No answer:1  
18%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Do you have the impression that the Americans in any way support a particular political party in West Germany or don't you have this impression? (Which party is that?)"

IF "Yes":

"And when did you notice that? (On what occasion?)  
(Can you perhaps give me some examples for that?)"% of West  
GermansSpeech of Secretary of State Dulles:

8%

"At a press conference Secretary of State Dulles said that it was vital that the present government should stay in office, otherwise the whole of Europe would suffer."

"The Americans openly supported the Adenauer government, just think of the speech Mr. Dulles gave on the occasion of the elections."

"Just take the comments made by American politicians such as Dulles to the effect that the Western powers would support Germany even more strongly if the Germans would vote for the CDU."

"Just take the latest comments made by the American Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in which he clearly sided with Dr. Adenauer."

"The fact that the Secretary of State of the United States stood up for Adenauer prior to the elections."

"That statement of Dulles in which he declared, if Adenauer would not be elected, we'd be in for a bad time."

"Just take the comments of American politicians like Dulles, he said American support would be withdrawn if the CDU wouldn't win."

(Cont'd on next page)

% of West  
Germans

7%

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Common political aims:

- "Because the Americans want to see the EDC treaty realized, and the CDU does so too."
- "The cooperation between the two governments proves it as well as the fact that Adenauer champions the EDC treaty which the Americans would like to see realized."
- "The American take an interest in the CDU, that's it, the CDU co-operates with the Americans and that's why the US has to support it."
- "You can draw this conclusion because the policy of the CDU/CSU largely corresponds to American interests."
- "Because the CDU advocates the EDC treaty and because America threatens to stop all economic aid in case the treaty would be rejected, their going along with Adenauer's policy is another sign for it."
- "Because without American support Adenauer wouldn't have been able to realize his policy so easily."
- "Just take the treaties concluded with the Americans, it's evident that the Americans strongly support Adenauer."

Adenauer's American trip:

- "It could be noticed during Adenauer's trip to America, Eisenhower and Adenauer get along very well."
- "Because Adenauer got such a friendly reception in the US."
- "Because Adenauer has been in the States, and many concessions were made to him."
- "Because Dr. Adenauer received great ovations on his American tour, and because the American government openly sided with his party."
- "Adenauer visited the US and got a very friendly welcome there."
- "The American trip of Adenauer was a full success."

From the press and radio:

- "You can read it in the newspapers, I don't remember any details, though."
- "Reading the papers you get this impression."
- "I concluded it from reading the papers."
- "When listening to the commentaries by Mr. Boerner over the radio, and when reading the papers."

US financial support for the Adenauer government:

- "As Adenauer has such a good reputation in Germany, the Americans grant very large loans to the Adenauer government."
- "Just take the granting of aid under the Marshall Plan."
- "The Americans help us, but only as long as Adenauer heads the government."
- "We received considerable loans from the US."

No examples - just an intuitive feeling:

- "I can't give any examples, I just feel things are that way."
- "I always knew that this is the case."
- "I only think that this party is supported by the Americans."

Adenauer's close connections with Americans:

- "Adenauer remains in close contact with the US, he is related to the McCloy's, besides."
- "As far as I know Adenauer is related to some American family, I think it's the McCloy's."
- "Because they are related, Adenauer and the McCloy's, I mean all I know is that the two families visit each other."

(Cont'd on next page)

% of West  
Germans

2%

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Backing during the election campaign:

"In every field and all the time Adenauer is supported by the Americans, that's a fact, even before the elections and during the elections."

"I noticed it during the elections and even before that time, those guys are supported by the Americans all the time."

"The CDU isn't in a position to finance their propaganda out of their own funds, thus it's obvious that the Americans support them."

"They financed the whole business, where should those party people take the money from for all those many posters, after all."

American enthusiasm about the outcome of the elections:

1

"It was proven by the way America rejoiced in the outcome of the elections."

"It's obvious since American radio commentators and press people are so enthusiastic about the victory of the CDU/CSU."

"When Adenauer received such warm congratulations from Dulles and Eisenhower after the elections, and when they expressed their willingness to support the policy of Adenauer as strongly as possible."

"The very cordial message of congratulation sent from the US after the elections prove it."

Other answers:

1

"Because the High Commission nearly always approves any law submitted by the CDU."

"They really do so, they support the church and that means the CDU, they helped them get on their feet."

"As long as Adenauer is head of the government, they'll go all out to support him, they sympathize more strongly with him than the French do."

"You read quite a lot about it, the Americans, for instance, provide the funds for rifle practice in which youth organizations participate."

No opinion/No answer:1  
36%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

# V. The Significance Of The DRP Returns

## MOST VOTERS IGNORANT OF DRP PLATFORM ...

The German Reich party - an extreme rightist group with what some would term neo-Nazi overtones - did not achieve any notable success in the election balloting, garnering only 0.7 per cent of the votes. This, along with the minute support of the Communist party, has been taken as evidence of a signal victory of moderate parties and political viewpoints over extremism of the right or the left. Without denying such a victory it is on the side of caution to appreciate that the DRP did not provide as good a test of extreme rightist sentiments as the KPD did of extremism of the left. The reason is evident from the summary of returns listed below in the fact that three quarters of the West Germans who voted in the election knew nothing about the platform of the DRP, so were not in a position to reflect in their votes either acceptance or rejection of the party's tenets. It need hardly be added, in contrast, that few German voters are likely to be unaware of the tenets of the Communist party of Germany (KPD). Widespread ignorance of the German Reich party is not astonishing upon reflection in view of the fact that the party ran in only a limited number of areas and started its campaign comparatively late.\*

Hence it would seem that in any demonstrable sense the election constituted a referendum on extreme rightist views, as embodied in the DRP, only for the 23 per cent of the voters able to comment pro and/or con on the DRP platform.

"Have you ever heard or read of the DRP, the German Reich party?" (Asked of all voters.)

"(If you would leave it out of consideration for a moment that you didn't vote for the DRP), what do you think about the DRP, the German Reich party - I mean, what are its good and bad sides?"

### % of all Voters

#### Summary of Responses:

Know nothing about the DRP	54%
Know too little to comment on either good or bad sides	23
Cited only bad sides	14
Cited both bad and good sides	6
Cited only good sides	3
	<u>100%</u>

It is clear from the tabulations above that among the voters with some awareness of the DRP stand, reactions are predominantly negative with the majority taking the view that there are no good sides whatever to the DRP program. Only the order of three per cent reveal strongly favorable attitudes toward the DRP by citing only good sides when asked to indicate the pros and cons of the German Reich party.

Respondents' comments as to the good and bad sides of the DRP are tabulated below and in the pages following.

"First, what are the good sides of the German Reich party?"

Voters

National aspirations, a "German" spirit, the idea of a German Reich, a national army:

2%

"Among other things, this party promotes the idea of a German Reich, I see its good sides in the effort to rehabilitate nationalism which we often lacked in the course of history."

"Maybe that they want to awaken national feelings in the people that they want a policy under which the Germans will be able to defend themselves."

(Cont'd on next page)

\* However, the DRP did get enough general press discussion to raise the possibility that at least some of the lack of awareness may reflect a lack of responsiveness to DRP orientations, and hence be additional evidence of rejection.



(Cont'd from preceding page)

Voters

- "I guess they are true nationalists and they attend, above all, to the interests of Germany."
- "Their nationalist aims after which they strive for the benefit of all Germans are good."
- "That they stress everything that's German; that's all, they have a national spirit, they champion plans for an army and defend their ideas courageously."
- "That they have national interests in view, they want an army of their own."
- "That they really are German, they think along German lines and act in a German spirit."
- "That's the party whose efforts aim solely at bettering the lot of Germany."

National Socialist ideas:

14

- "I feel that it's the most ideal party compared to the other parties as it is considered to be the successor organization to the NSDAP."
- "It's a Hitlerite party, maybe they'll do a better job than those who've held office up till now."
- "That it refrains from condemning everything connected with the Hitler era."
- "They want to reestablish the good institutions introduced by the Nazis such as 'Kraft durch Freude' (Strength Through Joy, workers' holiday association), full employment, and the labor service."

Social aims:

1

- "Though I don't remember things too clearly, I think they would solve the unemployment problem within a very short time, the way the NSDAP tackled this job."
- "They want to bridge class differences, to secure employment for everybody who is willing to work, to introduce price controls in the field of trade, and to see to it that just wages are paid."
- "I listened to a speech delivered by General Krakau and I had to admit he was right, he gave a clear and favorable picture of the refugee organizations."
- "It's not bad after all, it comes very close to the SPD, only it's better, it's more interested in promoting business and industry."

This party fights for constructive aims, it has capable people (general):

1

- "Only once did I hear in a broadcast some time before the elections that there are capable people in this party and that the interests of the people are well taken care of."
- "They've got well-known personalities from former eras in their ranks."
- "I'm not in a position to judge, but I'm sure the aims they have in view are positive."
- "Their aims are high-minded and good, but the methods they use are too rigorous and that's why they'll never attain their ends."

For reunification, restoration of the former German territories in the East:

1

- "As far as I know the DRP promotes all-German interests, but in our part of the country people don't know too much about this party, therefore it's hard to judge things correctly."
- "Their desire for German reunification."
- "Their efforts to reunify Germany."
- "They want to recover the former German territories in the East."

(Cont'd on next page)

Voters

(Cont'd from preceding page)

For discipline among the younger generation, for labor service:

"The younger generation would be taught a little more discipline."

"It champions a labor service."

For peace and neutrality:

"This party works for peace."

"It's objective, they let neither East nor West influence them."

Against Communism:

"That it fought the left wing uncompromisingly, no other party fought as hard."

"Those people have learned their lesson from the war and that's why they fight Communism."

Other points:

"That they promise to right the wrongs done to people under the denazification."

"It's a rightist party, they embrace the same program as the CDU."

"That it actively supports the government."

ADVERSE ANSWERS:They are former Nazis, they want to establish a dictatorship:

"In my opinion this party is a second NSDAP which wants to take over the government by force, there is nothing good about this party."

"According to democratic principles this party can have no good sides because its members, or its leaders, believe in a new dictatorship."

"I'm not familiar with the DRP, I never took an interest in it, I guess that some incorrigible old-time Nazis have flocked together in this party."

"All I know about the DRP is that it resembles the former NSDAP very closely, and for this reason the party is unacceptable for me."

"They are just National Socialists, and that's enough for me."

"In my eyes, they are on a par with the Nazis and therefore there can't be anything good about them."

Not clearly favorable answers:

"The DRP supports rearmament, I wouldn't have voted for it either, though it doesn't let the church exert so strong an influence on it as does the CDU."

"That they try to make money, thus only benefitting their followers."

"All I know is that they made their appearance at too early a date, the wounds recently inflicted haven't healed yet, I don't think they'll ever come into power."

No good sides:

"In my eyes it has no good sides whatever."

"It has no good sides."

"I can't say anything favorable about the DRP."

"None whatever."

"I don't know of any good sides."

"It hasn't shown any good sides up till now."

I know too little about this party. I don't know:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"And what are its bad sides?" (Of the German Reich party).

Voters

9%

It's a party of former Nazis, pursues NSDAP aims:

- "They are just disguised Nazis, they are devoted to the Nazi program of old."
- "I disapprove of habitual grumblers like Naumann, they'll only lead us along the same road Hitler led us, the whole thing smacks too much of the Third Reich, for my taste."
- "Because it's a Nazi party, the best proof for this is that former NSDAP bigwigs are high-ranking functionaries in the DRP now."
- "The spirit that governs the DRP, that levelling tendency, that singing of songs popular during the Third Reich, all this reminds us too strongly of the so-called 'millennium', we are certainly fed up with that."
- "I think it's just the NSDAP, we'd be in the same bloody mess once more before long, these people are mostly ambitious officers and the like, they are fanatics and rioters."
- "These people are former Nazis, no need to say more."
- "It's their leadership principle, to command and obey, it would mean that the same sorry circus would start once more until a third world war would break out and Germany would be annihilated."
- "This party idolizes something that's definitely gone, the Third Reich, I mean."
- "The DRP is directed by people who've spelled disaster for us in the past."

It's a radical rightist party:

- "This party is very much to the right, and I'm against extreme right-wing parties, formerly it was called the SRP."
- "It's a party with radical rightist trends."
- "It's much too radical for my taste, it's out of the question for us."
- "I reject any radical right-wing and left-wing parties."
- "It will inexorably lead us down the road of radicalism, which we don't ever want to follow again."
- "Because they are so doggedly determined to follow a rightist course and won't find a way to cooperate with the center parties."
- "They'd plunge Germany once more into an adventure if they should come into power."

It's too militaristic:

- "It seems to me to be too militaristic."
- "These people are militarists."
- "It's just a club of militarists."
- "They do nothing but sword rattling, they want a kind of militarism that doesn't suit us."
- "They work for a new army, and military forces mean war."

It wants a totalitarian regime, state control:

- "It wants to adopt a totalitarian course."
- "It's not a democratic but a dictatorial party."
- "It may mean a dictatorship, they are too totalitarian, and we know from experience what the outcome of such a thing is."
- "I'm afraid of a new dictatorship brought about by this party."
- "State control, a propaganda ministry and curtailment of freedom, all those things that existed ten years ago."
- "I feel much freer now and I don't want to relive those old times."

It's too nationalistic:

- "It has too nationalistic a trend."
- "It cultivates a totalitarian-style nationalism."
- "They haven't grasped the trend of the times, they cling to bygone nationalistic ideas."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Voters

"I consider this party to be superfluous, all they do is to stir up people, it's a misguided sort of nationalism."  
 "In the revival of radical nationalist ideas which would be an obstacle to finding a sensible solution for the European problems."  
 "Because they stir up nationalistic passions and thus warlike conflicts may be brought about."

It harms Germany's prestige abroad:

1%

"Because they only serve to create distrust towards us abroad."  
 "They behave like bulls in a china-shop, they ruin the reputation we enjoy abroad."  
 "That our reputation would suffer abroad."  
 "It's a party that will miscredit us abroad."  
 "These men have contributed to discredit us in the eyes of foreign nations."

It's a capitalist party:

1

"They are tied too closely to capitalist circles."  
 "This party is supported by capitalist circles and the armament industry, in the end we may be plunged into another war."  
 "This party is made up only of large landholders."  
 "They are too much concerned about promoting their own interests, they don't look after the workers."

It's not Christian, not loyal to the Church:

\*

"These people were Nazis in the past, weren't they? - I guess they are against the Church."  
 "It's the incarnation of the Antichrist."

It tends towards the left, towards the East:

\*

"It became known recently that this party has a strong tendency towards the East."  
 "Their policy tends too much to the left."  
 "They are parlor pinks."

Other points:

1

"This party is a misfit in these times and in our present situation."  
 "Because it's a splinter party."  
 "This party accepts just everybody, even rotters, it's a rabble party."  
 "They talk too much."  
 "They oppose the EDC treaty."

Everything about this party is bad:

\*

"Everything about this party is bad, I feel that all these people are idiots."  
 "You'd never get done enumerating its bad sides."

It has no bad sides, I can't think of any bad sides:

2

"I don't think there are any."  
 "No, there are no bad sides, we had made up our minds to vote for the DRP this time, in the past we had voted for the SPD, but we didn't get around to it."  
 "I've never noticed any bad sides."  
 "I can't think of any bad sides, this would become evident only if they'd practice their theories."  
 "I don't know of any bad sides."

I know too little about this party, I don't know:

25  
51%

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.
- Some respondents gave more than one answer.

VI. Reactions To The  
Election Results And To The Conduct Of The Election Campaign

MAJORITY PLEASED WITH ELECTION RESULTS ...

The outcome of the Bundestag elections was a source of satisfaction to the majority (58%) of West Germans. Satisfaction was, of course, most marked among CDU supporters, but even among SPD voters a fifth (22%) registered themselves as pleased with the election outcome.

"How do you personally feel about the outcome and result of these elections in West Germany?" (After those unaware told the following: "As the strongest party, with 45 per cent of all votes in the Federal republic, the CDU received about 15 per cent more votes than the SPD.")

	All (1270)	Voted CDU (488)	Voted SPD (244)	Others (396)	Did not vote (142)
I was very pleased	39%	76%	4%	24%	17%
I was rather pleased	19	17	18	24	18
I don't particularly care	18	6	19	23	45
I was rather displeased	12	*	39	11	6
I was very displeased	5	*	17	4	1
No opinion/No answer given	7	1	3	14	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Satisfaction was relatively greatest, other group comparisons reveal (see table at end of present section), among the better educated and higher income elements - which is not astonishing in view of the greater CDU representation among these groups. Of more interest is the indication (which corroborates earlier remarks in this connection) that Protestants are not much less pleased than Catholics at the election outcome.

Only 14 per cent of those questioned registered themselves as outrightly disturbed in any way by the results of the election. Concern was mainly voiced on the score that remilitarization may be in the offing, or that with its great power the CDU may become autocratic and dictatorial.

"Is there anything about the result of these elections that disturbs you? (What?)"

	All	Voted CDU	Voted SPD	Others	Did not vote
Yes	14%	5%	32%	17%	9%
No	86	95	68	83	91
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF "Yes": "What?"

% of all  
Voters

That remilitarization and another war may be in the offing:

5%

"Because the CDU is too keen on establishing an army."

"Because Adenauer means war."

"I fear that the Basic Law will be altered because of the two-thirds majority of the CDU/BHE coalition, that conscription will be re-introduced."

"That the CDU will bring about a war, otherwise the CDU might stay in power, as far as I am concerned, but it must not start a war."

"The German defense participation which leads to war."

"That we will have an army again."

"Germany's remilitarization."

(Cont'd on next page)



Voters

4%

(Cont'd from preceding page)

That the CDU may become autocratic and dictatorial:

"That Adenauer can just do as he pleases, that he might become a sort of dictator."

"That it's chiefly one party that holds all power."

"That they might perhaps be too dictatorial."

"They could practically build up an autocratic system, it disturbs me in view of coming elections which may well be influenced by new laws."

"The absolute majority of the CDU."

"A course leading to an autocratic form of government."

"The CDU can do as they please."

That the opposition is too weak:

"The opposition is too weak now, it's always a danger if just one party is in control."

"That now the opposition will be overruled."

"The opposition could have been somewhat stronger."

"Perhaps it would be better if the opposition were a bit stronger."

"That the opposition is a bit too weak."

That the influence of the church will grow:

"The power of the CDU strengthens the position of the Roman Catholic church even more."

"Roman Catholicism will grow stronger."

"The influence of the church."

"I believe that government and church are too closely linked and too worldly."

That conditions in the social field will worsen:

"That in the future social concerns will be neglected."

"That the position of the underprivileged will grow worse."

"I expect a drop in wages because all the big bosses are members of the CSU."

"That the equalization of burdens law will be framed in such a way that it will become even more unfavorable for some people."

That the CDU (Adenauer) won:

"That Adenauer has remained on top."

"That people can be so blind as to re-elect Adenauer."

"That Adenauer has got so many votes."

"The carelessness of people who want the CDU to carry on."

That reunification will be rendered more difficult or dangerous:

"That the chances for reunification will become dimmer, the gap between East and West gets wider."

"There is no hope left for a peaceful reunification."

That still too many people have voted for Communism:

"That there are still so many Communist voted."

"There are even now too many votes for the Communists."

That Russia's policy toward Germany might get more severe:

"That the Russian policy of aggression might get bolder."

"Because the Russians are not very satisfied with the election, it's quite possible that something might happen."

Other answers:

"That the SPD has gained one million votes."

"That the small rightist radical parties have made such a lot of propaganda, they must have got the money from somewhere."

"The intention to unite all nations in Europe."

No opinion:Nothing disturbed me:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

86  
100%

## MAJORITY VOICE NO CRITICISM OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNING ...

Only a quarter among West Germans - a third among SPD voters - had criticisms to offer about the conduct of the election campaign.

"Do you perhaps have anything to criticize about the election campaigns of the parties? (What was it you did not like about them?)"

	ALL	Voted CDU	Voted SPD	Others	Did not vote
Nothing to criticize	66%	71%	62%	63%	59%
Offered criticisms	24	21	32	24	19
No interest / No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Other than allegations of mud-slinging campaign tactics and waste of money in campaigning, no single complaint was voiced by more than the order of two per cent of those sampled, as may be observed in the tabulations below.

% of all  
Voters  
66%

NOTHING TO CRITICIZE:

- "No, I'm content, it was fair and decent."
- "The election campaign was conducted fairly by all parties."
- "No, here in the West there was no reason for criticism."
- "I've nothing to criticize."
- "No, I have nothing to criticize, there wasn't anything I disliked."

## GENERAL CRITICISMS

The mud-slinging campaign tactics:

- "I find it disgusting, the way the individual parties or their representatives heap slander on each other."
- "That all the parties wash their dirty linen publicly at election time, if they all would just speak up what they stand for that would be better, but since all parties keep accusing each other nobody is interested any longer to listen to propaganda speeches."
- "That the whole of the election campaign got out of hands. No party showed any respect for the other, the campaign was quite vulgar."
- "That was too much, one party accused the other of having accepted bribes."
- "That a party defames the other in such a way."
- "This slinging mud at each other, especially during the last minutes before going to the polls."
- "This disparaging of each other, especially in view of the other nations, they shouldn't pull each other to pieces so bitterly."

The waste of money in campaigning:

- "This awful propaganda, equally bad with all parties. With that money they should have built homes for refugees."
- "Yes, the money that's wasted for it should rather have been spent for the benefit of the workers."
- "So much propaganda and all the money they spent on it. For such purposes there's always money available while we have to pinch so terribly as they give so little money to us widows."
- "Yes, the 100 million of DMarks should rather have been spent on housebuilding than on the election campaign."
- "That they all made too much propaganda and spent too much money on it."

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% of all  
Voters  
2%

The campaign was inadequate:

"Yes, the election campaign wasn't energetic enough, in the small places they haven't done enough, the campaign wasn't sufficiently rousing."

"They haven't done enough, canvassing was rather lax."

"Practically nothing, it was too quiet."

"I hardly noticed anything about the election campaign."

"In the country you didn't notice much of it."

The interference of the trade unions with the campaign:

1

"The propaganda of the trade unions for the SPD."

"The trade unions took an attitude that was so one-sidedly in favor of the SPD."

"It was a dirty trick of the trade unions to meddle into the elections, for instance trade unions called on you: 'vote for SPD'."

The attitude of the US:

"That America interfered with the election campaign in favor of the government coalition."

"That the Americans meddled in it."

The hindering of rightist radical parties:

\*

"In a democracy no party should be banned as was done by the government. As long as things like that are considered to be necessary the election campaign is not fair, in my opinion."

"Violating the constitution; many obstacles were put in the way of the SRP."

"Democracy is just a slogan - they are intolerant against the SRP."

Other answers (not pertaining to a certain party):

2

"As a layman you got the feeling as if things had been settled beforehand, no election campaign."

"That the cities were messed up by paper, papers were lying about everywhere in the streets."

"Let's wait and see how things are going to turn out."

"The opposition shouldn't be painted just black."

CRITICISM OF THE CDU CAMPAIGN

Alleged Communist financing of the SPD:

1

"Our Federal Chancellor stuck out his neck pretty far with his assertion regarding the East Zone money."

"The slander the CDU heaped on the SPD - the suspicion about the money from Moscow for election funds."

"Adenauer's accusations against two SPD delegates were unfair."

"Dirty tricks of the CDU against the SPD as regards the election funds."

"That Adenauer brought this matter up about the two SPD delegates and the financial support by the East Zone, that was an unfair way of fighting."

"That the Federal Chancellor defamed the SPD with regard to the election funds."

The church interfered on behalf of the CDU:

1

"Pastors told people during service that they should vote for the CDU, that's not right."

"Even from the pulpit they spoke for the CDU."

"Even from the pulpit they talked about it, nothing else."

"I didn't like that at all that the ... pastor when visiting my sister a very sick woman (apoplexy) asked her to get up and go to the polls to vote for the CDU."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

% of all  
Voters

Criticism of source of campaign funds:

"Industrial circles supported the CDU with enormous sums of money."

"That the CDU was able to make a lot of propaganda, where did they get the money from?"

"The CDU got their money for canvassing from industry."

The radio favored the CDU:

"The radio programs greatly favored the CDU speakers."

"I didn't like it that over the radio the CDU speakers were allowed more talks than anybody else."

Other criticism of the CDU campaign:

"Adenauer's attacks against the SPD show his true character."

"This letter from Adenauer that got sent into our house, that's really too much if he writes about all that has been done for us - we were bombed out and to this day we haven't got a thing."

"They all lied, the minister for finances said that the trade unions wanted people who didn't earn more than 6000 Marks a year and had 4 children to be exempted from paying members' fee, just as they don't have to pay income tax - that's a lie."

CRITICISM OF THE SPD CAMPAIGN

The SPD propaganda methods were bad:

"The SPD stuck its posters over those of the CDU, the walls and houses were painted all over."

"The SPD tore off posters of the middle-course parties and stole them - all such things."

"The SPD wasted an awful lot of money on posters, every day they had new posters and sometimes rather dirty propaganda against Adenauer."

"I didn't like the SPD poster 'Ollenhauer instead of Adenauer,' if they try to push someone aside that's not nice."

Other criticism about the SPD election campaign:

"The SPD leader didn't congratulate the CDU on their victory, that's a poor show,"

"Ollenhauer's attitude was too stubborn, almost stupid."

"This ugly argument between the Chancellor and the SPD in which the latter accused the Chancellor of slander."

CRITICISM OF THE KPD CAMPAIGN

The KPD posters:

"That the KPD used so much paper for the election posters, this exaggerated propaganda."

"The one thing I could tell you was the way of the KPD to stick their posters on top of those of other parties and to mess up walls and to defame their opponents, especially Adenauer."

"If you have lost your relatives and then are forced to see these KPD posters, there was such a lot of them here - let them go to Russia and see whether it's all so ideal over there - these posters really hurt me."

"The way these posters were done up - all the things they promised - and all the time you know what it's really like over there and that they still retain our men and won't let them go home."

Not interested - I didn't care about it:

"No, I'm simply not interested in it."

"I didn't care about it, I really can't tell you anything."

"I didn't care about that and can't give any information."

No opinion:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"How do you personally feel about the outcome and result of these elections in West Germany?"

	I was very pleased	I was rather pleased	I don't partic- ularly care	I was rather displeased	I was very much displeased	No opinion	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>							
Men	38%	22%	14%	14%	7%	7%..100%	572
Women	40	17	22	10	3	8	698
<b>Education:</b>							
Elementary school	36	19	20	12	5	8	1041
Beyond elementary	52	20	10	11	3	4	229
<b>Age:</b>							
21 to 24 years	38	22	16	14	5	5	93
25 to 34 "	36	20	17	13	5	9	266
35 to 44 "	40	19	20	13	5	3	264
45 to 54 "	40	19	17	13	6	5	315
55 to 64 "	41	20	17	10	4	8	182
65 years and over	41	16	23	5	3	12	149
<b>Income:</b>							
Up to 149 DM	38	18	22	6	4	12	198
150 - 299 "	37	21	20	12	5	5	405
300 - 399 "	34	18	20	13	7	8	281
400 - 499 "	40	22	13	19	4	2	140
500 - 599 "	54	15	10	11	7	3	89
600 - 799 "	46	26	9	10	7	2	58
800 DM and more	60	20	-	10	7	3	30
<b>Occupation (respondent):</b>							
Professionals	62	3	6	11	6	12	34
Businessmen	56	14	10	8	2	10	59
White-collar workers	38	23	13	18	5	3	101
Skilled laborers	33	22	10	19	11	5	147
Semi-skilled laborers	33	25	19	14	5	4	127
Domestic Service	46	12	21	15	3	3	33
Farmers	48	28	13	2	2	7	100
Housewives	36	17	23	11	4	9	432
Unemployed	33	14	28	5	10	10	21
Pensioners, retired	40	19	22	9	4	6	214
<b>Origin:</b>							
Natives	38	18	18	12	6	8	1031
Expellees, Refugees	43	23	18	10	2	4	237
<b>Religion:</b>							
Catholics	45	18	18	10	3	6	575
Protestants	35	20	18	13	6	8	651



# VII. Present Thinking on Democracy In Germany

## GROWING CONFIDENCE IN GERMAN DEMOCRACY ...

The predominant opinions among West Germans sampled after the Bundestag election is that democracy has become stronger in West Germany over the course of the past few years, and that Germans today have the capacity to govern themselves democratically. Negative judgments in either respects are few though the difficulty of a concept like democracy is such that no opinion is considerable.

"Are you of the opinion that democracy in West Germany has become stronger or weaker in the course of the past few years?"

	<u>All</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Did not</u>
	<u>(1270)</u>	<u>CDU</u>	<u>SPD</u>	<u>(396)</u>	<u>vote</u>
		<u>(488)</u>	<u>(244)</u>		<u>(142)</u>
Stronger	44%	57%	42%	37%	25%
Weaker	5	3	10	5	3
Remained equally strong	14	11	15	17	11
Remained equally weak	4	2	9	4	6
No opinion	33	27	24	37	55
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you believe that the Germans today could govern themselves democratically?"

	<u>All</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Did not</u>
		<u>CDU</u>	<u>SPD</u>		<u>vote</u>
Yes	50%	60%	53%	43%	31%
No	15	11	24	16	15
No opinion	35	29	23	41	54
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Optimistic views are most widespread, it will be noted above, among those who voted CDU in the past election, though such views do not fail to outweigh negative judgments among other political groupings also.

Other group comparisons (see tables at end of this section) show that confidence in German democracy is at its maximum among opinion leading elements of the population - men, better educated and higher income. Negative judgments appear to be no more marked among counterpart groupings - rather a greater incidence of no opinion.

The preponderance who feel that Germans are now capable of governing themselves democratically argue mainly as listed below. Following these comments will be found the reasoning of the 15 per cent who believe that the Germans are not capable of democratic government.

"Do you believe that the Germans today could govern themselves democratically?"

IF "Yes": "And what makes you think so?"

% of all  
Voters

The record of our democratic government and our political and economic progress:

14%

"During the last few years all democratic institutions have been organized and the rules have been followed exactly in parliament."

"By the course of the past four years and the quite democratic organization during that time."

"We've had a democracy for four years now and everybody is taking part in it."

"The fact has been proved by the last four years of our Federal government."

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Voters

"Well, we've already been doing it for the last four years and everything has gone right so far."

"By the government course which has been very democratic in my opinion."

"It is demonstrated by our political and economic progress."

"Our upward swing was only possible with the success of the democratic idea."

The results of the election:

9%

"We've proved it by the last election, the radical groups have failed."

"You can tell from the election as a whole they don't jump from one party to another, they vote for the large parties."

"From the recent election, in which just the large parties came through."

"Otherwise the elections wouldn't have turned out so favorably, if they didn't know how to do it, their votes would have been cast for other parties."

"Well, haven't we been voting all right? That proves that we all respect others' opinions without reaching for the club once more."

"Germany has proved by the election that it has a democratic way of thinking."

"Democracy wasn't destroyed in the election, rather it grew stronger."

"The large participation at the polls has shown that we have learned the rules of democracy."

"The large number of voters demonstrates their strength and desire for democracy."

Our government and parties work democratically:

6

"I think the way our government and the Bundestag are handling things is very democratic."

"Because both our big parties are really democratic."

"Our big democratic parties have clear democratic principles."

"The present government really works democratically - you can tell from the debates in the Bundestag, and from newspaper comments, etc."

"From the work in Bonn which is done democratically."

"Because there are enough democratic parties."

Germans have the capacity for it:

6

"We have known it all the time, in fact Hitler was just an exception which we were forced to submit to."

"A highly developed nation such as the Germans can easily do that, with adequate men at the top."

"Because we're not stupid either, why shouldn't we be able to do it, in fact, I would think so, as we all want democracy."

"We're not a bit more stupid than the rest, so why shouldn't we be able to."

"The Germans aren't any dumber than the others."

"Intelligence-wise I would expect it of the Germans."

"Because we're a cultured nation, but otherwise I can't tell you exactly."

We have learned from experience to dislike dictatorship:

5

"Because we still vividly remember the events of the Hitler period and are thoroughly convinced that we don't like them."

"Because the Germans went through a lot of things under the Nazis, so that they're now very much in favor of a democratic government."

"Fed up with dictatorship, there've been hard experiences, but I believe we're cured by now."

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Voters

"People have learned too much from before, I mean the Nazi period, you know."

"Nobody will have anything to do with a dictatorship anymore."

"Democracy suits us Germans better than methods of force after all the experiences of recent years."

Our freedom of speech assures democracy:

5%

"You can at last say what you want to which is the first step to democracy."

"Because I'm allowed free expression of my opinion and I'm listened to as well."

"Well, one is allowed to express one's own opinion, that's democracy."

"Under the present government everybody is allowed free expression."

"Well, you can see and hear it - just think of the East Zone in comparison, we have complete freedom of expression after all."

"We see that we have personal freedom today, you can go and have discussions in any beerhall."

Radical parties have lost out:

3

"The radicals have lost, and the Communists are completely out."

"From the rejection of the radical groups."

"The way into the Bundeshaus has been closed to the small and radical parties."

"Because we're fed up with the radicals and they've disappeared."

"Definite rejection of all radicals."

"Communists are no longer in the Bundestag, real majority rule."

We have fewer, stronger parties:

2

"Before long we will have a two party system, government party and opposition, that's good democracy."

"Fewer parties than before, there is more will for cooperation."

"Because there are two big parties."

Adenauer is a guarantee:

1

"I believe so because Adenauer's is the strongest party. They will be able to do so because they are democrats."

"Adenauer's personality is a guarantee for that."

"As long as Adenauer is at the head and people believe him they will do what he tells them."

Other comments:

"Since the occupation powers have changed the High Commissioners into ambassadors, it's probably so, for if other people believe us capable of it we ourselves may have confidence in it, too."

"Because of the political development of Europe and the whole world."

"If no other organizers - either the church or the US - try to disturb it."

"An example is Berlin: in three of the sectors there is a democracy not to be found elsewhere."

"From the sympathy which we receive from the democratic world and especially from the US."

No opinion/No answer:

4  
56%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Do you believe that the Germans today could govern themselves democratically?"

IF "No":

"And what makes you think so?"

Voters

5%

Germans need a leader - are responsive to dictatorship:

- "The Germans need leadership. They can't think in a democratic way. Without orders from somewhere they don't get along at all."
- "The Germans want to be led, the Germans are like a flock who need a shepherd."
- "The Germans are used to receiving orders and obeying them. We are good soldiers and need a strong leader."
- "In Germany there is no such democracy as in America, it will never be, the Germans must have leadership."
- "It doesn't suit the Germans as it does other nations, they always have to feel the pressure from above."
- "The Germans are a difficult people. Many a man doesn't know what to do with freedom."
- "Because a German always has to have someone standing behind him with a whip, dictatorship would be better for us."
- "The Germans march better under dictatorship."
- "I think that the people need a strong command, a slight dictatorship, not as in the Third Reich, but strong nevertheless."
- "I'm afraid dictatorship will keep coming back."
- "The Nazi state is still in the bones of too many people, deep inside they're not yet free, they are not real democrats, even if they wanted to be."

Germans are too much at odds with one another:

- "Because they never can agree on anything."
- "There are too many parties which disagree with each other."
- "They are too much at odds with each other."
- "We can't get together on anything which is the bad thing about the Germans. One says 'gee' and the other 'haw'."
- "Everybody thinks he can do things better than the other, but you can't see the difference. There are a lot of different parties, everything is split up, everyone aims in a different direction."
- "Just listen to the Bundestag over the radio, and you'll notice their lack of discipline."

Dr. Adenauer's government and his re-election prove a German liking for authoritarianism:

- "The German believes in the 'Fuehrer' principle, he always needs a leader, he can't be self-sufficient, that's the reason for Adenauer's great victory."
- "I suppose so, because Adenauer is a dictatorial person and he's been elected again, as you know."
- "The authoritarian system shown in the attitude of the coalition government, and it suits Dr. Adenauer's nature."
- "A German always has to have someone. That has been shown again at the election, for Adenauer was elected so easily."

The people have little say in the government:

- "We're not asked anyway, in Germany things are still done quite a lot by the 'Fuehrer' principle."
- "Because the people always have to do what the big boys in the government want."
- "Because in reality only those parties which are convenient are allowed to express themselves; because that which democracy should be will never be permitted here by those above."
- "The higher-ups in the government have the only say about what's to be done."
- "Because the people always have to do what the big shots want them to. That was never a good thing."

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Voters

Germany is still dominated by the occupation forces:

1%

"How are they supposed to govern themselves? We over here in the West have to dance to the Americans' piping, and those in the East have to do what the Russians want, it's not up to us to do as we like in any of the important things."

"I don't call it democratic, if Adenauer gets his order from America."

"Because we still have to listen a lot to what the others say. I mean the French, British, Russians and the Americans, too."

"Because they are still dependent on the occupation forces."

There is no such thing as democracy:

1

"There has never been a real democracy, neither in Germany nor elsewhere."

"Democracy is a growth which does not exist at all; what is it anyway?"

"Because there would never be a real democracy as everything is run by money."

Other comments:

3

"I believe that with the next election we'll get a monarchy. I don't like to hear the expression 'democracy'."

"I don't believe that there's already a democracy here as in America. There's a lot of talk about democracy, but the actions are anything but democratic."

"We must not suppress the Communists either; they are not allowed to speak and hold meetings."

"That has not been proved yet. Contrasts are too marked and class differences are still very sharp, if not even furthered by the CDU."

No opinion / No answer:

15%



SOME GAIN IN POLITICAL INTEREST ...

One of the handicaps to democracy in the West German republic is the number of its citizen who apart from the traditional and disciplined act of going to the polls, fail to evince the interest in political affairs that is basic to the successful functioning of a democracy. Political interest was outweighed by lack of such in a West German survey of November 1951, but in the latest post-election survey shows signs of having inched upward to approximately even terms with expressions of political disinterest. And though most believe the situation unchanged, almost three times as many as hold the contrary judge that their interest in politics has increased over the past few years.

"Are you interested in politics or don't you care about politics?"

	<u>Nov 51</u>		<u>Late Sept 53</u>			
	<u>All</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Did not</u>
	<u>(1136)</u>	<u>(1270)</u>	<u>CDU</u>	<u>SPD</u>	<u>(396)</u>	<u>vote</u>
I am interested in politics	43%	49%	58%	52%	45%	27%
I don't care about politics	<u>57</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>73</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you have the feeling that your interest in politics has increased or lessened in the course of the last few years?"

	<u>All</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Did not</u>
		<u>CDU</u>	<u>SPD</u>		<u>vote</u>
Has increased	25%	30%	30%	21%	13%
Has lessened	9	6	12	10	11
As great as before	22	27	24	21	8
As little as before	39	33	32	43	56
No opinion	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Group comparisons (see tables at end of present section) disclose interesting indications that gains in political interest over the past two years are most marked (the order of 20%) in two rather significant population groupings - youth (from 21 to 24) and semi-skilled workers. There is also an encouraging suggestion of more than average gain among women. This fact if verified is very important in that feminine indifference to politics is one of the main hurdles to strengthening democratic political participation in Germany.

Reasons cited by respondents who admit to a lack of interest in politics are listed in order of frequency below. These are followed by the comments of the one in four among West Germans who believe that their interest in political affairs has grown over the past few years.

"What objections do you have to being interested in politics?"

% of West  
Germans

No objection, just not interested:

- "I've other interests and troubles which are enough for me."
- "My troubles grow daily and therefore I'm not interested in politics."
- "I've no objections but I am just not interested in it."
- "I'm not interested that's all."
- "No objections, I'm not interested in politics."
- "No objections, but I am interested in other fields."
- "I never bothered about it and don't nowadays either."

14%

(Cont'd on next page)

% of West  
Germans

9%

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Lack of time, work and professional problems take one's time:

"I'm busy with my work and there is no time left for politics."

"A farmer has other troubles, a lot of work in the stable, how to get money, and so there is no time for politics."

"No time, that's the only thing, no time because there is too much work."

"Well, I'm too busy providing for seven persons."

"The main point is the lack of time, I'm just in the beginning of my work."

"I only go to the polls, aside from that I've no time to bother with politics."

"Being a housewife, I have no time."

Women don't belong in politics, that's men's business:

"That is not a woman's business but a man's."

"I've never been interested in politics, that is something men should do."

"That is for the men, a woman's place is in the kitchen."

"Politics is a matter of men."

Political interest led to trouble before:

"People have burned their fingers once before."

"No good comes of it. Until 1945 my father was in the party and got his knuckles rapped. That's why I keep my hands off."

"In 1945 people were punished because they were interested in politics during the Hitler period."

"I remember the Nazi time, after the capitulation people who had been working in the political field were prosecuted."

"The burned child avoids the fire."

Because of age - youth - illness:

"I'm too old and don't want to be bothered with it."

"Because I'm too old now."

"I'm still too young for it. I think interest will come at a later age."

"I'm still too young, I understand nothing of it."

"I'm an invalid."

"I think my health is too important to be ruined by excitement in my old days."

I don't understand enough about politics:

"I'm too simple-minded, that is a matter for the big-brains."

"I don't care about politics, I am not intelligent enough."

"Because I don't understand it. Everything will happen as it must happen."

"One doesn't have brains enough for that."

"No objections, but I've no time for it, and don't understand too much about it. Only people who really know politics should be occupied with it."

Politics is the concern of the politicians, not of the common people:

"Let the statesmen do it, that's nothing for us common people."

"As for me I think everything is all right if there is work and bread. Politics concern the government."

"One can't change it, and the worker is not asked for his opinion."

"The little man has no influence, everything is directed from above anyway."

"In any case the individual isn't able to add anything."

"Our opinion is not asked for and nobody pays any attention to us."

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% of West  
Germans

Dealing with politics brings conflict, troubles:

2%

"You always get into trouble with people when dealing with politics."

"I've never been interested in politics, only quarrels and trouble come of it."

"Because there is no sense in it and one only gets irritated."

"Because too much disagreement arises within the family and these people are mostly hot-heads who bring trouble."

"One just gets irritated when dealing with politics."

Other comments:

1

"The well-being of the people is based only on their belief in Christ."

"I believe only in the realms of Christ which will be erected during the present generation."

"My way is clearly prescribed because I'm a worker. In addition, I scarcely take notice of politics. I'm satisfied with my work. Politics in terms of party politics is nonsense. I don't care for high politics."

"People are only interested in politics when they want to show their importance and I don't want to do that."

"Those who are too interested in politics usually aren't worth much."

No opinion/No answer:

4  
51%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Do you have the feeling that your interest in politics has increased or lessened in the course of the last year?"

IF "Has increased":

% of West  
Germans

"In your opinion, what's the reason for that?"

The political situation and tension in the world call for people to take an interest in politics:

6%

"Because in a time like the present we are called upon to take an interest in politics."

"These days everybody has to be interested in politics."

"These days you have to take an interest in world affairs."

"Because of the tense and unstable world situation since 1945."

"I see how essential it is."

"Because of the political developments."

Germany's recovery inspires people to take an interest in politics:

4

"It is so interesting to watch how Germany manages to rise out of the chaos that I am even more interested in politics now."

"Because you could see that recovery makes progress."

"Because I have taken courage again after the chaos of 1945 - at that time I was completely indifferent."

"Before 1945 things were all topsy-turvy, now is the time to get interested again."

"Because now, as the situation improves you are interested to see how things will turn out."

"Up till now there was nothing but disappointment, now, at last, things are improving."

"Because my interest in Germany's revival has grown."

"Well, now you are more interested in the general well-being and the upward trend to be noticed in Germany."

Age adds maturity and interest:

4

"I'm getting older and more serious."

"I have grown older and more sensible."

"I've got a wiser outlook on things, due to my age."

"As you grow up your interests in political matters grow."

"Because I'm older now, when you are young you don't care about it."

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% of West  
Germans

3%

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Democracy and equal rights call for political participation:

"Because of the change from dictatorship to democracy."

"Because nowadays you can decide for yourself whether you want to take part in politics or not."

"Democracy calls for taking great interest in political events."

"You have to get informed so that you make the right decision when voting."

"Equal rights for women go together with equal duties."

"Now that we women have equal rights I think that paying more attention to politics is the right thing to do."

We have learned from experience to be more politically alert:

2

"Before the collapse people were indifferent, attended to their own business, now they have come to wake up through all the misery which has come over Germany."

"Because after the collapse we are obliged to be politically more active."

"After we had been bombed out our interest has grown."

Because you can state your opinion freely:

1

"Freedom of opinion makes you interested in discussions."

"Formerly we were just pushed around, today you can stand up for your opinion."

"You can get exact information and are free to express whichever opinion you choose to have."

"You can have an opinion of your own and stand up for it."

Fate of refugees depends on political developments:

1

"Due to the course of events, because I am a refugee and in the long run my fate depends on the political developments."

"Because of my fate as a refugee and because I want my home country in the East to be returned to us."

"Nowadays you have to take an interest in politics, even as a woman, you have to know whether you can return to your home country soon."

The rearmament issue has aroused our interest:

1

"Ever since the EDC treaty came up I pursue the course of politics because I don't want that to happen."

"Because I fear that we might get involved in another war."

"All this talking about rearmament made me interested."

Because people have to decide about the future of their families:

1

"If you have property and children you worry about the future and get more interested in politics."

"I'm married now and consequently I'm more interested."

"I have a family now and have to look after it."

Because my economic interests are involved:

1

"Because my economic interests are more than ever at stake."

"Because I'm personally interested to know whether the position of laborers and pensioners such as me is likely to improve."

"Because of my cares and worries, since I'm widowed I follow events more closely."

"That goes along with the financial interests."

To help Germany achieve freedom and reunification:

1

"Everybody is wishing for a reunited Germany and wants to do his share that this could be achieved."

"Because at last Germany's position must be clarified."

"I would like to see Germany to be free again as it was formerly."

Other answers:

2

"Because I'm afraid that otherwise the Communists might gain ground."

"Otherwise we SPD followers would be sunk, moreover you just have the duty to stand up for your class, indifference would be stupid, even criminal."

"Through the political injustice in West Germany with regard to internal affairs."

"Because by the signs of our days I can see in how far the prophecies of the Holy Bible have come true."

No opinion/No answer:\*  
27%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Are you of the opinion that democracy in West Germany has become stronger or weaker in the course of the past few years?"

	Stronger	Weaker	Equally strong	Equally weak	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	55%	5%	16%	6%	18%...100%	572
Women	35	5	12	3	45	698
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	40	5	14	4	37	1041
Beyond elementary	62	3	15	7	13	229
<b>Age:</b>						
21 to 24 years	41	2	26	2	29	93
25 to 34 years	46	6	14	4	30	266
35 to 44 years	48	5	14	5	28	264
45 to 54 years	43	6	15	5	31	315
55 to 64 years	42	5	13	7	33	182
65 years and over	40	2	4	1	53	149
<b>Income:</b>						
Up to 149 DM	34	1	8	2	55	198
150 - 299 DM	39	4	14	5	38	405
300 - 399 DM	45	8	15	5	27	281
400 - 499 DM	49	5	22	4	20	140
500 - 599 DM	58	6	16	6	14	89
600 - 799 DM	65	7	17	2	9	58
800 DM and more	74	10	3	3	10	30
<b>Occupation (respondent):</b>						
Professionals	64	3	12	6	15	34
Businessmen	58	10	10	5	17	59
White-collar workers	44	7	25	7	17	101
Skilled laborers	55	8	21	5	11	147
Semi-skilled laborers	47	3	16	8	26	127
Domestic Service	46	-	12	3	39	33
Farmers	55	3	11	2	29	100
Housewives	35	5	13	3	44	432
Unemployed	38	5	14	5	38	21
Pensioners, retired	41	2	8	4	45	214
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	43	5	15	4	33	1031
Expellees, Refugees	50	3	12	4	31	237
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	42	4	14	4	36	575
Protestants	47	4	14	4	31	651



"Do you believe that the Germans today could govern themselves democratically?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	59%	20%	21%...100%	572
Women	43	12	45	698
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	13	39	1041
Beyond elementary	57	27	16	229
<u>Age:</u>				
21 to 24 years	49	20	31	93
25 to 34 years	48	17	35	266
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<u>Income:</u>				
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150 - 299 DM	45	16	39	405
300 - 399 DM	54	17	29	281
400 - 499 DM	59	14	27	140
500 - 599 DM	67	20	13	89
600 - 799 DM	62	19	19	58
800 DM and more	60	33	7	30
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>				
Professionals	56	32	12	34
Businessmen	73	15	12	59
White-collar workers	51	25	24	101
Skilled laborers	61	21	18	147
Semi-skilled laborers	46	26	28	127
Domestic Service	55	3	42	33
Farmers	58	8	34	100
Housewives	41	12	47	432
Unemployed	38	10	52	21
Pensioners, retired	51	11	38	214
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	50	15	35	1031
Expellees, Refugees	50	15	35	237
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	48	15	37	575
Protestants	52	14	34	651

**"Are you interested in politics or don't you care about politics?"**

	<u>I am interested in politics</u>		<u>I don't care about politics</u>		<u>No. of cases</u>	
	<u>Late</u>	<u>Late</u>	<u>Late</u>	<u>Late</u>	<u>Late</u>	<u>Late</u>
	Nov 51	Sept 53	Nov 51	Sept 53	Nov 51	Sept 53
<b><u>Sex:</u></b>						
Men	59%	64%	41%	36%	561	572
Women	28	37	72	63	575	698
<b><u>Education:</u></b>						
Elementary school	38	44	62	56	918	1041
Beyond elementary	67	73	33	27	215	229
<b><u>Age:</u></b>						
21 to 24 years	31	53	69	47	108	93
25 to 34 years	43	46	57	54	235	266
35 to 44 years	47	50	53	50	252	264
45 to 54 years	47	50	53	50	247	315
55 to 64 years	44	57	56	43	163	182
65 years and over	40	40	60	60	123	149
<b><u>Income:*</u></b>						
Up to 149 DM	32	34	68	66	296	198
150 - 299 DM	41	43	59	57	460	405
300 - 399 DM	50	53	50	47	197	281
400 DM and more	65	61	35	39	161	385
<b><u>Occupation (respondent):</u></b>						
Professionals	74	82	26	18	34	34
Businessmen	58	68	42	32	80	59
White-collar workers	60	63	40	37	106	101
Skilled laborers	58	63	42	37	142	147
Semi-skilled laborers	38	56	62	44	103	127
Domestic Service	42	45	58	55	36	33
Farmers	41	50	59	50	93	100
Housewives	28	35	72	65	335	432
Unemployed	57	48	43	52	37	21
Pensioners, retired	40	47	60	53	166	214
<b><u>Origin:</u></b>						
Natives	43	50	57	50	867	1031
Expellees, Refugees	43	47	57	53	267	237
<b><u>Religion:</u></b>						
Catholics	43	46	57	54	509	575
Protestants	42	51	58	49	574	651

\* Less refined income categories are used in the present connection because trend comparisons are only available for these groupings.

"Do you have the feeling that your interest in politics has increased or lessened in the course of the last few years?"

	Has increased	Has lessened	As great as before	As little as before	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	34%	11%	29%	23%	3%...100%	572
Women	18	8	17	51	6	698
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	22	8	21	43	6	1041
Beyond elementary	39	12	27	20	2	229
<b>Age:</b>						
21 to 24 years	29	5	21	43	2	93
25 to 34 years	33	9	16	38	4	266
35 to 44 years	25	10	24	36	5	264
45 to 54 years	22	8	24	42	4	315
55 to 64 years	25	9	27	35	4	182
65 years and over	17	13	21	39	10	149
<b>Income:</b>						
Up to 149 DM	16	10	16	47	11	198
150 - 299 DM	22	8	19	46	5	405
300 - 399 DM	26	7	29	33	5	281
400 - 499 DM	30	11	25	33	1	140
500 - 599 DM	26	10	36	27	1	89
600 - 799 DM	45	14	13	26	2	58
800 DM and more	54	3	17	23	3	30
<b>Occupation (respondent):</b>						
Professionals	47	12	23	15	3	34
Businessmen	34	3	34	24	5	59
White-collar workers	38	10	27	22	3	101
Skilled laborers	33	8	32	24	3	147
Semi-skilled laborers	31	16	20	30	3	127
Domestic Service	30	3	15	49	3	33
Farmers	26	8	23	38	5	100
Housewives	18	8	16	52	6	432
Unemployed	14	9	29	34	14	21
Pensioners, retired	19	10	24	40	7	214
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	24	8	24	39	5	1031
Expellees, Refugees	30	11	17	37	5	237
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	27	8	20	39	6	575
Protestants	24	10	24	38	4	651

APPENDIX I

## VOTE PREDICTION QUESTIONS USED IN FINAL PRE-ELECTION SURVEY

1. "At the beginning of September this year elections for the Bundestag will again be held. Are you entitled to vote?"

Yes  
No

IF "Yes" to question 1:

- 1a. "And will you probably go to the polls?"

Yes  
No

Uncertain/Don't know yet

IF "Yes" on above:

2. "For which party will you probably cast your vote at the coming elections?"

SPD	BHE
CDU/CSU	KPD
FDP	Others, which ones: ...
DP	None
DRP	No opinion

IF party mentioned above:

- 2a. "Would you probably give both of your votes, (according to the new electoral law everybody entitled to vote has two votes), to the same party, namely the ... (as named in question 2), or are you going to give your second vote to another party?"

<u>Same party</u>		<u>Another party, which one?</u>	
SPD	DRP	SPD	DRP
CDU	BHE	CDU	BHE
FDP	KPD	FDP	KPD
DP	Others	DP	Others
			Don't know yet which one

All not mentioning party in 2 or in 2a asked following:

- 2b. "Would you be more inclined to vote for one of the parties now in office - CDU, FDP, DP - or more inclined to vote for the SPD? Or more inclined toward one of the other parties? Which?"

More for coalition parties	More for DP
More for CDU/CSU	More for SPD
More for FDP	More for other, which: ...
	No opinion

IF "No opinion" above:

- 2c. "Well, what do you personally desire: which party should win - or don't you care at all?"

CDU/CSU	SPD
FDP	Others, which: ...
DP	Don't care

APPENDIX II

"Could you tell me for what reasons you didn't vote for SPD?" (Asked of all who did not indicate voting for the SPD.)

% of all  
Voters

It lacks Christian spirit:

12%

- "We've never voted for the SPD, their theories are contrary to my convictions, I'm a Catholic."
- "I'm a Catholic and it's been proven that things are in a sorry mess where people foresake religion, that's why people must cherish faith and that means to support the CDU."
- "Because the SPD's attitude towards the Church isn't too friendly."
- "Because I'm a Catholic and my Christian views are reflected in the CDU."
- "Out of conscientious scruples, because these people have no faith."
- "Because the stand the SPD takes on religious issues doesn't suit me (denominational schools)."
- "Because the SPD opposes the establishment of denominational schools, I want to support a Christian party."
- "We've found once before that a nation which has no faith can't survive, in my eyes the SPD isn't better in any way than National Socialism."

It doesn't take care of the interests of my class (civil servants, farmers, middle-class people, house owners, landed proprietors, businessmen):

8

- "I fear that the SPD is a danger to us middle-class people, in a similar way as the KPD; my house might be taken away from me."
- "Because they want to ruin the middle classes."
- "The SPD promotes the interests of the workers and not of the farmers; after all, for us farmers it would be madness to vote for the SPD as these people actually fight us."
- "Because they don't take care of my interests, for I'm a farmer."
- "I'm a selfemployed artisan and a farmer on the side, I can vote only for a party that takes care of my interests; the SPD is the party of the employees."
- "If you own some property, you want to keep it; this whole business tends too much to the left, I'm afraid they will introduce a rather radical socialization program."
- "As I am a man of property, I can't reconcile voting for this party with my views, the SPD advocates socialization; I can't expect that through the SPD things will pick up for me."
- "As I'm an independent businessman, I can't give my vote to this party, they want to concentrate all economic efforts in cooperatives, and would make things difficult for independent businessmen."
- "Because the workers always complain about the farmers; the SPD is exclusively a workers' party, and that's why I'd never dream of voting for this party."
- "Because I can't do such a thing as I'm a civil servant."

General rejection of SPD:

7

- "I don't think much of the SPD."
- "I don't sympathize with this party."
- "It doesn't suit me, I don't feel drawn towards those people; my husband used to be a career officer."
- "For ideological reasons, I disapprove of their program."
- "I've never liked the SPD, I know that some of their people had rather high-flying aims, in this town the SPD is like some sort of a club."
- "Because of my convictions."
- "Because my political outlook differs from theirs."

(Cont'd on next page)



█  
% of all  
Voters

7%

(Cont'd from preceding page)

It's too close to Marxism and Communism:

- "Because Marxism as an idea and philosophy of life is outdated and because there's the danger of a fusion between Marxism and Communism, and they preach class hatred."
- "Because I take a dim view of the Marxist program."
- "I feel the SPD paves the way for Communism."
- "Because I feel it's somewhat too proletarian."
- "This party isn't suitable for us, they are already halfway down the road to Communism."
- "Because it tends too much to the left; in my opinion, there is no great difference between SPD and KPD."
- "Because after I had read SPD leaflets as well as Communist pamphlets, I felt that it's pretty much the same."
- "All the SPD does is to further Communism."
- "I have no sympathy for them, they are sort of an appendage of Communism; besides, they've accepted money from the Communists."
- "I'm afraid the SPD will steer a leftist course until they'll swim in the wake of the Russians."

The CDU has a successful record:

5

- "Because I have been pleased with the work the government had done during the last four years."
- "The CDU has accomplished quite a lot since then end of the war, you can't but feel respect for them."
- "Personally, I have prospered, and I think I owe it to the CDU."
- "I have no particular reasons, I voted for the CDU because the government has achieved quite a lot during the past few years."
- "Well, I thought for myself that we have been doing pretty well recently, and that's why I voted for those who had held office."
- "I consider the CDU to be a more promising party; I was satisfied with the way they've handled government affairs up till now."
- "We have been very satisfied with the CDU up till now."
- "I have been satisfied with the government during its last terms of office."

The SPD opposition doesn't serve a constructive purpose:

4

- "Because the SPD is against everything all the time; a thing like that irks me, I don't like it when people don't help matters along but always obstruct developments."
- "All they do is to criticize things, but they've never made an acceptable proposal so far."
- "They just doggedly oppose everything there is."
- "Because of their everlasting opposition."
- "Checking up on the policy pursued during the past few years you find that the SPD didn't do anything but to raise opposition, they didn't ever present something new; the SPD isn't capable of governing the country efficiently."
- "The SPD criticizes the government too sharply; they themselves, however, don't take any action to improve things."
- "Because we have no sympathies for this party; in the Bundestag debates they are the perpetual vetoers."
- "They only condemn things, but they don't do a better job."
- "What bothers me most about the SPD is their continual vetoing of the foreign policy programs."

I reject its economic policy and socialization program:

4

- "The SPD champions a planned economy, and I prefer a private enterprise system."
- "Though I'm for a social program, I reject any plans for socializing larger plants, as this means, among other things, heavier taxes for the workers; privately owned firms get a stronger impetus through private initiative."
- "I like that spirit of freedom about the GVP, the SPD doesn't grant enough freedom in the economic sphere."
- "I'm afraid the program of the SPD involves such heavy expenditure that we won't be able to foot the bill."
- "I consider the economic program of the CDU to be better than that of the SPD, we don't want to get conditions as they are in France."

(Cont'd on next page)

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I voted for Adenauer because of his personality, his record of achievement, and his policy:

"Because I was quite impressed with what Adenauer has achieved for Germany so far."

"Because of the personality of Adenauer."

"Adenauer is a personality who is respected in this country and abroad."

"Because I'm of the opinion that Adenauer wants to achieve the best for Germany, and I think he is the right man to handle this job."

"Because I felt that Adenauer is the right man we need."

"Because Adenauer got us out of the worst of the whole mess."

"I'm for Dr. Adenauer, that's it."

It's a tradition with me to vote for some other party:

"I'm not interested in the SPD, it's sort of a tradition with me."

"Because this party isn't in my line, I was brought up in conservative ideas tending towards the right."

"Because I have never supported Social Democratic principles."

"I hold on to my conviction acquired way back."

"I've never been for the SPD, I pay little attention to politics."

It failed in the past:

"The SPD failed once before."

"Because they've hoodwinked us once before in the years from 1928 to 1932, and that's why we have lost confidence in them."

"Because the SPD has been in power before; basically, this party is to blame for the NSDAP ever getting into power, it has gone to the wall once before, and that should be enough."

"I've never given my vote to this party as they've had a grand chance in the past and they've bungled the job, otherwise Hitler wouldn't have risen to power."

"In our eyes, the SPD has been somewhat too lax in the past, and thus they've involuntarily surrendered us to Hitler."

"They've got us into a bad mess back in the thirties, everything was just so much talk, only empty promises, and nothing else, once they'd get into office again, the old disreputable gang would be back."

"They've let us down ignominiously as early as 1918, that's why I have no confidence in them any more."

"The older generation told us young people that they have been disappointed by the SPD in the twenties."

As a refugee, or expellee, I prefer the BHE (all-German bloc) or some other party:

"Because I consider the BHE to be the proper presentation of the refugees and for this reason I give my vote to this party."

"I gave my vote to the party that takes care of my interests, I am an expellee."

"I am a refugee, that's how it is, those other parties don't mean anything to me."

"As I'm a refugee I champion the BHE as I feel that this party attends to my interests."

"It's the duty of expellees to vote for their fellow-expellees."

"I really can't give an answer to that, if you are a refugee you just cast your vote for the BHE."

There are no competent leaders among the SPD:

"Because there isn't a single person among the SPD people who could outdo Adenauer."

"They have no men who could take over the lead, there are only ordinary members who've climbed the party ladder and who are inefficient."

"There is nobody who could manage the whole thing successfully, they won't do a better job as there is no leader personality among them."

"Because I've no special sympathies for Ollenauer, as a person and as a politician he can't compare with Schumacher; Schumacher did more for the refugees than Ollenauer does."

(Cont'd on next page)

% of all  
Voters

(Cont'd from preceding page)

"To say they are inefficient would be a little too harsh, I might have voted for the SPD; if Goebbels would be the head of the SPD today, they might have won."

"I don't consider Ollenhauer to be a personality capable of leading a nation."

"Because I don't believe the head of the SPD, Mr. Ollenhauer, has it in him to handle the affairs of the 40 million people who live in the Federal Republic."

It's too radical:

"In the past I felt that the SPD was too radical and it doesn't suit me today, either."

"Because it follows doggedly a prescribed course; in my eyes this party is too radical."

"The SPD advocates its cause too fervently, and in doing so it's too one-sided."

"Their program is too much removed from my own ideas, in some points it's too radical for my taste, this tendency to level people disgusts me."

"I was never in favor of that party because they are too radical."

Disappointment with or no confidence in SPD (general):

"The SPD didn't keep any of the promises it made in the beginning."

"We'd placed great hopes in the SPD, but we've been bitterly disappointed."

"I used to vote for the SPD in the past, but they haven't achieved their ends."

"It didn't come up to my expectations."

"Because I have no confidence in the SPD."

"Because they won't do more for us than the others, rather the contrary is the case; I simply have no confidence in the SPD, maybe the workers will benefit through this party, but on the whole, for the nation as such, it's not a good thing."

I gave my vote to the same party some other person voted for (my husband voted for):

"My husband used to be a high official and he didn't favor the SPD, and that's why I don't vote for the SPD, either."

"In our part of the country people just vote for the CSU and thus you just go along with the crowd."

"Because my husband didn't want me to, though I can't say why."

"I voted along with my husband, I don't pay any attention to politics."

"I voted for the party my sister had recommended to me, I don't know a thing about politics myself."

I disapprove of the stand the SPD takes on the EDC issue:

"Because they fought so doggedly against the EDC treaty."

"There is nothing in it, they don't realize what a position we are in; they want something that's rather questionable: the EDC treaty without a military contribution."

"The SPD turns thumbs down on the EDC treaty."

I reject the foreign policy of the SPD:

"Their policy is no good for us, you can't negotiate with the Russians, you'll experience this time and again; the US would turn its back on us and the economic boom would end."

"The foreign policy the SPD champions is rather strange, I don't approve of it."

"Because they don't follow a straight course, they want an army too, after all."

(Cont'd on next page)

% of all  
Voters

1%

(Cont'd from preceding page)

It's corrupt:

"This party is ruled by certain cliques, and all they do is to deal out political plums."

"I have never been in favor of this party, the SPD is just like Dr. Hoegner: during the war he lived in Switzerland and afterwards he cashed in thousands of marks."

"I don't like it anyhow, it's a party ruled by bigwigs."

It has disappointed as a workers' party and in trade union matters:

1

"Because they don't do anything for the workers, either."

"I've had bad experiences with the SPD and the trade unions it champions; they haven't fought for the interests of the workers, and that's why I quit the SPD and the trade unions as well."

"Because some of the demands of the trade unions are unsocial, they want to force things, they don't have any scruples; they use totalitarian methods and pressure; they have rather strong and capitalistic tendencies."

To further the stronger party and to support the majority:

1

"Because I was convinced that the CDU would once more get the most votes, and the majority always wins."

"Because the strongest party appealed to me, I'm against frittering away one's strength; it's no use to vote for some small party, for we all have to pull together."

"I was afraid they might not get a majority."

As a former member of the NSDAP, I'm disappointed by the SPD:

"I used to be a member of the NSDAP; after the war those SPD guys made us work, we were forced to work."

"Because before the denazification tribunal to which I was summoned as I had been a district youth leader employed by the Reichsnährstand (farmers' association under the Hitler regime) the SPD proved to be a formidable opponent."

Other reasons:

"Capitalist circles would have withdrawn their investments if the SPD had come into power, the consequence would have been unemployment."

"The SPD is a party of mentally inferior people; it's always been the middle classes which have created new things; the SPD wants to establish a bureaucracy, they don't create new things."

"This party is a thing of the past."

"The membership fees of the party are too high."

I'm not familiar with the aims of the SPD:

"I have never busied myself with the SPD."

"Because I don't know what it is the SPD is after."

"I don't know the first thing about the party platform of the SPD."

"Because I don't know any details about their ideology."

I'm not interested, I don't know anything about politics,I don't know:

4

82%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Cont'd on next page)



"We would be interested in learning for what reasons you didn't vote for CDU?" (Asked of all who did not indicate voting for the CDU.)

% of all  
voters

CDU is the party of the Catholics, it is too closely tied to the Church:

8%

- "Adenauer is all right but the CDU is the party of the Catholics and we are Protestant."
- "Because this party gets its orders from Rome, the Church must keep out of politics."
- "The Church always strives for temporal power and tries to use the CDU as means to attain its ends; there is no place for the clergy in the political field."
- "I don't oppose the CDU and its program but its members are mainly Catholics and I'm a Protestant."
- "CDU succeeded the former Zentrums Partei, the majority of its brain trusters are Catholics, that's what kept me from voting for them though their policy is all right."
- "I disapprove of the Church's meddling in politics."
- "Because I'm against clerical influence in politics and because 'Christian' is no adequate attribute for a political party."
- "I disapprove of the CDU's stand on cultural matters, on the school question, for instance."

CDU is no party for working class people:

6

- "Because the CDU doesn't promote the interests of working class people."
- "Because I as a worker can't vote for the same party the capitalists vote for."
- "That's quite evident: I'm an artisan and a trade union member; the CDU doesn't advocate the cause of the workers."
- "The CDU is quite all right but I gave my vote to the party that advocates the workers' interests best."
- "Workers and pensioners can expect the strongest support from the SPD"
- "I'm a worker and I think that the SPD looks after the interests of my class."
- "Because the CDU doesn't do anything for the workers."
- "Because the CDU doesn't care about the workers."

CDU is not the right party for refugees and expellees:

5

- "As an expellee I feel more attracted by the BHE."
- "Refugees give their votes to their party, BHE sees to it that we can return to our homeland one day, one can't say so of the CDU."
- "The BHE attends my interests as a refugee; it consists of people who are in the same boat with me."
- "A refugee gives his vote to a refugee party that stands up for his interests."
- "I gave my vote to the party that advocated the interests of the expellees of the category I belong to."

I vote for the SPD because of tradition:

4

- "It's an old tradition in our family to vote for the SPD."
- "I've been a Social Democrat for a long time; my father has been an SPD member and so am I."
- "I have been brought up in an SPD family and I'll stick to the ideas I learned there."
- "We have always voted for the SPD, if you have been influenced by SPD ideas since childhood you won't decide for any other party."
- "Because I've always voted for the SPD, CDU may promise whatever it pleases, I only vote for the SPD, there can be no doubt about that."
- "Because my father had been an SPD member for years."
- "I'm a member of the SPD, I've always voted for it, so did my parents."

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% of all  
voters

The social policy of the CDU is not satisfactory - it is a party for businessmen and employers (capitalists):

4%

"Because the CDU represents the capitalists' interests, it's quite evident that capitalist interest are the motivating power of everything the CDU performs."

"Adenauer's government message made it clear to me that his program won't satisfy me. I can't forget what Schumacher once said: Adenauer makes the poor more poor and the rich more rich. His policy can't be called Christian. The stock exchange in the Ruhr district was considerably animated after the election."

"Because, above all, the peasant class is represented in the CDU, they try to push the small artisan to the wall. The Adenauer government supports but big shots, officials and princes of the Church while families with children don't get special privileges."

"Nothing is done for the poor, CDU doesn't see to it that goods are sold at fixed prices, every shopkeeper can demand any price he likes for his goods, besides the CDU government didn't increase the pensions."

"CDU doesn't look after the working class, prices are not adjusted to wages, every businessman owns a car, margins of profit are too great. No, Adenauer doesn't care about the workers."

"CDU didn't stop the rise in prices and didn't fix a price ceiling for rents."

"The CDU government decided that only one third of the board of directors may consist of employees, that means that the codetermination issue was settled in favor of the employers."

Rejection of the CDU policy (remilitarization, EDC treaty):

4

"I didn't like it that the CDU makes us so dependent on America, I reject the rearmament plan as it is not just meant to strengthen Germany, it's that German soldiers are to fight for the others."

"I've got a husband and children, that's why I reject a participation in a defense community."

"Because Adenauer wants to set up an army."

"We definitely reject the EDC treaty."

"CDU policy leads to war."

"I think that the policy of the CDU leads to war as it provides for a new army."

CDU doesn't attend to my interests (comments made by businessmen, artisans and others):

2

"As an ex-regular, I've served in the army for 12 years, I have to vote for the party that advocates my interests."

"Because the CDU doesn't advocate the cause of the artisans so effectively as the FDP."

"It's said that the BP is the right party for the farmers."

"The CDU didn't develop enough energy, they aren't concerned about the farmers' worries with the result that we can't get any help."

"The CDU neglected the farmers' interests."

My husband told me which party to vote for:

1

"I voted for the same party my husband voted for, politics is uninteresting to me."

"I asked my husband about the elections and he told me to vote for the FDP candidate."

"Because my husband voted for the SPD, I don't care about politics."

"My husband didn't allow me to vote for some other party, I myself am not interested in politics."

CDU power needs counterbalancing:

1

"CDU is very powerful anyhow, a single party in office means dictatorship."

"I agree with the CDU but in order to counterbalance the tendency toward a one-party-system I didn't give my vote to it."

"CDU ought to be counterbalanced by a strong opposition."

"A strong opposition is necessary."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

% of all  
voters

I vote for the party other people vote for:

1%

"Well, I voted for the same party my friends voted for."

"Most people at my place are pro-SPD, so I voted for this party, too."

"I just put a cross somewhere because people in the house had told me that I had to go to the polls."

Because of the agreement between the CDU and FDP:

1

"CDU and FDP formed a coalition."

"As CDU and FDP formed a union it didn't matter to which of these parties I gave my vote."

"CDU and FDP agreed on the nomination of an FDP member for this constituency, so that I had no choice."

Rejection of Adenauer:

"I can't stand Adenauer."

"Adenauer plunged us into debts, reason enough not to vote for him."

"I never would do such a thing, it begins already with its leader, the Chancellor, whom I dislike."

CDU doesn't make enough efforts toward German reunification:

"CDU doesn't do enough for Germany's reunification."

"Adenauer soft-pedalled the reunification issue."

I also voted for the CDU (comments made by those who voted for SPD and CDU):

"I voted for both parties."

"I voted for the CDU as well as for the SPD as I wanted to strengthen both of the big parties."

"In order to treat the parties fairly I gave my second vote to the CDU as I fare quite well under the present government."

"I gave one vote to the SPD and the second to the CDU in order to make a fair deal."

Other specific reasons for not voting for the CDU:

7%

"Because the SPD is the leading party in North European countries where living conditions are favorable and that don't wage wars. Besides the SPD is the leading party in Dortmund and it has proved its efficiency."

"Because I'd had loved to see whether the SPD is more capable than the CDU."

"Workers in Hesse are satisfied with the government (SPD government in Hesse) there is no reason why they should vote for the CDU."

"I don't know anything about all this, but as a Bavarian I vote for the BP."

"I'm a Bavarian and thus naturally vote for the Bavarian party."

"FDP because the FDP stands up for our national interests."

Other specific explanations why the CDU policy is disappointing:

2%

"I was disappointed at the CDU's participation in the denazification business though I personally was not involved in this matter."

"Because I deem the whole program of the CDU to be too reactionary."

"I was bombed out but the CDU government did nothing for me."

Other answers:

"There were no bright prospects for the CDU in our district."

"I don't know enough about electoral matters, I just put a cross somewhere."

No opinion / No answer:

1

48%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

(used when no answer)

WEST GERMAN REACTIONS  
TO UN AIRING OF KOREA ATROCITIES

Report No. 192  
Series No. 2  
December 28, 1953

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EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

R E S T R I C T E D

## INTRODUCTION

The recent US action of putting out a formal report on Communist atrocities in Korea and placing the matter before the General Assembly of the United Nations constitutes an attempt to indict Communist methods before the bar of world public opinion. Rank and file reactions to such an effort to inform and influence public opinion need to be measured. Such an appraisal assumes special interest in Germany in view of German experiences with wartime atrocities and the Nuremberg trials.

To ascertain the facts of German rank and file reactions the Evaluation Staff, Office of Public Affairs, conducted a survey between November 20th and December 1st, 1953 - the period preceding and including the UN assembly discussion. The survey embraced a 635 representative probability sampling of West Germans 18 years of age and over and a 227 case sampling in West Berlin. As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## HEADLINE SUMMARY

I. Awareness And Belief In Korea Atrocities

- ... AWARENESS OF ATROCITY REPORTS FAIRLY WIDESPREAD
- ... REPORTS OF COMMUNIST ATROCITIES GENERALLY BELIEVED

II. Awareness And Belief  
In Germ Warfare Charges Against UN

- ... AWARENESS APPRECIABLE - BELIEF MINIMAL
- ... NO GROWTH IN AWARENESS OR BELIEF IN UN GERM WARFARE CHARGE

III. Reactions To Placing Of Communist Atrocities Before UN

- ... UN AIRING OF ATROCITIES SCORES HEAVILY WITH GERMAN PUBLIC

- I -

R E S T R I C T E D

## R E S T R I C T E D

## I. AWARENESS AND BELIEF IN KOREA ATROCITIES

## AWARENESS OF ATROCITY REPORTS FAIRLY WIDESPREAD ...

Reports of atrocities in connection with the Korean war had apparently diffused fairly widely in Germany as of the time of the present survey with half among West Germans (52%) and three quarters among West Berliners (78%) indicating having heard or read about their existence. The majority of those aware, it is to be noted, indicated having heard of atrocities being committed by both sides rather than by the Communists alone.\*

"Have you heard or read of atrocities allegedly having been committed in Korea?"

IF "Yes":

"And who, that is which side, is said to have committed those atrocities?"

IF "Communists" mentioned only:

"Could you tell me whether the other side, that is the UN troops, are also accused of atrocities in Korea?"

IF "UN troops" mentioned only:

"Could you tell me whether the other side, that is the Communists, are also accused of atrocities in Korea?"

	West Germany (635)	West Berlin (227)
Heard only of Communist atrocities	17%	15%
Heard only of UN atrocities	4	2
Heard both sides committed atrocities	28	58
Heard, but don't know which sides committed atrocities	3	3
Have not heard of atrocities in Korea	<u>48</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%

\* Comparative returns for population sub-groups in West Germany on the present and subsequent questions can be found in an appendix.



REPORTS OF COMMUNIST ATROCITIES GENERALLY BELIEVED ...

As to belief in what has been heard or read about Korean atrocities, however, reports of Communist atrocities are predominantly believed, but disbelief is frequent in regard to UN atrocities. In sum, though a third of West Germans and almost two thirds of West Berliners believe that the Communists have committed atrocities in Korea, one in ten in West Germany - 7% in West Berlin - express the belief that the UN side has done so.

"Have you heard or read of atrocities allegedly having been committed in Korea?"

IF "Yes":

"What kind of atrocities have the (Communists) (UN troops) been accused of?"

IF can mention kind:

"Do you believe that (atrocities specified) has been committed by the (Communists) (UN troops)?"

	<u>Believe</u>	<u>Don't believe</u>	<u>Undecided on belief</u>	<u>Not asked as not able to specify atrocity</u>
<u>WEST GERMANY:</u>				
Heard Communists committed atrocities	32%	1%	3%	9%...45%
Heard UN troops committed atrocities	10	11	5	6 ...32%
<u>WEST BERLIN:</u>				
Heard Communists committed atrocities	64%	1%	4%	8%...73%
Heard UN troops committed atrocities	7	43	1	9 ...60%

## R E S T R I C T E D

## KIND OF ATROCITIES COMMUNISTS BELIEVED TO HAVE COMMITTED ...

The kinds of atrocities that the Communists are believed to have committed in Korea are listed below:

"What kind of atrocities have the Communists been accused of?"

Results for  
Believers

West Germany	West Berlin
-----------------	----------------

13%	13%
-----	-----

Mistreatment of prisoners (general):

"Inhuman treatment of POWs."

"Mistreatment of POWs."

"Cruel treatment of UN prisoners."

"Mistreatment of prisoners. Forced to make statements (extortion)."

"Inhuman rigor."

"Made cruel sport of the prisoners."

"POWs have been mistreated."

Killing of prisoners:

"Shooting of defenseless prisoners."

"Murder of prisoners."

"Have shot people unlawfully."

"Mass graves for executions."

"To have shot officers of the UN troops."

"Liquidation of prisoners by shooting in the neck."

"Slaughter of prisoners."

"More than 200 prisoners of war murdered."

"To have murdered a high percentage of the prisoners."

Torture and mutilation of prisoners:

"Mutilation of prisoners."

"Torture of allied soldiers."

"Extortion of prisoners."

"Torture of prisoners."

"They are said to have cut prisoners' hands off."

"Put out eyes, torturing."

"Various mistreatments."

"Physical punishment, torture."

Poor treatment (general):

"Poor treatment of prisoners."

"Communists are said to have been beaten South Koreans in the camp."

"Disgraceful treatment of prisoners."

"The prisoners are said to be treated so badly."

Starving of prisoners:

"Have let prisoners starve."

"That they do not issue food, that the prisoners died of malnutrition."

"They have let prisoners starve on forced marches."

"Starved in prisoner camps."

(Cont'd on next page)

## R E S T R I C T E D

Results for  
Believers

West Germany	West Berlin
-----------------	----------------

2%	1%
----	----

(Cont'd from preceding page):

Killing of civilians:

"Women, children and soldiers murdered in prisoner camps."  
 "Murder of women and children."  
 "Many civilians murdered."  
 "That they have slaughtered the civilian population."  
 "They have shot the ones who did not want to be soldiers."

Mistreatment of civilians:

"Civilians taken hostages and tortured."  
 "Civilians treated as hostages."  
 "Massacres in areas which were formerly occupied."  
 "Atrocities towards South Koreans."  
 "Mistreatment, rape."  
 "Criminal assault."

Disappearance of prisoners:

"Prisoners. Large number missing, disappeared."  
 "That they have hidden prisoners."  
 "Some people are said to have been missing among prisoners."  
 "Prisoners disappear."

Severe measures against civilians:

"Unfair sentences. Forced exploitation of the population."  
 "Inadequate supplies for the population."  
 "Do not let population return home."

Others:

"Persecutions."  
 "Some thousands are said to have been immured alive."  
 "Communist propaganda."  
 "I could only repeat what has been reported by press and radio."  
 "They accuse each other of it."

1	2
1	1
1	2
40%	78%

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## R E S T R I C T E D

Results

## SUPPOSED UN ATROCITIES ...

The few who believed the UN committed atrocities gave illustrations like the following:

"What kind of atrocities have the UN troops been accused of?"

	Results for Believers	
	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Mistreatment of prisoners (general):</u>		
"Beating of the bare body with the whip."	3%	3%
"Mistreatment, nothing is impossible in such war events."		
<u>Killing of prisoners:</u>		
"That they have dropped bombs into a camp."	2	2
"That they have murdered prisoners."		
"That they have shot at rioting prisoners in POW camps."		
<u>Bacteriological warfare:</u>		
"Bacterial war."	2	10
"Dropping of bacteria bombs."		
"Germ warfare."		
"That spiders have been dropped to spread the plague."		
"That American officers are said to have been dropped behind enemy lines disguised as civilians to spread communicable diseases (typhoid, plague)."		
<u>Bombing of civilian population - scorched earth:</u>		
"Planes have dropped bombs on civilians."	1	1
"Bombing of civilian population."		
"Bomb terror."		
"Peaceful cities turned into rubbish and ashes."		
"Without reason they have shot everything into ruins."		
"The scorched earth, everything levelled to the ground."		
<u>Poor treatment (general):</u>	1	1
"Poor treatment of the Russians."		
"Poor treatment of the prisoners."		
"Poor prisoner treatment."		
<u>Mistreatment of the civilians:</u>		
"Mistreatment of the civilian population in the combat areas."	1	*
"Crimes against the civilian population."		
"Chicanery against the population."		
<u>Killing of civilians:</u>		
"Shooting of civilians."	*	-
"Population of entire towns shot."		
<u>Others:</u>	1	-
"I can't think of anything now, but they certainly were not better either, than the others in the war anyway."		
"I do not know anything in particular. I have only heard that the Americans are also guilty."		
"Nothing definite, probably fear and influences of atmosphere in the camps during the riot."		
"Poisonous gas."		
"Poison or powder are said to have been spread."		
"They are said to have dropped gas."		

11%

17%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## II. AWARENESS AND BELIEF IN GERM WARFARE CHARGES AGAINST UN

### AWARENESS APPRECIABLE - BELIEF MINIMAL ...

Questioned more specifically about the germ warfare charges that the Communists have repeatedly leveled against UN troops in Korea, four in ten in West Germany - three in four in West Berlin - indicated awareness. But belief in the accusation was limited to four per cent in West Germany, less than half of one per cent in West Berlin. However, another eight and four per cent respectively were uncertain as to the truth or falsity of the germ warfare allegations against the UN forces in Korea.

"Have you heard or read that the troops of the United Nations are said to have employed insects in Korea to infect enemy troops with germs and diseases?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Have heard of germ warfare charge	39%	74%
Have not heard of germ warfare charge	$\frac{61}{100\%}$	$\frac{26}{100\%}$

"Do you believe that these reports are true or false?"

Have heard of germ warfare charge and believe it	4%	*%
Have heard of germ warfare charge and don't believe it	27	70
Have heard of germ warfare charge and don't know if true or false	8	4
Haven't heard of germ warfare charge	$\frac{61}{100\%}$	$\frac{26}{100\%}$

### NO GROWTH IN AWARENESS OR BELIEF IN UN GERM WARFARE CHARGE ...

Comparison with July 1952 results (obtained via a somewhat different line of questioning) suggests that the extent of awareness and of belief in Communist allegations of UN germ warfare have not increased over the past year and a half.\*\*

"According to what you have heard or read: which side is said to have used germ warfare?" (Asked of those aware of germ warfare allegation.)

(July 1952)

	West Germany (800)
UN	42%
Communists	3
Both	2
Neither	*
No opinion	$\frac{4}{51\%}$

"Do you believe these reports are true or false?"  
(Results for 44 per cent aware of alleged germ warfare on part of UN.)

True	5%
False	31
Undecided	$\frac{8}{44\%}$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* For earlier discussion see Report # 150, dated August 13, 1952, entitled "The Korean Record in German Eyes." - 6 -



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III. REACTIONS TO PLACING OF COMMUNIST ATROCITIES BEFORE UN

UN AIRING OF ATROCITIES SCORES HEAVILY WITH GERMAN PUBLIC ...

That the US action in placing the record of Communist atrocities before the UN scores heavily with the German public, is attested to by six and 12 to one preponderances of favorable reactions over unfavorable in West Germany and West Berlin. Though no opinion was considerable on this rather complex issue, less than one in ten in the areas sampled judged the American action to be a "bad idea."

"You may have heard or read that the US wishes to bring the atrocities committed by North Koreans and Chinese before the UN, that is the United Nations, and to discuss them there. Do you regard this as a good or a bad idea?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Good	52%	77%
Bad	8	6
No opinion	40	17
	100%	100%

REASONS FOR JUDGING UN DISCUSSION A GOOD IDEA ...

Exposure, prevention, and punishment figured most frequently among the reasons advanced for judging the UN discussion of Communist atrocities a good idea.

IF "Good":  
"Why do you regard this as good?"

West Germany 17%  
West Berlin 24%

To expose the nature and methods of Communism:

- "So that the whole world may recognize nature and methods of Communism."
- "The true objectives and principles of Communism can never be demonstrated thoroughly and often enough to the UN General Assembly."
- "To make the atrocities of the Communist regime very plain to the UN General Assembly."
- "The dark side of Communism should be made known more widely."
- "To unveil the Russian misdeeds."
- "Some of the nations need that kind of medicine to become immune from Communism."
- "It won't hurt if it is proven to the whole world what atrocities are committed by the Communists."
- "To stigmatize the Russians from letting such things happen."
- "Because one shouldn't get tired of publishing Communist methods."

To prevent such atrocities being committed again:

- "Such things are to be made known so that other nations can interfere and induce the guilty nation to stop these brutalities."
- "Things like that have to be discussed in public in order to prevent nations from using brutal methods for which they might be made responsible later on."
- "To warn belligerent nations not to commit such atrocities."
- "If things like that happened measures have to be taken to prevent their happening again."
- "Because every nation can make suggestions to this organisation re measures to prevent atrocities."
- "To avoid further atrocities."
- "Everything must be done to avoid such brutal acts."

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West	West
Germany	Berlin
9%	8%

To punish those responsible:

"If the accusations are true to the facts the guilty party must be condemned."  
 "So that the guilty party that committed the crimes can be punished."  
 "Those who committed atrocities must be punished."  
 "So that the guilty party can be punished."  
 "All who committed atrocities should be punished."  
 "Criminals have to be called to account."  
 "All who committed such brutal acts should be shot."  
 "All who committed atrocities should be hanged at once."

Because the German war criminals were condemned too:

"These criminals have to be called to account and treated the same way as our war criminals."  
 "War criminals have to be exposed to criticism to the whole world, the methods that were used in dealing with German war criminals should be applied in this case, too."  
 "Because also German soldiers were sentenced to death for atrocities they had committed, but they were also charged with things they never had done."  
 "The guilty has to be punished as our war criminals were condemned, too."  
 "Because our soldiers were also brought to trial (Nuremberg)."

To inform the public (general):

"Because things like that must be brought to the attention of the world."  
 "Because their crimes must be exposed."  
 "So that once and for all it will be made known what they have done."  
 "Because it is a good thing to expose their guilt to public criticism."  
 "To inform all nations on what actually happened in Korea."  
 "A matter like this one is of concern to all nations."  
 "Because it is a matter of interest to all nations."

To get at the truth in the matter:

"We'll then learn what is right and what wrong about these accusations."  
 "For the sake of justice."  
 "In order to find out, once and for all, which party is guiltless."  
 "To discover what is true and what untrue about these accusations."  
 "It's a good idea in my eyes as the UN can make inquiries to find out who is guilty in this matter."  
 "Because the UN can find out whether the rumors are right or not."  
 "To discover whether these atrocities were really committed."

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because UN General Assembly was created for such purposes:

2%

8%

"It's the purpose of the UN to settle problems of this kind."

"UN General Assembly was established as means to discuss matters of this kind."

"I wouldn't know what other organization could handle this matter."

"To condemn war, that's what the UN was established for."

"Because it is a good thing to bring such a matter before an international tribunal."

America can thus prove its innocence:

2

3

"America can protest against the reproach of having employed insects in Korea before the UN. I personally don't believe in this accusation as the Americans are terribly afraid of germs."

"If America wants to bring the matter before the UN it must be guiltless. The UN might possibly discover the guilty."

"This American wish proves that American troops didn't commit such atrocities."

Good propaganda:

1

"It's quite good propaganda but it won't bring us any further."

"The idea as such is all right, but whether it is of any use I don't dare to assert. The Russians won't care about it anyway."

Other answers:

1

\*

"A discussion might clear the matter."

"It's high time to find out why these atrocities were committed."

"Because it must be done."

"It isn't a good idea but we have no choice. The problem might be settled once and for all."

No opinion / No answer:

 $\frac{4}{61\%}$ 
 $\frac{*}{95\%}$ 

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## REASONS FOR JUDGING UN DISCUSSION A BAD IDEA ...

The few who felt that UN consideration of Communist atrocities was a bad idea argued in the following veins:

IF "Bad":

"Why do you regard this as bad?"

West Germany	West Berlin
-----------------	----------------

4%	2%
----	----

Because it's useless:

"Because I regard it as useless."

"I regard it as an absolutely useless discussion group that will have no results whatever."

"Nothing can be changed by it, it's like schoolboys having an argument: 'he has started it', 'no, the other has started it' and what's the result? Nothing!"

"Nothing will come out of that, each side will hold its own opinion."

"Nothing would come out of it, the UNO is an organization that won't achieve anything."

"That's no use, what's the good of big talks?"

"That's just a waste of time, with people like that nothing will come out of it, they would deny everything."

"Without any use, there would be nothing but endless debates, they would evade questions and deny everything, it's of no avail to have any dealings with that sort of people."

What's done cannot be undone, the matter should be dropped:

"Let bygones be bygones."

"One should drop it altogether."

"They shouldn't talk so much, they should much rather put an end to the whole affair, in the long run the little people have to suffer for it."

"If peace is to be brought about one should make a fresh start and stop this course of one side accusing the other."

Both sides are involved:

"What is the use of it, both sides are certain to have made mistakes."

"Just throw mud at each other, maybe something of it will stick, in wartime every army exceeds its rights in special circumstances, who might say what is right or what is wrong?"

"In any case it's no good, they're all human beings with human weakness."

"Because such things have been done by everybody, everybody should mind his own business, there's no sense in dilating upon these things and nothing can be gained by drawing these things into the light again."

Because tension would increase:

"The political situation might get still tenser, would stir up hatred again."

"Because they will quarrel about this point till the assembly would blow up."

"Then again many people would be condemned, as was done in Nuremberg, and hatred would increase again."

"That would mean adding fuel to the fire."

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
--	-----------------	----------------

	1%	3%
--	----	----

Other answers:

"The truth would never come out."

"Whatever they may find, in reality things have been different."

"I think the UN don't have a big say anyway."

"That doesn't belong before the UN General Assembly."

"Because I want to see a peaceful solution in Korea first before they engage in such dealings."

"Because they only want to achieve a propaganda effect."

"Because not all POWs have returned yet and they would have to suffer for it."

No opinion / No answer

*
8%

*
6%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D



APPENDIX

Presented below and in the pages following are comparative returns of important population sub-groups for the major questions in the present study.

"Have you heard or read of atrocities allegedly having been committed in Korea?"

IF "Yes":

"And who, that is which side, is said to have committed these atrocities?"

IF "Communists" mentioned only:

"Could you tell me whether the other side, that is the UN troops, are also accused of atrocities in Korea?"

IF "UN troops" mentioned only:

"Could you tell me whether the other side, that is the Communists, are also accused of atrocities in Korea?"

	Heard only of Communist atrocities	Heard only of UN atro- cities	Heard both sides committed atrocities	Heard, but don't know which side commit- ted atrocities	Have not heard of atroci- ties in Korea	No. of cases
<b>WEST GERMANY:</b>						
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	18%	7%	40%	2%	33%..100%	277
Women	17	3	19	3	58	358
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	17	3	23	3	54	507
Beyond elementary	18	8	51	3	20	128
<b>Age:</b>						
18 to 24 years	14	4	22	4	56	82
25 to 34 years	15	5	32	2	46	128
35 to 44 years	21	4	28	3	44	125
45 to 54 years	18	5	26	4	47	141
55 years and over	18	4	29	3	46	158
<b>Income (per month):</b>						
Up to 149 DM	16	3	14	4	63	9
150 to 299 DM	18	2	20	1	59	19
300 to 399 DM	17	7	33	5	38	13
400 to 499 DM	19	4	36	4	37	8
500 DM and more	18	6	39	2	35	137
<b>Party Preference:</b>						
SPD	12	6	31	2	49	120
CDU	20	6	26	3	45	267
FDP	26	2	48	6	18	48
Other parties	29	8	29	5	29	38
No opinion	13	1	23	2	61	152
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>						
Professionals	5	5	59	9	22	22
Businessmen	28	9	30	3	30	33
White-collar workers	19	7	34	-	40	52
Skilled laborers	19	7	33	3	38	100
Semi-skilled laborers	13	6	25	-	56	48
Farmers	24	4	24	2	46	55
Housewives	18	2	22	3	55	204
Pensioners, ret. etc.	13	3	29	5	50	71
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	17	5	28	3	47	51
Expellees, Refugees	19	*	31	3	47	120
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	18	4	26	4	48	272
Protestants	17	4	29	2	48	340

\*Less than one half of one per cent - 12 -

"Have you heard or read of atrocities allegedly having been committed in Korea?"

"Do you believe that these atrocities have been committed by the Communists?"

<u>Heard Communists committed atrocities</u>						
	Be- lieve it	Don't be- lieve it	Unde- cided on belief	Not asked belief as unable to specify atrocities	Have not heard Communists committed atrocities	No. of cases
<u>WEST GERMANY:</u>						
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	43%	1%	5%	9%	42%...100%	277
Women	24	1	2	9	64	358
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	27	1	3	9	60	507
Beyond elementary	55	2	2	10	31	128
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	32	-	-	5	63	82
25 to 34 years	37	2	3	6	52	128
35 to 44 years	35	2	2	10	51	125
45 to 54 years	27	1	4	12	56	141
55 years and over	32	1	4	11	52	158
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
Up to 149 DM	20	2	2	5	71	91
150 to 299 DM	29	2	2	5	62	191
300 to 399 DM	37	-	5	8	50	131
400 to 499 DM	35	1	5	14	45	85
500 DM and more	39	1	3	14	43	137
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	33	1	2	8	56	120
CDU	32	1	3	9	55	267
FDP	54	4	2	13	27	48
Other parties	42	3	5	5	45	38
No opinion	25	1	4	8	62	152
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	64	-	-	-	36	22
Businessmen	42	3	3	9	43	33
White-collar workers	40	-	2	11	47	53
Skilled laborers	36	3	3	10	48	100
Semi-skilled laborers	31	-	-	6	63	48
Farmers	29	-	7	11	53	55
Housewives	25	1	2	11	61	205
Pensioners, ret. etc	29	1	4	8	58	77
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	31	1	3	9	56	511
Expellees, Refugees	36	1	2	10	51	120
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	31	2	3	8	56	273
Protestants	33	1	3	9	54	340

"Have you heard or read of atrocities allegedly having been committed in Korea?"

"Do you believe that these atrocities have been committed by the UN troops?"

Heard UN troops committed atrocities

	Be- lieve it	Don't be- lieve it	Un- de- cided on belief	Not asked belief as unable to specify atrocities	Have not heard UN troops committed atrocities	No. of cases
<u>WEST GERMANY:</u>						
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	15%	16%	7%	7%	55%...100%	277
Women	5	6	4	5	80	358
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	7	7	5	6	75	507
Beyond elementary	19	24	10	5	42	128
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	9	11	2	4	74	82
25 to 34 years	12	9	7	7	65	128
35 to 44 years	10	11	5	6	68	125
45 to 54 years	9	12	4	6	69	141
55 years and over	8	11	6	7	68	158
<u>Income (per month):</u>						
Up to 149 DM	7	7	1	3	92	91
150 to 299 DM	6	6	5	5	78	191
300 to 399 DM	14	11	8	6	61	131
400 to 499 DM	8	15	5	12	60	85
500 DM and more	12	18	8	5	57	137
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	14	11	5	6	64	120
CDU	6	12	5	7	70	267
FDP	19	15	8	8	50	48
Other parties	21	13	3	-	63	38
No opinion	6	9	4	5	76	152
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	23	27	13	-	37	22
Businessmen	15	12	3	6	64	33
White-collar workers	9	21	7	4	59	53
Skilled laborers	11	12	6	10	61	100
Semi-skilled laborers	8	14	4	4	70	48
Farmers	9	13	2	4	72	55
Housewives	5	5	5	7	78	205
Pensioners, ret. etc.	10	9	4	8	69	77
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	10	11	5	7	67	511
Expellees, Refugees	9	9	8	4	70	120
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	9	8	6	7	70	273
Protestants	9	13	5	5	68	340

"Have you heard or read that the troops of the United Nations are said to have employed insects in Korea to infect enemy troops with germs and diseases?"

"Do you believe these reports are true or false?"

Have heard of germ warfare charge

	Be- lieve it	Don't be- lieve it	Unde- cided on belief	Haven't heard of germ war- fare charge	No. of cases
<u>WEST GERMANY:</u>					
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	4%	36%	10%	50%...100%	277
Women	3	21	6	70	358
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	3	21	7	69	507
Beyond elementary	5	52	12	31	128
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	-	28	6	66	82
25 to 34 years	5	31	11	53	128
35 to 44 years	4	26	6	64	125
45 to 54 years	4	25	9	62	141
55 years and over	4	26	6	64	158
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	4	17	4	75	91
150 to 299 DM	1	22	9	68	191
300 to 399 DM	4	30	10	56	131
400 to 499 DM	6	27	6	61	85
500 DM and more	4	39	8	49	137
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	6	23	8	63	120
CDU	3	30	6	61	267
FDP	4	37	17	42	48
Other parties	-	42	3	55	38
No opinion	3	22	9	66	152
<u>Occupation(Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	9	50	23	18	22
Businessmen	3	35	3	59	33
White-collar workers	-	40	9	51	53
Skilled laborers	6	31	10	53	100
Semi-skilled laborers	*	28	6	66	48
Farmers	-	22	4	74	55
Housewives	4	21	8	67	205
Pensioners, ret. etc.	4	26	4	66	77
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	4	26	8	62	511
Expellees, Refugees	3	31	8	58	120
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	4	24	8	64	273
Protestants	3	30	7	60	340

"You may (also) have heard or read that the US wishes to bring the atrocities committed by North Koreans and Chinese before the UN; that is the United Nations, and to discuss them there. Do you regard this as a good or a bad idea?"

WEST GERMANY:

	Good idea	Bad idea	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	63%	10%	27%...100%	277
Women	43	6	51	358
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	7	45	507
Beyond elementary	66	13	21	128
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	56	5	39	82
25 to 34 years	54	12	34	128
35 to 44 years	54	8	38	125
45 to 54 years	53	6	41	141
55 years and over	45	7	48	158
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	37	4	59	91
150 to 299 DM	44	8	48	191
300 to 399 DM	59	7	34	131
400 to 499 DM	58	10	32	85
500 DM and more	61	9	30	135
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	58	10	32	120
CDU	58	6	36	267
FPD	48	21	31	48
Other parties	40	13	47	38
No opinion	40	3	57	152
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	64	16	10	22
Businessmen	61	9	30	33
White-collar workers	59	11	30	53
Skilled laborers	65	7	28	100
Semi-skilled laborers	54	8	38	48
Farmers	44	7	49	55
Housewives	49	7	44	205
Pensioners, ret. etc.	35	5	60	77
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	52	8	40	511
Expellees, Refugees	52	6	42	120
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	55	6	39	273
Protestants	48	10	42	340



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International Survey  
on President Eisenhower's

UNCLASSIFIED

UN Speech

(German results).

UNCLASSIFIED

Code-

UNCLASSIFIED

EVALUATION STAFF  
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

Survey No. 955  
(Col's 1, 2, 3)

Questionnaire. ~~UNCLASSIFIED~~  
(Col's 4 - 6)

1. Where do you get most of your information about world news? From newspapers, magazines, radio, or from talking to people you know?

Col 7 - <u>Newspapers</u>	50%
Magazines	3
<u>Radio</u>	45
Talking to people	7
None	1
	<u>106%</u>

2. There are some people who hope that all nations in the world will agree to disarmament. Do you think that this will be worked out within the next 10 years?

Col 8 - Yes	18%
<u>No</u>	65
Don't know	17
	<u>100%</u>

Comments:

Col 35 -

3. Do you believe that there will be a world war in the next 3 or 4 years, or not?

Col 9 - <u>There will be a war</u>	10%
<u>War will be avoided</u>	69
War will be avoided if (specify)	10
Don't know	11
	<u>100%</u>

4. Is the United States doing all it could and should do to prevent war?

Col 10 - <u>Yes</u>	48%
No	29
Don't know	23
	<u>100%</u>

- 4a. Unless "Don't know": Was there anything in particular which was said or done in the last two weeks which gave you that impression?

Col 36 -

5. Is Russia doing all it could and should do to prevent war?

Col 11 - Yes	9%
No	66
Don't know	25
	<u>100%</u>

- 5a. Unless "Don't know": Was there anything in particular which was said or done in the last two weeks which gave you that impression?

Col 37 -

6. Did you hear or read about the recent speech President Eisenhower made to the UN Assembly?

Col 12 - Yes  
No

43%  
57  
100%

IF "YES" QUESTIONS 7 - 9

IF "NO" SKIP TO QUESTION 10

7. Which of the following events mentioned on this card did you find most important? (USE CARD)

Col 13 -

Which did you find second most important? (USE CARD)

Col 14 -

	Col 13 - Most important	14 - 2nd most important
A. Bermuda-conference	11%	7%
B. Triest quarrel	3	2
C. President Eisenhower's speech to UN Assembly	12	10
D. Communist atrocities in Korea reported to UN Assembly	1	1
E. US Secretary of State Dulles's Paris speech	10	13
F. French presidential elections	4	6
Don't know	2 43%	4 43%

8. Now we would like to get your own personal feeling about the Eisenhower speech before the UN. From your own point of view, was there anything in particular that the President said that impressed you?

Col 15 - Yes  
No

21%  
22  
43%

8a. If "Yes": What was it?

Col 38 -

9. Do you remember anything (else) he said?

Col 16 - Yes  
No

10%  
33  
43%

9a. If "Yes": What?

Col 39 -

8. Now we would like to get your own personal feeling about the Eisenhower speech before the UN. From your own point of view, was there anything that the President said that impressed you?
9. Do you remember anything (else) he said?

Yes, impressed & claim to remember other details  
 Yes, impressed & claim not to remember other details  
 Not impressed & claim to remember details  
 Not impressed & claim not to remember details

West Germany

7%

14

3

$$\frac{19}{43\%}$$

24% claim to remember some content of Eisenhower speech

10. President Eisenhower proposed that nations having atomic materials should contribute to a stockpile of atomic materials controlled by an international agency under the jurisdiction of the United Nations. He stated that this stockpile could then be used by scientists from many nations for experiments which would benefit man rather than destroy him.

First, I would like to find out whether you think this is a sincere proposal or not.

Col 17 - Sincere  
 Not sincere  
 Don't know

70%  
 13  
 17  
 $\frac{100\%}{100\%}$

11. Do you think that such an agency devoted to peacetime uses of atomic energy will be created in the next 5 years, or not?

Col 18 - Will be created  
 Will not  
 Don't know

39%  
 38  
 23  
 $\frac{100\%}{100\%}$

12. From what you know, did the Russians react favorably or unfavorably to the Eisenhower proposal?

Col 19 - Favorably  
 Unfavorably  
 Neither favorably nor unfavorably  
 Don't know

21%  
 11  
 14  
 54  
 $\frac{100\%}{100\%}$

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Q. 2: There are some people who hope that all nations in the world will agree to disarmament. Do you think that this will be worked out within the next ten years?

IF "YES": Comments: (Col. 35)

- (1) All efforts to reach a friendly understanding will at last be successful and people will get to listen to reason: 7%

There are efforts being made time and again and at last they will be successful; - one day the world must come to listen to reason, it can't forever go on as it is; - I'm of the opinion that the great powers will come to terms some time in the future, I feel that war can be avoided if the nations come to an understanding; - the desire to come to an understanding does exist and will, in the course of time, lead to an agreement about disarmament; - all the disturbances in the world will bring the governments to come at last to an agreement about general disarmament in the world; - why shouldn't it come true one day? Some day wars just have to stop; - rearmament just can't go on as it is or there will be war; - if the nations come to terms - you hope for it; - people will come to listen to reason; - yes, if all nations would agree to it; - etc.

- (2) Because every nation is afraid to start a war, none the least because of the dangerous new weapons: 2

There are only two powerful blocs, East and West and both of them are afraid of starting a war; nobody wants to take the risk - they'll come to an understanding; - yes, I believe so, because of the dangerous weapons; - because they all are afraid; - that war will be avoided, otherwise the end of the world may be brought about, these weapons are getting more and more terrible; - etc.

- (3) The Russians might be forced to give in because of internal difficulties: 1

I hope that the Russians will join in - it would be possible if the Russian leaders would be forced by Russia's internal situation to agree to it; - if internal political and economic troubles would arise in Russia - and that's bound to happen - then the Russians would have to give in; - etc.

- (4) It's a matter of feeling - because I personally hope so: 3

Because I hope for it, otherwise I couldn't say anything about it; - I fervently hope so; - yes, it might be possible; - that might be the case; - I don't believe that there'll be another war in this generation's life-time; - etc.

- (5) Other comments: 2

If this government will stay on; - it's clear that the masses of people would agree but the individual hasn't much influence on the carrying out of such plans; - if men have sufficient faith in God and obey his commandments; - etc.

- (X) No opinion }  
(R) No answer }

3  
18%

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Q. 2: There are some people who hope that all nations in the world will agree to disarmament. Do you think that this will be worked out within the next ten years?

IF "NO": Comments: (Col. 35)

- (1) Because it is impossible to achieve unity between all nations - mutual distrust is too intense:

13%

Because the different nations don't trust each other, there is no mutual confidence; - because there will never be agreement between the nations, and on account of the different political parties there's strife among the individual nations; - discord and distrust between the nations will prevent disarmament; - because relations between the different nations aren't harmonious, they feel distrust towards each other in spite of any treaties they may have concluded, and secretly they wish to stay armed; - there is too much unrest in the world, one nation fears the other, and that's why none of them will start with a disarmament program; - there is too much strife throughout the world, an agreement between all nations will never be reached; - confidence between the nations is lacking, and that's necessary for starting to disarm seriously; - because they will never come to terms; - as long as there is competition and different groups are fighting each other, it will be impossible to work out a disarmament agreement that's binding for all nations in the world; - there is no unison yet and the nations don't trust each other; - the big powers will never come to terms; - etc.

- (2) Because there can never be agreement between East and West:

9

Not as long as two diametrically opposed ideologies exist; - two ideologies confront each other, that's why there will be no unison, maybe there won't be any conflicts, either, things will drag along just as they do now, I guess; - the differences between the two parties are so great as to prevent their coming to terms, Communism versus democracy - both ideologies strive for world domination; - America as well as Russia will never agree to disarmament as they'd lose their power that way; - there is no prospect for a political agreement to be reached between the two dominant powers in the world, and thus there is no hope for disarmament; - Russia and America won't come to an agreement; - the Americans don't trust the Russians, and that works the other way around, too, the Russians don't trust the Yanks; - I don't believe that Germanic, Romanic, and Slavic peoples will conclude an agreement to this effect as differences between them are too sharp; - the two powers striving for world domination, America and Russia, will always distrust each other; - because relations between the different nations in the world aren't yet harmonious enough for such a development, the gap between East and West is too wide; - etc.

- (3) Because the Russians won't agree to a disarmament plan:

7

The Russian policy which aims at world rule will make such a thing impossible; - Russia won't play ball, they aren't interested in an appeasement of the world; - the Russians would never okay such a plan, they foment unrest in order to help the Communist cause; - I don't

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believe that the East will be ready to conclude such an agreement; - you just have to watch the political course to see that, those delaying tactics of the Russians, they just want to put things off indefinitely; theoretically it would be possible, but in practice, it's impossible on account of the Russians, they will thwart any such plan; - the Russians build up their armament secretly; - because this tug-of-war will go on and on, I don't believe the Russians will agree to such a plan because they are afraid; - etc.

- (4) International High Finance and armament magnates will not tolerate such a development:

7%

It will not be possible to break the power of capitalism within the next ten years; as the capitalists feel that they have to defend their property disarmament won't be possible; - money will always be a power, that's why rearmament will go on, some people feel they have to make money; - such a plan will never be realized because if it would, they wouldn't know what to do with all this steel and other stuff: war means profit for the manufacturers; - because those who could prevent war don't want to do such a thing, for them war production means profit; - because the different powers will never come to terms, the big financiers throughout the world will see to it that an agreement won't come about; - for economic reasons, if there is no demand for other goods, war material will be produced, the leading men in the different countries will handle this; - etc.

- (5) It's obvious that some forces oppose such a development, otherwise disarmament would have been started long ago - factional interests are too strong:

2

If they had wanted to, they would have done so long ago; - it's just an experience everybody has had, people lose their faith in the leaders of the big powers as these don't see the problems of wide scope, they only see the problems of their own country; - they all are much too fond of themselves; - I know that there is no hatred between the individual nations, it's the politicians who are to blame for the existing trouble, and I don't believe that these people will ever get along with each other; etc.

- (6) Because nobody wants to take the first step towards disarmament - nobody wants to be the first to be defenseless:

2

Nobody will take the lead in this case, thus there won't be a disarmament agreement; - because none of the different nations wants to take the first step; - nobody wants to take the plunge first; - none of them wants to be the first power to be caught without arms; - etc.

- (7) Experience has proved it: there always have been wars and there always will be wars:

6

There have been wars through the ages; - war is necessary, there have been wars in the past and there will be wars in the future; - there have been wars since the dawn of history; - because there never will be a world without war and arms; - men have fought each other ever since the birth of Christ, and things will go on that way; - you must have faith and piety to believe that, history

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proves that this will never come about, interests conflict too sharply, one party wants to rule and to exert control; - all these discussions aren't new, and in spite of all efforts made, war couldn't be prevented, there will be only either East or West; - the Lord sends wars, there always have been wars and there always will be wars, the human race knows this quite well; - we have a better chance to travel to the moon than to achieve disarmament, there will be a new war some day, fight is one of the basic elements; - things just won't move if they don't bash in each other's skulls; - etc.

(8) Because rearmament goes ahead all the time: 6%

They are just getting started with the rearmament drive, and I think such a development hardly can be undone within ten years, they don't even come to terms on less important issues; - I don't think so, for then they needn't arm at such a pace as they are doing right now; - I doubt it, everybody is rearming, after all; just think that there is some talk of a regular army for the Federal Republic, and I believe this plan will be realized; - they'll only rearm more intensively instead of disarming; - there has been a lot of talk about a disarmament program, in reality they all are rearming rather than disarming; - all nations are rearming right now, therefore I don't believe that anybody seriously thinks of disarming; - I feel the Americans and the Russians don't produce their cannons just out of a whim; - etc.

(9) I don't believe it will be possible to disarm: 6

I don't believe that they will ever come to terms about this issue; - I just don't believe that things will turn out that way; - no, I don't believe in this; - I think this is impossible; - because I don't think so, that's why; - etc.

(0) Every country must be armed for security reasons: 3

I don't know why they should disarm? - every country has to be prepared; - there must be a measure of security, in the sense of military power; no nation can do without it; - because you hear it time and again that peace will be preserved only if one is strong; - my point of view is that as a citizen I must be able to defend my country; - etc.

(Y) Other comments: 2

Because you can find it in the Bible that we've come to the end of things (St. John's Gospel), if women walk about wearing men's clothes; this is a sign that the end is near, and if merchants can't sell their goods, too; - I would be glad if it were true; - etc.

(X) No opinion }  
(R) No answer }

5

68%\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer,

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Q. 4: Is the United States doing all it could and should do to prevent war?

IF "YES" (Col. 36)

4a: Was there anything in particular which was said or done in the last two weeks which gave you that impression?

- (1) Eisenhower made a proposal for an international atomic pool and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes: 10%

I read it in today's newspaper that Russia and America under Eisenhower want to discuss the atom bomb issue; - Eisenhower's proposal to ban atomic energy for war purposes and to use it for peaceful ends; - the President of the US is even willing to place the production of atomic power under an international control. America can't show its desire for peace more clearly; - with this atomic pool business Eisenhower has paved the way for a discussion with the Russians; - yes, this affair about a conference sponsored by Eisenhower; in a speech he proposed the establishment of an international control of atomic energy; - the speech Eisenhower delivered on an atomic pool; - they want to exercise a control over atomic weapons; in a speech Eisenhower aimed at bringing about an arrangement to the effect that atomic materials may not be used for war purposes any more; - yes, the American President submitted proposals about an atomic pool; - the American Foreign Secretary, Mr. Dulles, is willing to talk atomic problems over with the Soviet Union; - President Eisenhower held a speech before the UN in which he made suggestions as to how to stop the atomic armament race; - the offer to neutralize atomic weapons; - Eisenhower even suggested the disarmament of atomic weapons; - etc.

- (2) America once more stressed its deepfelt desire for peace -- it wants peaceful co-existence of all nations: 7

They try hard to unite the whole world; - that Mr. Dulles pushes them all, though he doesn't drive them into war, he wants us to be strong enough to be able to preserve peace; - yes, Foreign Secretary Dulles made a powerful plea for peace; - America always demonstrates its desire for peace; if they are going to rearm Europe, I'm sure this will be the best way to secure peace; - it's my general impression that America takes pains to prevent war; - as things are today, America isn't invulnerable any more and it wants to avoid war; - in my opinion the Americans want to avoid war at any cost; - America makes acceptable proposals all the time, time and again it points out that all nations can live together in peace; - America itself wants peace in Korea; - they seriously try to put out those smoldering fires in Indo-China, Siam and Korea; - etc.

- (3) America strongly advocates negotiations with Russia (e.g. Four-Power conference): 10.

They consented to take part in the Four-Power conference to which the Russians have been invited, too; - they expressed their willingness to sit down at the conference table together with Russia; - the US agreed to participate in the Four-Power conference; - Eisenhower and the American Foreign Secretary have stated repeatedly that they wanted to negotiate with the Russians and the Russians have now okayed a conference to take place late in January; -

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proposals for a Four-Power conference; - the Americans want to negotiate with the Russians once more; - the Four-Power meeting in Berlin, it was the Americans who took the initiative; - America really takes a lot of trouble, its policy is moderate and has become more active at the same time, they are ready to enter into negotiations with the Russians; Eisenhower and Dulles repeatedly stressed this in speeches; - they tried for a long time to arrange a Four-Power conference; - invitations for talks in Berlin; - that they want to talk things over with the Russians; - etc.

- (4) America makes untiring efforts to realize the European Defense Community (especially Dulles' appeal to France to ratify the EDC-treaty): 2%

Dulles appealed to the French to accept the EDC-treaty; - the appeal Foreign Secretary Dulles made to France asking them to ratify the EDC-treaty at last; - the Dulles speech; - the EDC-treaty which they want to see realized; - etc.

- (5) The Bermuda Conferences: 2

The Bermuda Conference which took place some days ago; - maybe the Bermuda Conference should be mentioned in this connection, too; - I'm thinking of the Bermuda Conference; - etc.

- (6) Donations and relief actions sponsored by the Americans: 2

America sent donations to Germany; - the Americans sent food parcels for East Berlin; - well, I guess so, otherwise they wouldn't aid us so much; - the Americans are helping us as well as other people throughout the world; - etc.

- (7) Other evidence: 2

Yesterday, for instance, an American Senator spoke, he said that the workers would get higher wages; - you read it in the papers; - America will not hesitate to engage in small warlike ventures, but it will avoid large-scale war; - the speech by Adenauer; - it has turned out that the Americans need the Federal Republic; - etc.

- (X) No opinion }  
(R) No answer }

19

54%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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Q. 4: Is the United States doing all it could and should do to prevent war?

IF "NO": (Col. 36)

4a: Was there anything in particular which was said or done in the last two weeks which gave you that impression?

(1) The speech the American Foreign Secretary held in Paris:

2%

Dulles' speech didn't serve to bring about peace, you can't just present people with an ultimatum; - the Dulles speech, that wasn't a speech to promote peace, he'll propel us into war as he set us a definite date regarding the EDC; - this affair with that guy Foster Dulles, it created quite a stir throughout the world; - the speech of the American Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a revision of European policy; - the conditions Dulles laid down for France, that they shall ratify the EDC-treaty; - Dulles gave the French a piece of his mind, it was all about the EDC-treaty, France must come to a decision; - that guy Dulles talked about the EDC, he warned France, as the French don't want to play ball - whether war can be avoided through enforcing a European Defense Community, I really couldn't tell; - Dulles said, I'm going to take part in this conference for exactly four days, in that way he drove the others into a corner; that's certainly not the right approach to negotiating; - etc.

(2) Economic reasons behind the American armament drive:

3

I've received this impression at an earlier time, a state built on capitalist principles can't do without war at certain intervals, an armament drive leads to war profiteering; - no, it's just an overall impression I've got, the Yanks aren't as stupid as not to realize that they'll only profit through war; - the capitalist outlook of America is too closely connected with ideas for making money out of an armament program and war, and that's why it's hard to accept what Eisenhower and Dulles said, or to believe that they will be successful; - no, my general impression is that the armament drive is vital for the American economy, as otherwise there would be widespread unemployment; even though leading Americans talk about peace in their speeches, an armed conflict will be inevitable if neither side is willing to make concessions; - no, not in the last two weeks, but it's a fact that America always makes money out of war, though nowadays it could be that even they would suffer as with atom bombs and rockets far-away targets can be covered; - well, that the Americans want to sell the cannons they manufacture; - etc.

(3) America's military preparations (e.g. armament - establishment of bases):

2

The armament drive is under way and there is a lot of talk about it, budget debates in the States; - it doesn't look at all like peace coming about because of that armament drive in the States; - because war material is constantly being perfected technically, in Germany Spanish officers are instructed by Americans in the use of jet fighters, you can read it in the papers; - everywhere the US establishes bases in foreign countries, is that

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an approach to peace, or a way to intimidate other nations? - America wants to help Europe to rearm as quickly as possible, the Eastern countries take this for a threat, of course; - Russia will always feel menaced as long as different nations establish bases in Europe; - etc.

(4) America's unyielding attitude in negotiations:

37

Their unchangingly rigid policy towards the Russians, they never yield; - those dragging negotiations about the German issue, whenever the other side gives way a little, they push their demands a little farther; - no; but America has to come to some more satisfactory agreement about the German issue; as America, however, isn't too willing to negotiate with Russia, a sincere understanding will never be reached; - this conference that's about to begin, they won't yield towards Russia now, either; - I'm sure they could do more, I can't think of anything just now, they won't budge an inch as far as their aims are concerned; they have to attend to their interests; they didn't accept the counter-proposals the Russians made; - the Americans always protect things, they want everything to take ages just to keep people in suspense, I've had this impression ever since I fought in the war; - etc.

(5) American agitation against Russia:

1

I don't like this mutual agitation in which America and Russia engage, one stirs up hatred against the other; - they go rather far agitating against the Russians, thus it doesn't look as if they were too keen on peace; - I have the impression America is taunting at the Russians and that it's not sincere when making a peace offer, with taunting I mean they provoke the Russians; - etc.

(6) The Bermuda Conference:

Well, yes, they could have invited the Russians also to the Bermuda Conference; why is it that only afterwards a Four-Power conference takes place? If you want to do everything to avoid war, you'd better do it right away; - just think of the Bermuda Conference; - etc.

(7) Impression goes back to events and developments in the past:

5

From their own point of view they do everything in their power; it doesn't look that way, however, from a European point of view; - America and England are most to blame for what's happened as they let the Russians advance so deeply into Europe; - they should have seen to it that the other powers, too, would have released the remaining prisoners, not only the Russians; - they should release the Landsberg prisoners at long last; - my overall impression is that America strives for world domination, and this will prepare the way for an armed conflict; - because they meddle too much in the affairs of the different nations; - America doesn't proceed energetically enough when doing something about the oppression in the East Zone and the uprisings; - etc.

(X) No opinion }  
(R) No answer }

14

30/11

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

Q. 5: Is Russia doing all it could and should do to prevent war?

IF "YES": (Col. 37)

5a: Was there anything in particular which was said or done in the last two weeks which gives you that impression?

(1) Participation in the Berlin Four-Power Conference:

5%

Yes, Russia does everything it can, I'm thinking of its approval of the Four-Power Conference; - it agreed to the Four-Power Conference to be held in Berlin; - that it okayed the conference in order to participate in the discussion of the problems in question; - yes, the Russian invitation to a conference in Berlin; - Russia wants reunification and peace, I'm thinking of its invitation to a Four-Power Conference; - its promise to take part in a Four-Power Conference; - the Four-Power Conference; - its willingness to attend the Four-Power Conference in Berlin; - etc.

(2) Russia does not feel powerful enough to face the West:

1

The Russians seem to be in a yielding mood at the moment, but it's doubtful whether it results from good will or whether they simply want to stall for time; they don't feel strong enough, but whatever may be the case, they do everything to preserve peace at present; - because it has no other choice, it is well aware that the free world is more powerful and that a war would turn out to be unsuccessful for Russia; - for the simple reason that Russia doesn't feel powerful enough to face the West, and therefore wants to prevent war; - etc.

(0) Other answers:

I personally am not of this opinion but it's the Russian news that tells us so; - etc.

(X) No opinion }  
(R) No answer }

$\frac{3}{9\%}$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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Q. 5: Is Russia doing all it could and should do to prevent war?

IF "NO": (Col. 37)

5a: Was there anything in particular which was said or done in the last two weeks which gives you that impression?

(1) Willingness of the Russians to attend the Berlin Four-Power conference is just delaying tactics: 9%

They did declare that they were willing to attend a Four-Power conference but that doesn't mean that they're really anxious about peace; - no, not recently, it would even seem as if they want to negotiate but for how long and what will come out of it? - although the Russians want to attend the conference in Berlin I don't believe in their good intentions but rather in their propaganda aims; - even if Russia has declared itself willing to attend a Four-Power conference nothing will come of it because Russia only wants to gain time for its rearmament and also hopes for frictions between the Western Powers; - gullible people would see a silver lining appear at the horizon after yesterday's agreement to attend a Four-Power conference, but appearances are deceiving; - they just string the others along, delaying tactics; to-day they proffer their hands and to-morrow they would withdraw them, nobody knows as yet whether anything will be gained in Berlin; - no, she even makes herself appear peace-loving; just for show, she is willing to negotiate; - Russia doesn't really want peace, now she wants to postpone the conference again; - want to delay the new conference as well and to postpone it; - postponing the conference in Berlin; - at one time they would agree to the Four-Power conference and then they won't, now they've started grumbling again about the date of the Berlin conference; - they act just contrary to what they're preaching, for instance postponing the Berlin conference; - Russia has agreed to the Four-Power conference and as of recently, it even wants to take part in the control of atomic energy but all that doesn't mean that it really does everything to prevent a war; - etc.

(2) Russia keeps on saying "Njet" and making trouble - it does want neither peace nor understanding: 13

The Russians say "no" to everything just for the sake of opposition, they don't want peace as the rest of the world does; - if Russia were honestly willing to do so it won't always say "no"; - all proposals of the Western Powers, as well-meant as can be are turned down or are being met with counter-proposals which are hardly acceptable, Russia keeps making trouble; - the Russians are wrangling everywhere in the world, the Russians don't want peace; - no, but they do want war, no matter in which place, disturbances all over the world, just want to spread Communism; - the Russians are always sabotaging; - up till now Russia has said "Njet" all the time and they will go on doing so even after they've agreed to the Four-Power conference; - they lack goodwill to come to a friendly understanding; - delays an understanding; - general impression for years that Russia doesn't seriously want to come to an understanding; - well, you see and hear it all the time that they don't want to, they just want to dominate all the world; - etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

(3) Russia's policy is inscrutable - one cannot trust Russia. 4%

You have to be careful about anything Russia is doing; - it's useless to speak about that, they're a pack of cheats who always speak differently from what they mean; - that's all just a bluff, you can't trust them; - no, the Russians are too inscrutable; - they're really clever diplomats, they won't let anybody spy into their affairs, that's the Iron Curtain and no mistake about it; - the Russian policy is too inscrutable; - etc.

(4) Russia strives for world domination. 3

They won't lose sight of their aim: world domination; - because they want to conquer more countries, they want to get all nations under their control, strive for world domination; - because they want to have everything; - they want to turn all people into Communists; - Russia keeps quite and wants to achieve world domination; - etc.

(5) Russia's attitude toward the reunification issue: 3

Russia is still against a reunified Germany; therefore it also is not in favor of peace because this would be the chance to prove its desire for peace; - why does the settling of the interzonal issue take so long? They just lack goodwill; - Russia won't consider the will of the people but exercises its Communist influence in its own way, it broke the spirit of 18 millions of people in the East Zone with its tanks; - they should clear out of the East Zone, then one point of dispute would be gone; - they shouldn't suppress people in the East Zone in such a way; - etc.

(6) Russia still keeps the POWs: 2

All POWs should be released immediately, the war criminals should be released; - they do release a few POWs but not all of them; that can't be considered to be a measure to establish peace; - it's shown by keeping back the POWs that Russia doesn't seriously want to remove any obstacles in the way toward a peaceful understanding; - I've no faith in the Russians, if only because they have not yet released the POWs; - etc.

(7) Russia is rearming. 2

Russia is rearming more and more, I haven't heard anything else of late; - they're producing atom bombs now as they did before; - from their "Vetoos" and from their doings you can see that it's all cheating and humbug from the Russians, they just keep on rearming; - from what I've heard from friends who used to work in armament firms in Russia the Russians are rearming all the time; - Russia wanted to stop the production of atomic weapons but I don't believe it, that's just to mislead all the world; - etc.

(8) No, nothing; I believe it's doing nothing to prevent war (general answers): 12

No, nothing; no I don't know of anything; - no, nothing during that time; - I haven't heard anything but I believe they do nothing but make trouble; - etc.

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(Cont'd on next page)



(Cont'd from preceding page)

UNCLASSIFIED(O) Other answers:

10

They do as they please; - they should be a little more humane then they could be certain to prevent a war; - I consider the Russians as a people because I was a POW in Russia; - they're all alike, if one of the partners gives in just a little they would demand all the more for it; - their attitude during all these years; I believe that Stalin wanted the 'cold war'; as to the new government, I do not know yet; - etc.

{X} No opinion }  
{R} No answer }

12

70%\*\*

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

UNCLASSIFIED

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Q. 8: Now we would like to get your own personal feeling about the Eisenhower speech before the UN. From your own point of view, was there anything in particular that the President said that impressed you?

IF "YES": (Col. 38)

Q.8a: What was that?

(1) Proposal about the use of atomic energy for peaceful (economic) purposes:

54

That Eisenhower proposed to use atomic energy as an instrument for peace; -- to employ atomic power for peaceful purposes; -- to exploit atomic energy for peaceful service; -- that he wants atomic energy to be used for peaceful objectives only if the other nations would go along on that; -- that America, though it's leading in the field of atomic research, made the proposal to use atomic energy only for peaceful purposes if the other countries would endorse this plan, too; -- they want to use the results of atomic research for economic purposes; -- he said that any results achieved in atomic research should be used for peaceful purposes exclusively; -- the proposal to make use of the possibilities of atomic research for peaceful ends; -- etc.

(2) Proposal about establishing atomic control:

6

Atomic control; -- that Eisenhower wants to set up an atomic control body; -- what he said about an atomic control commission impressed me most deeply; -- the plan for atomic control simply must be realized, the proposal about the management of atomic energy is really grand; -- world topic Number 1: atomic control; -- arrangements for an atomic pool; -- etc.

(3) Proposal about outlawing atomic weapons -- warning of a future atomic war:

5

He wants atomic weapons to be banned in any future war if the other nations will pledge themselves to this plan; -- that America proposed that atomic weapons should be prohibited in a war, though this country has left all the others behind in the manufacture of atomic weapons; -- his proposal about atomic disarmament; -- everybody is afraid of those atomic weapons if there should be another world war, it would be a great relief if the Eisenhower proposal would be realized; -- etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

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(4) American peace efforts:

43

That America proved its desire for peace through making the proposal about atomic control; - his generosity and candidness, I feel that his proposal is the key to peace; - the willingness to make peace shown by the President, and this in spite of the fact that he represents the strongest power, he made proposals as to how to achieve world peace; - that he promoted the cause of peace with such vigor; - his desire for peace which he expressed in this speech; - etc.

(5) American willingness to negotiate with Russia:

2

The proposal made to Moscow to enter into personal and diplomatic negotiations; - the desire to talk things over with Russia; - it's admirable that time and again they are willing to negotiate with Russia; - etc.

(6) Other items:

4

He fully endorses the statements made by his Foreign Secretary; - the rocklike firmness shown towards Russia, there wasn't anything else that impressed me especially; - that he stressed the importance of a European Union; - change of course in European policy; - that the Americans have advanced farther in the field of atomic research than any other power; - etc.

(X) No opinion }  
(R) No answer }

\*  
23%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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Q. 9 : Do you remember anything (else) he said?

IF "YES": (Col. 39)

Q. 9a: What did he say?

(1) International control of atomic energy and research:

6%

To put atomic energy under international control; - he pleaded for control of atomic materials; - this matter about atomic energy, control of the production of atomic weapons; - that atomic weapons shouldn't be completely banned but put under control; - that the use of uranium and plutonium should be controlled by the UN through an agency to be established soon; - etc.

(2) Use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes:

5

America wants to use a proportion of its atomic energy for peaceful purposes; - atomic materials should no longer be used for the production of weapons but for production of energy and for peaceful purposes or scientific experiments; - atomic research will then be permitted only if it serves peaceful purposes; - etc.

(3) Other answers:

3

He wants a general disarmament; - that the European army will be established in any case, even without France's agreement; - that the German people will be regarded as a partner with equal rights; - he spoke of the strength of the free world which must be prepared to nip in the bud any aggression that should be started; - he spoke about the unification of the Western Powers and about the conference of the Big Four: France, Russia, America and England; - etc.

(X) No opinion )  
(R) No answer )

\*  
14%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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Q.11: "Do you think that such an agency devoted to peacetime use of atomic energy will be created in the next five years, or not?"

IF "YES, WILL BE CREATED": Comments (Col.40)

(1) Provided Russia approves of it:

3%

It all depends on the Russians, if they don't approve of it, the outcome is questionable; - if other problems can be peacefully settled with the Russians, such an agency might be established, too; - I think that if the Russians will take a more yielding attitude at last, such a pool could possibly be created; - it could be established, provided the Russians agree to it; - provided the Russians live up to their good intentions; - I wouldn't be sceptical at all if Russia wouldn't be involved; - I do hope that Russia participated in such an agency though utmost mistrust is advisable. It might be that the interests of both East and West would concur after all, but caution should be exercised when dealing with the Russians; - etc.

(2) Provided the Big Powers are honestly willing to come to an agreement:

6

Yes, if all the nations in question are honestly willing to create it; - I think it could be realized if the nations really want it; - yes, but it needs good will of all parts; - if all nations in question truly aim at the realization of such an agency, we finally might reach it; - provided that peace is preserved and all those interested in the matter sincerely want such an agency; - if the Big Powers will come to terms, America will do everything to create such an agency, eventually even without Russia; - it's possible, provided Russia and America agree upon the control; - it might be possible if several nations take an active part in this project; - etc.

(3) Because those interested in the matter fear the atomic weapons:

7

Because every nation fears that some other country might have got atomic supremacy; - everybody is afraid of atomic weapons that might be put in action one day, especially Russia that hasn't caught up with America in this field; - because nobody knows how the atomic research situation is in other countries, and they all are afraid of the A-bomb; - because there is no other possibility to banish the danger of an atomic war; - thinking of the horrible effects of an atomic war, nations will be eager to create such an agency. I think that the peoples will see the light, after all; - if such a control agency is finally brought about, further wars might be avoided; - because the immense power of destruction of atomic weapons is known and feared; - etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



- (4) Because all nations are interested in using atomic energy for peaceful purposes:

3%

All nations including Russia have the same strong interest not to produce atomic weapons but to harness atomic energy for peaceful purposes; - yes, I think so. Although atomic energy is available, it should be exploited, I should think that all nations are reasonable enough to reject atomic weapons but use it for peaceful purposes; - I consider the Western powers sensible enough to switch the production over from war to peace; - yes, provided there is no war. If they use atomic energy to the service of mankind, the efforts about such an agency might turn out to be successful; - etc.

- (5) Initial steps have already been taken in this direction:

2

They are already working on such a plan; - because they have been vigorously working on such a plan for a long time; - some nations have already joined in Zurich to do team work in this field, I think that also Russia will send scientists to this place in order to keep pace with the international standard; - etc.

- (6) Russia will give in:

3

I do believe that the Russians will give in this time because they want to discuss the subject; besides they won't risk anything in this case; - in this case Russia can be expected to give in since it lags behind other nations as far as atomic resources and atomic research are concerned; - Russia will finally see the point thus paving the way to mutual understanding; - etc.

- (7) It will be difficult to realize such a plan:

1

Yes, but whether it will turn out a full success is impossible to tell; - theoretically yes, but whether such an agency will actually work remains doubtful since each nation is anxious to keep just a few secrets to itself; - whatever will be done to keep atomic energy under control, it will finally be used in warfare; - etc.

- (8) It might be possible:

3

Efforts made to bring about such an agency might turn out to be successful; - it's quite possible, provided another war won't break out; - I wouldn't say it is impossible; - etc.

- (9) Other answers:

4

I trust Eisenhower, he is a honorable man, he leads such a harmonious family life, he wants everybody to be happy; - because the Americans want to know what resources the other countries possess; - etc.

- (X) No opinion }  
(R) No answer }

$$\frac{8}{40\%}$$

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Q. 11: Do you think that such an agency devoted to peacetime uses of atomic energy will be created in the next five years, or not?

IF "NO, WILL NOT": Comments (Col. 40)

- (1) They won't come to an agreement, each nation is anxious to guard its secrets:

18%

They will never come to an agreement about the set-up of this agency since they mistrust each other; - none of the great powers honestly wishes the establishment of such an agency because they all fear that the others will secretly continue to work in this field; - because it can't be created in such a short time, besides each country will go on working secretly in the field of nuclear physics; - because East and West won't come to terms; both East and West consider atomic weapons to be their most effective power, secrets of which they don't want to disclose; - I don't think that they will come to an agreement in the course of five years; - take Germany as an example - they have been trying to come to an agreement on it for eight years now; - because one nation fears the other, they guard their secrets in this field, furthermore economic reasons, such as exploiting the results of research work, are to be taken into consideration when carrying out such a plan; - each nation wants to preserve its trumpcard, and atomic weapons are the best means to reach world domination; - the nations in question will know better than to disclose their secrets; - none of the nations will publish its knowledge in the field of nuclear physics; - etc.

- (2) The Russians will never permit the establishment of such an agency:

10

The Russians want to keep this kind of weapon to themselves; - the Russians won't approve of this proposal, they won't allow any kind of control since they are politically isolated; - Russia will reject this plan; - Russia has tightly closed its borders and won't permit anybody to exert control whatsoever; - Russia won't join in; - Russia will sabotage the plan, she wants to keep the peoples in fear and uneasiness; - I can't imagine that the Russians will deprive themselves of the power the knowledge of the atomic power secrets gives them, all the more as it helps them to establish a Communist rule all over the world; this undertaking is bound to fail as the nations lack good will; - I'm thinking of the Russians, they won't take any steps in setting up such an agency, they will be anxious to guard their own secrets and get to know those of the Americans; - etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

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- (3) In the end atomic energy will be used for war purposes only:

3%

I do hope that it will be brought about, but at the bottom of my heart I can't believe it since mankind tends to work for war purposes rather than for peaceful service; - as long as the Big Powers won't stop driving nations into war such an agency will never be brought into being; - because they won't come to terms, and new wars will be unavoidable; - because the nations will continue to rearm thus preventing atomic energy from being harnessed to peaceful service; - because there are people who are interested in atomic energy as a strategic means; - etc.

- (4) Other answers:

3

Mankind isn't ripe yet for such great conceptions; - no, I'll never believe that, they tried a similar thing during the first World War, I'm thinking of the production of gas bombs: all efforts in this line failed; - it's all propaganda, things are quite different in reality; - those who will live to see this agency function must reach old age; - because there are still other political problems that have to be solved first: peace treaty with Germany, Austria and Korea; - etc.

- (X) No opinion }  
(R) No answer }

$$\frac{5}{39\%}$$

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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UNCLASSIFIEDBACKGROUND DATA

Col. 20 Present occupation of respondent  
 Col. 21 Present occupation of family head (if not  
 respondent himself)

(Code for both):

- 1 - Professionals
- 2 - Businessmen
- 3 - White-collar workers
- 4 - Skilled workers
- 5 - Semi-skilled workers or unskilled  
workers
- 6 - Domestic and protective service
- 7 - Farmers
- 8 - Housewives
- 9 - Unemployed
- 0 - None, pensioners
- X - Students
- Y - Apprentice
- R - Not ascertained

Col. 22 Age of respondent

- 1 - 18 to 19
- 2 - 20 to 24
- 3 - 25 to 29
- 4 - 30 to 34
- 5 - 35 to 39
- 6 - 40 to 44
- 7 - 45 to 49
- 8 - 50 to 54
- 9 - 55 to 59
- 0 - 60 to 64
- X - 65 and over
- Y - Not ascertained

Col. 23 Monthly net income of respondent (and his  
family, if applicable)

- 1 - Up to 149 Deutsche Mark
- 2 - 150 - 299
- 3 - 300 - 399
- 4 - 400 - 499
- 5 - 500 - 599
- 6 - 600 - 699
- 7 - 700 - 799
- 8 - 800 - 899
- 9 - 900 - 999
- 0 - 1000 DM and more

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UNCLASSIFIED**Col.24**      **Origin of respondent**

- 1 - Native
- 2 - Expellee
- 3 - Refugee
- 4 - Foreigner

**Col.24**      **Religion**

- 6 - Roman Catholic
- 7 - Protestant
- 8 - Other
- 9 - None

**Col.25**      **Political party preference**

- 1 - Social Democratic Party (SPD)
- 2 - Christian Democratic Party (CDU/CSU)
- 3 - Liberal Democratic Party (FDP)
- 4 - German Party (DP) (- Rightist)
- 5 - German Reichs Party (DRP) (-Neo Nazi)
- 6 - Party of Expellees and Persecuted (BHE)
- 7 - Communist Party (KPD)
- 8 - Other parties
- X - None
- Y - Don't know

**Col.26**      **Education**

- 1 - Primary school
- 2 - Secondary school (high school)  
without Diploma (Abitur)
- 3 - Secondary with Diploma (Abitur)
- 4 - University

**Col.26**      **Sex**

- 6 - Male
- 7 - Female

**Col.26**      **Social Status**

- 9 - Upper
- 0 - Middle
- X - Lower

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Col. 27

## City Size

- 1 - Below 1000 Inhabitants
- 2 - 1000 to 1999
- 3 - 2000 to 4999
- 4 - 5000 to 9999
- 5 - 10000 to 24999
- 6 - 25000 to 99999
- 7 - 100000 to 249999
- 8 - 250000 and above

Col. 28

## Land

- 1 - Bavaria
  - 2 - Hesse
  - 3 - Wuerttemberg-Baden
  - 4 - North-Rhine-Westphalia
  - 5 - Lower Saxony
  - 6 - Schleswig-Holstein
  - 7 - Baden
  - 8 - Rhineland-Palatinate
  - 9 - Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern
  - 0 - West Berlin
  - X - Hamburg
  - Y - Bremen
- } (US Zone)
- } (British Zone)
- } (French Zone)
- (British Zone)
- (US Enclave)

Col's 29 .. 33 have been filled with some statistical  
background data of no interest to IEV

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GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION ON THE FOUR POWER CONFERENCE  
With Latest Trends In EDC Thinking

Report No. 193  
Series No. 2  
January 18, 1954

DEC 15 1953

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OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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## INTRODUCTION

Not the least important consideration in the impending Four Power conference will be the competition for German public approval of the various stands and decisions that may be taken. For this reason it becomes a matter of moment to study on eve of the conference German feelings on basic conference questions and issues.

The findings presented in this connection emanate from a series of surveys of German adults (18 years of age and over), the latest of which for West Germany and West Berlin taking place in late December after it was evident that a conference was going to materialize. In a few instances comparative returns are presented for East Germany as ascertained from samplings gathered in West Berlin on occasions like the recent food distribution.

West German and West Berlin results are based upon representative probability sampling of the most modern and efficient type. The same cannot be said for the Soviet Zone sampling because of the obvious difficulties involved. The figures here simply represent the best approximation possible via the use of quota sampling and weighing techniques to maximize the extent to which the sample accords with the known characteristics of the Soviet Zone population.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

In the interest of maximum speed in getting out the present report presentation has been limited to highlight indications, and population group comparisons have been dispensed with. The latter can be provided upon request.

## HEADLINE SUMMARY

## PART A - FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

I. How High Are German Expectations?

... TREND TOWARD PESSIMISM

... MAJORITY SEE NO AGREEMENT ON REUNIFICATION AS MOST LIKELY CONFERENCE OUTCOME

II. How Much Trust In Conferees' Intentions?

... FEW DISTRUST AMERICAN INTENTIONS, BUT FRENCH AIMS AS WIDELY DISTRUSTED AS RUSSIAN

... GERMAN CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA NOT WITHOUT CERTAIN QUESTIONABLE UNDERTONES, HOWEVER

III. How Much Concurrence With Insistence On Free Elections As Prerequisite To East Zone Negotiation?

... FIRM SUPPORT LESS THAN MAJORITY IN WEST GERMANY

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IV. Is Chinese Participation Subscribed To?

... WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION TO CHINESE PARTICIPATION IN CONFERENCE

V. Does Neutrality Find Acceptance If It Leads To Reunification?

... MARKED SUSCEPTIBILITY TO NEUTRALIST SOLUTION

... BUT SUPPORT SAGS IF NEUTRALITY UNGUARANTEED

... NOT ALL CONVINCED THAT AMERICA WOULD NOT GO ALONG WITH NEUTRALITY

VI. Does The Oder/Neisse Line Find Acceptance If It Leads To Reunification?

... ODER/NEISSE BORDER UNACCEPTABLE CONDITION FOR REUNIFICATION

... OPINION WIDESPREAD THAT AMERICA WOULD APPROVE GERMAN RESTORATION OF EASTERN TERRITORIES

... FEW BELIEVE FRANCE WOULD APPROVE RESTORATION

VI. If Conference Fails? - What Then?

... CONCILIATORY REACTIONS PREPONDERATE IN WEST GERMANY - TOUGH REACTIONS IN WEST BERLIN

PART B - EDC ATTITUDES

I. How Much EDC Support On Eve Of Conference?

... MAJORITY SUPPORT CONTINUES FOR GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION

... PREPONDERANCE OPPOSE DELAYING EDC BECAUSE OF CONFERENCE

II. What Are Reactions To French EDC Delays?

... WEST GERMANS - BUT NOT WEST BERLINERS - CONTENT TO WAIT OUT EDC DELAYS

III. Is EDC Preferred To German National Army?

... WEST GERMANS CONTINUE TO PREFER NATIONAL ARMY

## CONFIDENTIAL

## PART A - FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

I. How High Are German Expectations?

## TREND TOWARD PESSIMISM ....

Expectations of German advantages from a Four Power conference have sagged in recent months to point where now only a third in West Germany - half in West Berlin - remain optimistic.

"As you may have heard or read Russia, England, France and America want to join in a Four Power conference in Berlin at the beginning of next year.

Do you consider it likely or unlikely that in such a Four Power conference advantages will result for Germany?"

	<u>West Germany</u>					<u>West Berlin</u>			
	Mid Apr	Late Apr	Late June	July	Late Dec*	Mid Apr	Late June	July	Late Dec*
	53 (764)	53 (376)	53 (761)	53 (625)	53 (601)	53 (299)	53 (186)	53 (213)	53 (207)
Advantages likely	48%	44%	47%	42%	32%	69%	65%	62%	49%
Advantages unlikely	30	30	32	32	41	23	27	31	39
No opinion	22	26	21	26	27	8	8	7	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* In preceding surveys before decision to have a conference was taken, wording of question ran: "Supposing in the near future a Four Power conference on Germany would take place, do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for West Germany will result from it?"

## MAJORITY SEE NO AGREEMENT ON REUNIFICATION AS MOST LIKELY CONFERENCE OUTCOME ...

"Apart from what you may hope or wish for in such a Four Power conference, do you consider it more likely that at this Four Power conference an agreement on a reunification of Germany will be reached, or do you consider it more likely that no such agreement will be reached?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	July 53 (625)	Late Dec 53 (601)	July 53 (213)	Late Dec 53 (207)
Agreement likely	26%	17%	41%	19%
Agreement unlikely	43	60	52	68
No opinion	31	23	7	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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II. How Much Trust In Conference's Intentions?**FEW DISTRUST AMERICAN INTENTIONS, BUT FRENCH AIMS AS WIDELY DISTRUSTED AS RUSSIAN ...**

America attains a remarkable vote of confidence from the West German and West Berlin population as to her aims in the Four Power conference. France, however, appears to attain an equally remarkable vote of non-confidence with adverse judgments of her intentions not appreciably less frequent than for Russian intentions, and fear on the part of a majority that France's actions in the conference will be to Germany's disadvantage.

"What aim does, in your opinion, ... pursue with this conference? Do you approve of it or do you disapprove of it?"

(Late Dec 1953)	<u>West Germany</u>				<u>West Berlin</u>			
	America	England	France	Russia	America	England	France	Russia
Aims approved	85%	45%	9%	15%	140%	94%	16%	19%
Aims dis- approved	11	11	62	67	3	9	58	89
Aims - no opinion on	2	3	2	4	*	2	6	3
Don't know any aims	<u>33</u> 131%	<u>52</u> 111%	<u>46</u> 119%	<u>36</u> 122%	<u>15</u> 158%	<u>32</u> 137%	<u>44</u> 124%	<u>24</u> 131%

\* Less than one half of one per cent..

⊙ Many respondents advanced more than one aim.

"Do you fear that ... will do something in this conference that would be to Germany's disadvantage?"

(Late Dec 1953)	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	America	England	France	America	England	France
Yes	5%	12%	55%	3%	10%	60%
No	79	61	20	89	78	28
No opinion	<u>16</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>25</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%

The kinds of conference aims advanced for each of the Four Powers in the initial question above - along with the proportion of West Germans and West Berliners approving and disapproving of each - are to be found in Appendix A.

**GERMAN CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA NOT WITHOUT CERTAIN QUESTIONABLE UNDERTONES, HOWEVER ...**

The remarkable extent of confidence in America evidenced by the West German population in connection with the Four Power conference is of course distinctly on the plus side. But that it may not be without certain questionable undertones is suggested by the finding that the large majority of Germans are apparently of the belief that if America were faced with any showdown on German versus French interests, they would decide in favor of Germany. The accompanying comments make it evident that this judgment derives in many instances from the kind of conceptions of the basis of German-American solidarity that could ultimately lead to untoward consequences.

"If America in the course of this conference would get into a position in which it could only decide in favor of Germany or only in favor of France - which country do you believe America would decide in favor of?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (601)	<u>West Berlin</u> (207)
(Late Dec 1953)		
France	7%	7%
Germany	64	79
Compromise - neither/nor	8	7
No opinion	21	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Germany": "For what reasons would America decide in favor of Germany? (Why wouldn't it decide in favor of France?)"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Because Germany is more politically stable, reliable, mature:	16%	35%
"Because politically France is completely unreliable, the Germans are more dependable."		
"Because after 1945 the Germans proved to be a politically mature people, while it became evident through those many cabinet crises that the French are politically immature."		
"The American Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has just explained the reason, he told them: 'You French are too unreliable'."		
"Because Germany is politically more mature than France."		
"Because the French have got on the nerves of the Americans on account of their unstable government."		
"Because of the German recovery after 1945, America has come to place great confidence in Germany, while the French have lost American confidence as far as political matters are concerned because of those many changes of government."		
Because Germans have the better soldiers:	8	10
"Germany has the best soldiers, after all; they'll need them in the war to come."		
"Because they clearly realize that the Germans are people of quite a different calibre; the Germans are much better soldiers and have more character, too."		
"Because we have good soldiers and that's what the French haven't got."		
"Because the French haven't been as brave as the Germans, thus it's safer for the Americans to rely on us."		
"Germany has got the more capable people, the Germans are harder fighters than the French." <b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>		
"They are convinced that German soldiers can get the Russians to their knees."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because Germany is more useful as a trade partner:

"Because Germany is more valuable to America than France is in economic respects, our credit is high and the Americans want to trade with us."

"Because they can expect more from Germany than from France in the economic as well as in all other fields."

"For economic reasons, what they need is a country that buys their stuff and that sells goods in exchange, and where conditions are orderly."

"Because it can continue to expand its trade with Germany, while things go downhill in France."

"Because America needs Germany as a market outlet."

Because Germany is a better ally:

"Germany would be a better ally against the Soviet Union than France would be."

"Because the Americans would get more out of Germany, the Germans are better allies."

"Because they need us should it be necessary to make a stand against Communism, whether it's today or tomorrow."

"Because Germany is more useful to America than France is, in economic, political and military respect."

"Because they can't expect anything from France, France wouldn't be a strong ally for America."

Because the Germans are more industrious and more efficient:

"Germany is a larger country and its people are more industrious than the French."

"They get more done than the French."

"Because the Americans will fare better with the Germans, as they are so industrious, the French are a poor lot."

"We are more diligent, thus the Yanks needn't spend such a lot of dough to relieve the distress, and by doing so, to stop Communism."

"Because the Germans work, they have accomplished quite a lot."

Because America prefers Germany to France (general answers):

"Because today the Americans think more highly of us than of the French."

"America takes our side all the time, after all."

"Because recently America has shown greater sympathies for Germany than for France."

"There is no doubt that they are interested in us."

Because Germany is more strategically located:

"Because of its geographic location Germany is a natural obstacle in the path of Russia; a strong Germany holds no danger whatever for America, while a strong Russia does constitute a danger for America."

"Because Germany is in the heart of Europe; if they won't decide in favor of Germany, they can't prevent the Russians from extending their orbit. It would mean to give up a territory that's the most advanced outpost against the East."

"For strategic reasons, they need us more for the defense of West Europe than they need the French."

"Because Germany is the center from which to operate."

"Purely for security reasons in regard to the East, because in Germany the West can be defended."

Because America has a larger investment in Germany:

"It's because they have invested large sums of money over here, and they'd lose that, otherwise."

"As things stand, America has invested too much capital over here."

"The Americans have helped us so much that I'm sure they'll go on backing us, for they want to get their money's worth back some day, I guess."

(Cont'd on next page)

## CONFIDENTIAL

West Germany    West Berlin

(Cont'd from preceding page)

"We have run up quite some debts with the Americans, and they'll want their money back, they didn't help us for nothing, the Americans know that the Germans get something done if they have some funds to start with."

"Because they have invested such a lot of money, they hope to get it back to boost trade."

"The Americans have stood up for us on many occasions, they have done a lot to help us, if they'd drop us now, all this would have been in vain."

Because France obstructs the EDC:

5%

4%

"Because we are much more willing to accept the terms of the EDC treaty as laid down by the Americans."

"Because France is against the EDC treaty."

"The French always make a lot of trouble for the Americans, I mean the trouble over the EDC treaty."

"The Americans are pretty mad at the French on account of the EDC treaty, they don't take French politics seriously."

"It was proven in the past that America relies more heavily on Germany than on France, it's because France sabotages all defense plans and propositions concerning the European defense community."

Because France is infiltrated by Communism:

4

8

"Contrary to Germany, France is strongly infiltrated by Communism, if there should be a war against Russia, there would be the risk of France siding with Russia."

"Because conditions within Germany are stable, while France is riddled with Communists."

"The Americans know that they can rely on us, there are too many Communists in France."

"I'm sure America knows that half of France is red, it will never join forces with a country that has an agreement with Russia."

"France has Communist leanings, after all; you might even say that they are on an equal footing with the Russians as far as political convictions go, and America, of course, wants a reliable partner who thinks more precisely and the Germans have given ample proof of these qualities."

Because Germany is the most important factor in Europe:

2

2

"Because in European politics everything revolves around Germany."

"Because America feels that Germany is the decisive factor for the future and for a balance of power in the world."

"France's position in world politics and in the field of economy is weaker than that of Germany, Germany is more important to America than France in the effort to keep Europe going."

Because many Germans live in the US:

2

2

"Because a lot of Americans are of German descent."

"Because there are many Germans in the States."

"There are so many German-Americans in the States."

"The Americans hold their ancestors in high esteem."

Other reasons:

3

1

"I think so because Dulles has shown the French the light recently."

"They like it so well over here."

"Because Germany is more compliant to the wishes of America."

No opinion - No answer:

2

1

83%

102%

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.



III. How Much Concurrence With Insistence On Free Elections  
As Prerequisite To East Zone Negotiation?

**FIRM SUPPORT LESS THAN MAJORITY IN WEST GERMANY ...**

The large majority of West Germans and West Berliners continue to support the Western Powers' insistence on free elections as prerequisite to any negotiations with East German representatives about the reunification of Germany. However, if faced with a prospect of breaking off a conference over this issue, support fades to somewhat less than majority status in West Germany.

"Would you approve of the present leaders of the East Zone government representing the population of the East Zone at negotiations on a reunification of Germany with the Big Four

or

should the Western powers insist that only a delegation of the people in the East Zone formed via free elections be allowed to negotiate about the reunification of Germany?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	July 53 (625)	Late Dec 53 (601)	July 53 (199)	Late Dec 53 (207)
Present leaders of the East Zone government	8%	9%	4%	4%
Freely elected delegation of the people	68	73	93	91
No opinion	<u>24</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%

IF "Freely elected delegation of the people":

"Would you agree to this even if that would mean that a reunification and a peace treaty for Germany would not yet come about, or would you then not agree to this condition of the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	July 53 (625)	Late Dec 53 (601)	July 53 (199)	Late Dec 53 (207)
Agree to it even then	42%	45%	68%	62%
No, then not agree to it	17	23	22	25
No opinion	<u>9</u> 68%	<u>5</u> 73%	<u>3</u> 93%	<u>4</u> 91%



#### IV. Is Chinese Participation Subscribed To?

##### WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION TO CHINESE PARTICIPATION IN CONFERENCE ...

The great bulk of West Germans and West Berliners with opinions in the matter distinctly oppose Chinese participation in any conference concerned with German affairs.

"As you may have heard or read the Russians had suggested that the Communist government of China take part as a 5th member in such a conference at which all problems existing between the Communists and the other countries should be discussed - including, of course, the German problem. Would you agree with that or would you disagree?"

	West Germany (601)	West Berlin (207)
(Late Dec 1953)		
Agree	12%	9%
Disagree	61	80
No opinion	27	11
	100%	100%

"For what reasons would you disagree with it?"

Because the conference and the problems to be settled are no concern of China's:

West Germany    West Berlin

33%    52%

"Back in 1945 it was also only the Big Four who discussed the German problem, it's no business of China's."

"What do the Chinese want over here? - We don't want to have anything to do with them, they'd better not meddle in our affairs with their red-tinged ideas and views."

"What's to be discussed only concerns Europe, it's no business of China's."

"China has absolutely nothing to do with the business on hand, China didn't fight against us in the war."

"They have no right to take part in this conference, we didn't meddle in Chinese affairs, either."

"That's none of their business, they'd better stay in Asia."

Because Chinese participation would mean a boost for the Communist side:

19    27

"It would only mean bolstering Russia."

"Because it would only strengthen the Communists."

"Because China is a red country through and through, they would be completely at the beck and call of Russia."

It would only be one party more which would endorse Russia's point of view."

"It wouldn't serve any purpose as the Chinese would be prejudiced against the West right from the start; they'd be partners of the Russians."

Because China is a Communist country:

10    7

"Because I'm against Communism on principle, and that's why I oppose China's admission to the conference."

"Because the Chinese are Reds and all Reds are bad."

"Because the Chinese are Communists, so you can't expect me to o.k. this suggestion."

Other reasons:

3    5

"Because the Russians want to settle Chinese in the Eastern provinces; if they'd really do it, this would be the end for us."

No opinion:

1    2  
66%    91%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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## V. Does Neutrality Find Acceptance If It Leads To Reunification?

## MARKED SUSCEPTIBILITY TO NEUTRALIST SOLUTION ...

Neutrality as a price for reunification continues to evidence marked appeal in recent surveys. Support outweighs opposition in West Germany, appears to be not materially less than opposition in East Germany,\* and only in West Berlin is distinctly on the minority side with evidence of recent waning. The reasoning lying behind East German thinking in the present connection is available in Appendix B.

"Supposing Russia would agree to a reunification of Germany through free elections only on condition that Germany would remain neutral and would not be allowed to enter into an alliance with either West or East: would you on that condition be more for or against a reunification?"

	West Germany				East Germany	West Berlin		
	July 53	Sept 53	Nov 53	Late Dec 53	Sept/Oct 53	July 53	Nov 53	Late Dec 53
	(625)	(1344)	(635)	(601)	(489)	(199)	(227)	(207)
More for reunification	55%	47%	45%	47%	44%	42%	28%	25%
More against reunification	21	30	31	33	48	52	63	67
No opinion	<u>24</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

## BUT SUPPORT SAGS IF NEUTRALITY UNGUARANTEED ...

Unless the Western Powers would guarantee German neutrality, however, few West Germans and West Berliners would find such a course acceptable.

IF "More for reunification":

"And let's suppose the Western Powers could not guarantee the security of Germany if Germany would have to stay neutral, would you even then be for an immediate reunification of Germany or would you be more in favor of waiting until a reunification under more favorable conditions would be possible?"

	West Germany		West Berlin	
	July 53	Late Dec 53	July 53	Late Dec 53
	(625)	(601)	(215)	(207)
For an immediate reunification	22%	13%	18%	8%
For waiting for more favorable conditions	26	29	22	16
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	55%	47%	42%	25%

## NOT ALL CONVINCED THAT AMERICA WOULD NOT GO ALONG WITH NEUTRALITY ...

Finally, not all Germans appear to be convinced that America would not go along with German neutrality as a basis for reunification.

"Are you of the opinion that America would go along with a neutral Germany as a basis for the reunification of Germany or not?"

	West Germany		West Berlin	
	July 53	Late Dec 53	July 53	Late Dec 53
	(625)	(601)	(199)	(207)
Would go along with neutrality	18%	15%	22%	12%
Would not go along with neutrality	43	51	68	68
No opinion	<u>39</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>20</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

\* Readers are reminded to exercise caution in interpreting the East German findings, but it is important to realize that if there is a pro-West bias in the sample as obtained, the true East Zone support for neutrality is likely to be even greater than represented.

VI. Does The Oder/Neisse Line Find Acceptance  
If It Leads To Reunification?

ODER/NEISSE BORDER UNACCEPTABLE CONDITION FOR REUNIFICATION ...

In marked contrast only the order of one in ten in West Germany, East Germany, and West Berlin would appear to go along with recognition of the Oder/Neisse border as a condition for reunification.

"Supposing Russia would demand as a condition for its agreeing to a reunification of Germany through free elections, that Germany acknowledges the Oder/Neisse line as a final Eastern frontier of Germany, thereby giving up the Eastern territories. Would you, under these circumstances, be rather for or rather against an immediate reunification?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	Late Dec	Sept/Oct	Late Dec
	53	53	53
	(601)	(489)	(207)
For it	13%	11%	13%
Against it	69	86	82
No opinion	18	3	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Why would you be against it?" (Results for West Germany and West Berlin.)

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	41%	51%

What is German cannot be given away:

"What has been part of Germany and what is German, is to remain German."

"I would never accept that as long as I live. It is still German territory."

"Since it is German territory to the core, no one can dispute about that."

"The territories beyond the Oder/Neisse are German and shall remain German."

"Since I cannot see why they shall be taken away from us what is legally ours."

"Since these territories have always belonged to Germany and since they have to become German again."

"Since these are unacceptable conditions, just taking away a part of Germany."

The expelled Germans are entitled to their homeland:

16 17

"Since the refugees could then not return to the East."

"I want my home back since I am from Silesia."

"Since the refugees want to return to their homeland."

"The people who fled want to go home."

"Above all, we have to get our homeland back, such a thing is really unique in the world."

"Our home certainly cannot be taken away, we women and children certainly are not responsible for the war."

"We will have to get back all of our Germany, those many people want to go home."

To be economically independent, Germany cannot give up the title to the separated territories:

13 35

"Without these territories Germany cannot support herself."

"We have to get back our territories, East and West Prussia, and Silesia since it is our own land and we will never be able to support ourselves if we lose these territories."

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"We cannot support ourselves, we cannot pay for food from abroad since we have no foreign currency."

"Since there are our grain areas that we cannot give up forever."

"Then not much will be left, all the agricultural areas are gone."

Germany must have living-space:

5%

6%

"Since we need these territories most urgently for living space."

"Since Germany has a too large population."

"Since we would still have too little space."

"We are over-populated."

"Since in that case, we could not live any more at all, if the Eastern areas would be lost for us for good. Then we would reach a state in Germany when we would have to build only 20-story buildings in every vacant lot in order to house all the people."

To maintain peace:

2

\*

"A people of a high cultural level as ours cannot be content with that."

"We cannot give up the title to the Eastern areas, this would always lead to quarrels and unrest in Europe."

"For the maintenance of world peace the return of these territories is required."

Other answers:

4

4

"All that land cannot be taken away from us forever. The Russians don't even know how to manage their own large country."

"Since Hitler never would have tolerated that and he was the greatest statesman; only that he got megalomania later."

No opinion:

 $\frac{1}{82\%}$ 
 $\frac{-}{113\%}$ 

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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(10)

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# OPINION WIDESPREAD THAT AMERICA WOULD APPROVE GERMAN RESTORATION OF EASTERN TERRITORIES ...

The large majority of West Germans and West Berliners judge that America would approve rather than disapprove German restoration of the former German territories beyond the Oder/Neisse.

"Do you have the impression that America would agree with the Eastern territories beyond the Oder/Neisse line being returned to Germany or do you have the impression that America would be against that?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (601)	<u>West Berlin</u> (207)
(Late Dec 1953)		
Would be for it	70%	88%
Would be against it	5	2
America would be indifferent about it	6	3
No opinion	19	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## FEW BELIEVE FRANCE WOULD APPROVE RESTORATION ...

"And how about France? Do you have the impression that France would agree with the Eastern territories beyond the Oder/Neisse line being returned to Germany, or do you have the impression that France would be against that?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (601)	<u>West Berlin</u> (207)
(Late Dec 1953)		
Would be for it	9%	20%
Would be against it	49	47
France would be indifferent about it	13	13
No opinion	29	20
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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VII. If Conference Fails - What Then?CONCILIATORY REACTIONS PREPONDERATE IN WEST GERMANY - TOUGH REACTIONS IN WEST BERLIN ...

As to the proper course of action for the Western powers, should the conference fail, conciliatory reactions still preponderate in West Germany - though to a lesser extent than earlier. Tough reactions continue to preponderate in West Berlin.

"Supposing such a Four power conference would turn out a failure, what would you like to see the Western powers do then?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	July 53 (625)	Late Dec 53 (601)	July 53 (199)	Late Dec 53 (207)
Conciliatory reactions	39%	38%	34%	29%
Tough reactions	21	28	47	52
Indeterminate	1	5	2	5
No opinion	39	29	17	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONCILIATORY REACTIONSRenewed efforts to bring about negotiations and a peaceful agreement:

West Germany      West Berlin

22%      21%

"Suggest another conference and not discontinue the efforts to bring it about."

"Aim at new negotiations."

"Renewed efforts about a conference, an agreement must be brought about at any cost. They should leave no stone unturned in order to prevent that East and West Zone remain partitioned."

"Try it again through means of negotiations."

"Try it again, negotiating is better than waging a war."

"Make another effort to come to an agreement through peaceful means."

"Should make renewed efforts to find a solution through peaceful means."

Wait and see - continue the present policy:

8

6

"Wait until the situation for renewed negotiations is favorable."

"Wait a while and then schedule another conference, and make new suggestions."

"Wait for another favorable situation for a conference."

"Wait until another conference can be brought about, war must be avoided at any price."

"Stick to the present course, it's possible that the Russians will give in one day and make concessions."

Anything but war:

5

5

"Preserve peace, that's all I wish."

"Try everything to prevent war at any price."

"Main thing - no third world war."

"Not take up arms."

They cannot do a thing:

3

1

"Nothing at all, leave things as they are."

"The things remain as they are now, I couldn't imagine what they could do."

"Nothing can be done about it."

(Cont'd on next page)

West West  
Germany Berlin

(Cont'd on next page)

Leave Germany alone:

- "They should go, all of them, we don't need them."  
 "They should go home, everything will be settled soon if we are on our own."  
 "They should abandon the plan of a conference and withdraw from Germany so that we could finally live in peace."

Other answers:

- "Let us Germans negotiate with the Russians."  
 "They should stop this fuss-making about war, it's we who have to bear the consequences at last."  
 "Let them do what they please, but in all events they shouldn't send more troops to Germany or set up a German army."

(41%) (33%)

TOUGH REACTIONSAccelerate rearmament and integration of the West:

- "Germany should then be rearmed, rush the realization of the defense treaty."  
 "The West should develop more strength and accelerate unification of Europe."  
 "See to it that Germany is rearmed as quickly as possible."  
 "Realize the EDC treaty as rapidly as possible, strengthen the West in the economic and military field since the Russians can only be impressed through power."  
 "Above all, bring about the EDC treaty."  
 "Become more powerful, the Russians can only be impressed by power."  
 "Ratify the EDC treaty."

19% 26%

Make decisions without consulting with Russia:

- "They then should make decisions without consulting with Russia."  
 "Make decisions by themselves without arguing with the Russians about them."  
 "Negotiate without the Russians and try to achieve their purposes without them."  
 "Break off all negotiations with Russia and other Communist countries."  
 "Ignore Russia and go on working without it."

7 4

More drastic, even military measures against the East:

- "The Americans should demonstrate their power to the Russians and show fight to them, they should present them with an ultimatum thus forcing them to make a clear decision."  
 "Set up a German army without delay, attack Russia and return our lost territories including Poland, if possible."  
 "They should put the thumb screws on the Russians and prevent them from making a fool of us."  
 "They then should take drastic measures and send the Russians to hell."  
 "They should, together with us, beat the devil out of the Russians."

6 22

Economic pressure against the East:

- "Strengthen the economies of the Western countries and cut off all trade relations with Russia so that it is prevented from doing harm to other nations."  
 "If it were up to me, I would force the Russians by hunger, the Americans might be powerful enough to do so."  
 "Show fight to the Russians, stop export to Russia that would considerably harm it."

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West Germany	West Berlin
1%	1%

Other answers:

"They should rearm in case a war breaks out."

"To give up the other half of Germany and make West Germany a member of the NATO."

(33%) (61%)

INDETERMINATE REACTIONSConclude a peace treaty with Germany:

3% 2%

"Conclude a separate peace treaty with Germany."

"Conclude a peace treaty with Germany and join us."

"A separate peace treaty with West Germany regardless of Russia."

"Make peace."

Other answers:

2 3

"See to it that the poor could be better off and not waste so much money for useless conferences and for rearmament."

"They should see to it that there would be a way out of the dilemma for us and that we could live to see better times."

"Then there should be a plebiscite as to whether the reunification should be carried out, the Saar people also should have a plebiscite."

(5%) (5%)

No opinion:

29	14
108%	113%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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PART B - EDC ATTITUDES

I. How Much EDC Support On Eve Of Conference?

MAJORITY SUPPORT CONTINUES FOR GERMAN DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

On eve of the Four Power conference the West German attitude toward military participation in European defense shows no sign of departing from a long continued trend of majority support. West Berliners also continue to evidence their usual high of eight in ten approval.

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"

West Germany													
	May	June	Aug.	Oct	Nov/ Dec	Dec	Mid Apr	Late Apr	Early June	Late June	July	Nov	Late Dec
	52	52	52	52	52	52	53	53	53	53	53	53	53
	(791)	(786)	(1195)	(1582)	(1196)	(786)	(764)	(376)	(740)	(761)	(625)	(635)	(601)
For	44%	47%	45%	47%	48%	50%	59%	63%	51%	56%	53%	54%	57%
Ag.	46	42	44	41	41	40	32	28	33	34	33	32	31
No op	10	11	11	12	11	10	9	9	16	18	14	14	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

West Berlin									
	Feb	May	Dec	Feb	Mid Apr	Late June	July	Nov	Late Dec
	52	52	52	53	53	53	53	53	53
	(195)	(178)	(199)	(189)	(299)	(186)	(199)	(227)	(207)
For	74%	85%	79%	79%	83%	84%	78%	78%	83%
Against	24	13	17	17	13	11	15	18	14
No opinion	2	2	4	4	4	5	7	4	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

PREPONDERANCE OPPOSE DELAYING EDC BECAUSE OF CONFERENCE ...

Questioned in a framework of arguments for and against delaying EDC in the light of the impending conference, the preponderance - though less than a majority in West Germany - favor no delay.

"Two persons are discussing what would be better for the future of Germany.

Herr Schulze: If there is a chance for a Four Power conference on Germany, we should postpone all efforts towards creating a West European defense community as otherwise the chances for a reunification of Germany would be hindered.

Herr Maier: We should continue our efforts for a West European defense community regardless of any plans for a Four Power conference for the stronger we get the more we can achieve.

Whom would you agree with?"

West Germany		West Berlin	
	Late July 53 (625)	Late Dec 53 (601)	Late July 53 (199)
Herr Schulze	28%	34%	21%
Herr Maier	48	48	72
No opinion	24	18	7
	100%	100%	100%

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II. What Are Reactions To French EDC Delays?

WEST GERMANS - BUT NOT WEST BERLINERS - CONTENT TO WAIT OUT FRENCH EDC DELAYS ...

Despite the preponderant advocacy of no conference letup in EDC efforts, West Germans do not appear to be so exercised about recent EDC delays (which the majority attribute to the French) as in any large measure to advocate pursuit of alternative means of achieving West German rearmament. West Berliners differ, with the majority taking the position that other approaches should be taken to German rearmament if the EDC should fail to materialize soon.

"Do you have the impression that the establishment of the West European Defense Community is going ahead as quickly as planned, or do you have the impression that the efforts about it are hampered by some one of the involved states? (By which state?)"

	<u>West Germany</u> (601)	<u>West Berlin</u> (207)
(Late Dec 1953)		
As planned	8%	10%
Hampered by France	54	62
Hampered by other states	9	7
No opinion	30	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"On this card you find three different opinions on the rearmament of West Germany:

Herr Schulze: West Germany should be rearmed as quickly as possible and if that shouldn't be possible soon within the framework of the West European Defense Community, it should be done in another way.

Herr Schmidt: West Germany should be rearmed, I grant, but that is not so urgent. Therefore one should undisturbedly put up with a delay in establishing a West European Defense Community.

Herr Maier: Rearmament of West Germany isn't necessary at all, neither within the framework of the West European Defense Community nor in any other way.

Whom would you most likely agree with?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (601)	<u>West Berlin</u> (207)
(Late Dec 1953)		
Herr Schulze	30%	60%
Herr Schmidt	36	26
Herr Maier	22	2
No opinion	12	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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## III. Is EDC Preferred To German National Army?

## WEST GERMANS CONTINUE TO PREFER NATIONAL ARMY ...

Currently as earlier the preponderance of West Germans favor a German national army in preference to the integrated type of the EDC. In West Berlin support for an EDC type army is somewhat greater but does not outweigh support for a national army. Accompanying comments make it evident that many Germans still fear exploitation and misuse of German soldiers in any integrated command.

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe -- which way would you consider preferable?"

- A - A West German national army should be established which would participate in the defense of West Europe.  
German divisions should be integrated in a general European army.

	West Germany				West Berlin		
	Feb 52 (794)	Dec 52 (1196)	June 53 (740)	Nov 53 (635)	Feb 52 (195)	Dec 52 (199)	Nov 53 (227)
National army	43%	47%	42%	49%	41%	50%	41%
Integrated army	25	22	28	24	49	39	40
No opinion	32	31	30	27	10	11	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"For what reasons are you against point 'B'?" (Asked of all for German national army.)

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>In an integrated army German troops would be under the command of foreign powers:</u>	13%	12%
"Because equal treatment of all contingents wouldn't be guaranteed under a foreign High Command."		
"Because the divisions would be under the command of a foreign power."		
"As soon as we would be under their command we would no longer have any say."		
"Because Germans under the command of a foreign power wouldn't feel free."		
"I'm a German and would fight under German but not under foreign command."		
"Because that might mean that the Germans should be prevented from getting any power of command."		
"It's no good if German troops had to accept orders from foreign commanders."		
"As a soldier I want to be given orders by a German officer."		
<u>The Germans would be better by themselves (general answers):</u>	13	11
"A national army would be better, such a motley outfit doesn't agree with a people of such a military tradition as Germany has."		
"An army needs an ideal - the honor of the individual soldiers would be endangered in such a motley crowd."		
"We have the proper people to train an army, a foreigner won't serve so well for a country that isn't his own, the German soldiers would fight better if it were in defense of their own country."		

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CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany      West Berlin

"I believe that only under German command would the German soldiers be as good as their reputation."  
 "They would be more interested in fighting, in any case, a national army would be more free."  
 "In a general army our troops won't be so successful in acting on our own behalf."

An integrated army would expose German troops to exploitation and misuse:

11%      6%

"Because most probably the German soldiers would be used as cannon-fodder."  
 "Because I fear that we would be made a cat's paw, and the divisions of the other nations would, at the most, cover our flanks."  
 "Because under foreign command the Germans would be the first to be thrown in the front-line."  
 "If it comes to a war the Germans would be the first to be sent to the front-line, they would have to do the main job."  
 "I believe that our soldiers would be sent to the places where the fighting is particularly tough."  
 "If the worst comes to the worst the Germans would be used as cannon-fodder."  
 "Because the German divisions would be used as advanced posts only."  
 "The German army would be used as cannon-fodder on behalf of the others."

An integrated army would create confusion and inefficiency:

7      9

"There would be too many differences of opinion."  
 "Nothing good will come out of that, there are too many differences of opinion."  
 "Because the different kind of soldiers won't agree with each other, military training is different in every country - there are different languages."  
 "Because in a general European army there would be difficulties with regard to tactics - I mean in headquarters."  
 "That's not a clever solution because of the difficulties in conveying orders to a joint contingent."  
 "In such a joint outfit everything would be more difficult because one soldier won't understand his comrade."

In an integrated army French and Germans would not get along:

1      2

"German soldiers next to French soldiers - if that turns out well you may call me Jack."  
 "Because we would have to do what the French order-us to do, otherwise they won't join in."  
 "Because of the French's fear the German army would play a subordinate role and in case of war they would be sent to the front-line."  
 "There is more Communist infiltration in the French army, moreover, I don't believe that a French soldier would agree to be put under German command."  
 "So that our boys won't have to shed their blood for French interests in Indochina."

(Cont'd on next page)

"For what reasons are you against point 'A'?" (Asked of all for integrated army.)

West Germany	West Berlin
7%	11%

A national army would handicap European integration:

- "Because such an army would endanger the creation of a United Europe."
- "The idea of a United Europe will never be realized if the nations set up their own armies."
- "For the sake of cooperation between nations."
- "Because I'm for a United Europe, if it could be materialized many political difficulties would soon be reconciled."
- "I can't stand federalism any longer, there is no need for national states and country borders."
- "'A' means departing from the idea of a United Europe."
- "Europe can no longer afford countries that won't give up their national interests."

A national army involves the risk of reviving militarism and misusing military power:

5 12

- "Because militarism would revive and become too powerful in Germany."
- "'A' might lead to Prussian militarism."
- "It's typical German to misuse military power, in order to prevent that I favor the idea of integrating German divisions in a European army."
- "Point 'A' smells of Prussian drill."
- "Prussian training methods might win too much ground."
- "Because I fear that a German national army will produce the kind of officer who misuses his power."

An integrated army means more strength:

5 6

- "A national army wouldn't do against Russia while a joint European army would represent an efficient power instrument."
- "A joint European army means a more efficient instrument against Russia."
- "Point 'A' means splitting up military power, a European army won't be underestimated by Russia."
- "I think that a European army under the command of one chief would be more efficient than many small armies decorated with many big shots who all want to have a say."
- "Russia might not put up with a German army and attack us, with a joint European army in front of them they'll know better than to fight."
- "Germany on its own lost every war, a joint European army might be more successful."

A national army would arouse fear of new German aggression:

3 6

- "Foreign countries would be frightened of a German national army."
- "We shouldn't give occasion to new quarrelling, France, for instance, is still very sensitive and jealous."
- "The French's fear of Germany would be intensified by a German army."
- "A strong army of our own would make it very doubtful whether the French/German understanding could ever be brought about."

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West Germany	West Berlin
2%	9%

An integrated army can prevent inequities:

"A joint army would prevent only the Germans being sent to the front-line."

"'B' guarantees that all nations have to bear the same share of burden in case of war, 'A' leaves the whole burden to us Germans."

"In a joint army it wouldn't be left entirely to the German soldiers to pull the chestnuts out of the fire, furthermore, one couldn't put all the blame on the German army in case something turns out a failure."

"A national army involves the risk of German soldiers being discriminated against. I can't forget the shameful sentences that were passed on German generals in Nuremberg."

Other answers:

1	*
---	---

"I'm against military forces and rearmament of Germany."

"We Germans don't want to set up an army, it's America that tells us to do so."

No opinion

$\frac{1}{24\%}$	$\frac{2}{46\%}$
------------------	------------------

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

APPENDIX A

05743

COMMENTS AS TO AMERICAN AIMS AT CONFERENCE ...

"And what aim does, in your opinion, America pursue with this conference? Do you approve of it or do you disapprove of it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	know	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	know
To reunite Germany:	15%	-%	-%	37%	-%	-%

"America wants to bring about German reunification."

"They intend to fight for the reunification of Germany."

"America aims to protect German interests, they want to bring about the reunification of Germany."

"They want to reunify Germany."

"To go even more out of their way to promote our interests, just take the issue of a reunited Germany, for instance."

"To unite Germany."

To promote economic and business interests:	8	3	1	8	1	*
--	---	---	---	---	---	---

"To acquire a larger market for their goods so that we can all live in peace at last."

"They want peace to exist in the world to be able to trade."

"America is out to maintain peace in Europe, and to find new markets."

"They want to protect their trade with Europe."

"To boost trade between the nations."

"To do business, they don't do anything out of sheer altruism."

"To do business wherever they can."

To establish and safeguard peace:	10	1	-	24	-	-
-----------------------------------	----	---	---	----	---	---

"To establish and safeguard peace throughout the world."

"They want to negotiate a peace, the existing problems are to be settled without resorting to war."

"America wants to achieve peace, and they want to help us, too."

"To restore peace throughout the world."

"America is out to achieve peace and freedom for all nations and that's why they want to negotiate."

"They are the only ones who mean well by us, they want to maintain peace."

"I believe that they are for world peace, it's to their own interest, for one thing."

To provide political and economic aid for Germany:	7	-	-	2	-	-
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

"To promote German interests."

"America wants to help us Germans."

"They want to see to it that Germany prospers."

"They want to help us restore peace and order in our country and to contribute towards our economic recovery."

"America intends to back up Germany, so that it will enjoy prosperity and freedom."

"To make Germany an equal partner of the other nations in the world."

To rearm Germany:	6	1	*	1	-	-
-------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---

"They are very interested in a rearmament of Germany."

"To fit in German soldiers into the defense system directed against the East"

"America wants to help us set up an army."

"They want Germany to fight at their side against Bolshevism."

"The rearmament of Germany."

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22  
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Dis- Don't Dis- Don't  
Approve approve know Approve approve know

To come to an agreement  
with Russia:

5% 1% \*% 6% -% -%

- "America hopes to come to an agreement with Russia on the German problem."  
 "They want to come to terms with the Russians about Germany and all other issues of world politics."  
 "To settle the Germany issue on a Four Power basis."  
 "To come to terms with Russia."

To ease political tensions  
in the world:

5 \* - 9 - -

- "A relaxation of tensions in the world."  
 "To ease the situation throughout the world, and to force Russia to adopt a definite line."  
 "To ease the world situation on a political plane."  
 "An easing in world politics."  
 "To bring about a more relaxed atmosphere by settling the most explosive problems in the world, such as the Germany issue."

To protect the Western world  
against Communism:

5 \* \* 8 - -

- "America wants to prevent Communism from spreading further in Europe."  
 "To establish a counterbalance in Europe against a Russia gaining in strength."  
 "To stave off the Communist danger."  
 "They want to make sure that Europe is safe against the Bolshevik menace."  
 "To safeguard the Western world."

To achieve a United Europe:

4 1 - 5 1 -

- "To bring about a community of European nations."  
 "A union of West Europe."  
 "To achieve the integration of West Europe."  
 "To bring about a United Europe."  
 "To unite and strengthen the West."

To negotiate a peace treaty  
for Germany:

4 - - 12 - -

- "To conclude a peace with Germany."  
 "A peace treaty for Germany."  
 "They are sorry for having been the allies of the Russians, they want to wrest a peace treaty for us from the Russians."  
 "America wants a peace treaty, just as England does."

To consolidate the American  
position of strength:

2 2 1 2 1 -

- "To exploit its present powerful position."  
 "They want to increase their power."  
 "They want to keep the favorable position they occupy in the world."

To weaken Russian influence  
and to push back the Russian  
sphere of power:

4 - - 12 - -

- "To curb the influence of the East."  
 "They want to make the Russians leave Germany."  
 "They don't want to let the Russians get too powerful."  
 "They want to ruin the Russians, they have to find out what's going on."

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	West Germany			West Berlin		
	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	know	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	know

To realize plans for a European Defense Community:	3%	1%	*%	2%	-%	-%
--	----	----	----	----	----	----

"To see to it that the EDC-treaties will be ratified."

"The realization of the EDC."

"They want to get the EDC-treaty accepted."

"They want Germany to become a member of the European Defense Community."

"America tries to include Germany into the European Defense Community."

To settle international problems concerning atomic energy:

2

-

-

-

-

-

"They want to negotiate an agreement about rearmament generally and about the control of atomic energy, I guess they aim to bring that up."

"They want to ban the atom bomb."

"They want to sound the Russians about atomic developments."

To stay on in Europe:	1	*	*	1	-	-
-----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---

"They want to arrange things in such a way that they can remain in Europe."

"America wants to stay on in Europe."

"They want to keep their control over Europe."

Other aims:	4	1	*	5	-	-
-------------	---	---	---	---	---	---

"They want to arrange things in such a way that they can withdraw their troops."

"To remove the Russian menace through war."

"They want to ruin us farmers through the technical means at their disposal."

"To prevent the Russians from sowing dissention among the West European nations."

"They want to promote the system of free democracy."

TOTALS:	85	11	2	140	3	*
---------	----	----	---	-----	---	---

Don't know American aims:			33			15
---------------------------	--	--	----	--	--	----

TOTAL ANSWERS:			131%			158%
----------------	--	--	------	--	--	------

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## COMMENTS AS TO ENGLISH AIMS AT CONFERENCE ...

"And England: what aim does England pursue with this conference? Do you approve of it or do you disapprove of it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Dis- Approve	Don't approve know		Dis- Approve	Don't approve know	
<u>To extend its trade relations:</u>	7%	4%	1%	8%	4%	1%
"To gain economic advantages and trade relations by Germany."						
"England wants to make a good bargain."						
"Above all, the English are businessmen who have an eye to their own interests."						
"England wants an agreement with Russia for economic reasons, England needs the Eastern markets."						
"To extend its trade with Russia, many goods were excluded from export up till now."						
"England wants to monopolize all markets, and it fears the re-emergence of Germany."						
"Probably selfish aims in the economic field."						
<u>To maintain and stabilize world peace:</u>	6	-	-	13	-	-
"England wants to achieve a sensible peace at this conference."						
"England wants a peaceful Europe."						
"I think that Churchill aims at an honest peace so that Europe can prosper at last, and the Communists are prevented from winning the upper hand."						
"They want to establish peace in the world."						
"They don't want to leave any stone unturned to find a solution through peaceful means."						
"To secure world peace."						
<u>To secure its position as a world power:</u>	4	2	*	2	2	1
"To strengthen its empire."						
"To secure its islands."						
"England wants to regain its world position that has become unstable."						
"Above all, it wants to back up its empire."						
"England has reasons enough to side with big powers for the sake of its colonies and the Suez Canal."						
<u>To bring about the European defense community:</u>	4	1	1	9	-	-
"To stand up for the European defense community as it is well aware of the Russian danger."						
"They want the EDC treaty to get accepted."						
"England approves of the EDC treaty because it feels more attached to Germany than to Russia."						
"It's possible that England, without being a member, wishes that the European defense community is brought about."						
<u>To bring about the reunification of Germany:</u>	6	-	-	31	1	-
"To aim at the reunification of Germany through peaceful means."						
"As a friend of America it will stand up for Germany's reunification."						
"England, especially Churchill, is for Germany's reunification, that's what it wants to achieve at this conference."						

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	West Germany			West Berlin		
	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	Don't know	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	Don't know
<u>To come to an agreement with Russia:</u>	3%	1%	1%	2%	1%	-
"Both England and America want to negotiate with Russia in order to bring about an agreement."						
"England aims at an agreement with Russia."						
"England wants to establish peaceful relations with Russia."						
"To end the Cold War."						
<u>To ease political tensions in the world:</u>	4	*	-	5	-	-
"They want to ease the tensions in the world."						
"The English want to relieve the tense situation."						
"They relax the strained relations between the nations."						
"England wants to ease the present tensions with Russia."						
<u>To stand up for Germany's interests (in general):</u>	4	-	-	6	-	-
"England, at least Churchill, wants to return equal rights to the Germans."						
"England wants to help Germany getting back equality of rights."						
"England wants a strong Germany in the political as well as in the economic field, well knowing that it is the best solution for everything."						
"To increase its prestige by supporting Germany."						
<u>To create a united Europe:</u>	2	-	-	5	-	-
"Churchill wants to realize the idea of a united Europe."						
"England favors the European union, it is well disposed towards us."						
"England will stand up for a united Europe."						
"England wants to materialize the European union including Germany."						
<u>To conclude a peace treaty with Germany:</u>	2	-	-	10	-	-
"England wants to make peace with Germany."						
"Conclude a peace treaty with Germany."						
"To hatch a plan for a peace treaty."						
"England wants to discuss a peace treaty for Germany."						
<u>England's aims are directed by America:</u>	2	*	-	*	*	*
"England gives its approval to everything America wishes."						
"England acts in agreement with America."						
"They always do what the Americans want them to do."						
"They have no choice but to do what the Americans wish."						
<u>Other purposes:</u>	1	3	-	3	1	-
"England wants to find out how things stand in the world."						
"England, too, wants to shield behind a powerful Germany."						
"It probably stalls for time in order to rearm."						
"England, too, will try to keep Germany's economy in a weak state."						
"To protract Germany's participation in the European defense community."						
"To delay Germany's reunification."						
<u>TOTALS</u>	45	11	3	94	9	2
<u>Don't know English aims:</u>			52			32
<u>TOTAL ANSWERS:</u>			111%			137%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



COMMENTS AS TO FRENCH AIMS AT CONFERENCE ...

"And how about France? What aims does France pursue with this conference? Do you approve of it or do you disapprove of it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Dis- Approve	Don't approve know		Dis- Approve	Don't approve know	
<u>To get the Saar area:</u>	0%	15%	0%	0%	20%	0%
"France wants the Saar, that's what I think."						
"France only wants to get the Saar."						
"They want to extort the Saar from us."						
"France wants the Saar, they would even like it best if they could finally get across the Rhine."						
"To settle the Saar issue in favor of France, to keep the Saar."						
"They want to make sure that the Saar belongs to France."						
<u>To prevent Germany's recuperation:</u>	*	13	*	-	5	-
"Try to keep Germany down."						
"France wants Germany to stay at the bottom."						
"To keep Germany in an economically weak position."						
"To keep Germany in a weak position."						
"To stop Germany's recovery, if possible."						
"The French want Germany to be defeated and powerless."						
"France wants to see to it that we won't get too strong."						
<u>To form closer relations with Russia:</u>	*	8	*	1	11	-
"France courts the Russians' favor."						
"To do some more siding with the Russians because they have many Communists in France."						
"They got to get closer to the Russians, they've just been in Poland."						
"France wants to get into the Russians' good graces."						
"To keep quiet and get to know what's being played because it wants to get closer to the East against Germany."						
"To come to terms with the Russians at Germany's expense."						
<u>To delay or prevent the EDC:</u>	1	4	1	2	6	-
"It will try to prevent the conclusions of the EDC treaty."						
"Work against the EDC treaty."						
"They only want to delay the EDC issue."						
"France is against the EDC treaty, it's looking for a chance to get out of its obligations."						
"To prevent the ratification of the EDC treaty, don't want to stick to the EDC treaty."						
"It will speak against the EDC treaty."						
<u>To prevent or postpone Germany's rearmament:</u>	1	5	*	1	5	-
"France wants to prevent Germany's rearmament."						
"They strive to prevent the rearmament of Germany."						
"That Germany won't be rearmed."						
"That a German army won't be established."						
"Whether there might be a possibility not to rearm Germany."						
"They want to postpone German rearmament because they know that they've done things in Germany which were not in good order."						

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West GermanyWest Berlin

	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	Don't know	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	Don't know
<u>To gain advantages for itself (general):</u>	1%	3%	*%	-%	1%	1%
"Wants to get as many advantages for itself as possible, but nothing that's advantageous for the European cause but for their national cause only."						
"Wants to gain advantages for itself."						
"Serves only its own interests."						
<u>To maintain peace:</u>	4	-	*	3	-	-
"France is interested in maintaining peace."						
"France wants peace the same as we do."						
"To conclude peace with Germany."						
<u>To establish the Oder/Neisse line as a final border:</u>	-	4	-	-	-	-
"Want to keep us in a weak position by recognizing the Oder/Neisse line as a final border."						
"To see to it, with Russian assistance, that the Oder/Neisse line will be established for good."						
<u>To cause delay and gain time:</u>	*	1	1	-	1	-
"France is all for delaying things, it isn't interested in the conference."						
"Above all France wants to delay things."						
"To gain time."						
<u>To strengthen its leader- ship in Europe:</u>	-	2	*	1	1	-
"To regain the leading position it used to have."						
"If possible they want to dominate Europe."						
"That they are superior to us, they want to be the first in Europe."						
"Their striving to become the leading power in Europe."						
<u>To increase its security:</u>	*	2	-	2	2	1
"France only wants to get more security guarantees by playing tricks because it's afraid and envious of us."						
"France wants to get more safety from Russia and West Germany."						
"France wants to get as much security out of it as it ever can."						
<u>To decide which side is more promising for France:</u>	1	1	*	-	1	-
"Wants to know whether it should turn toward the East or toward the West."						
"To take sides with the East or with the West."						
"It waits and sees on which side its bread is buttered."						

(Cont'd on next page)

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	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	Don't know	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	Don't know
<u>France's aims depend on the aims of America:</u>	*%	1%	*%	-%	-%	3%
"France is just taken in tow by America."						
"It will only come to a decision by pressure from the American side."						
"It is dependent on America."						
<u>To prevent Germany's reunification:</u>	-	1	-	-	3	-
"France wants to prevent an agreement on Germany's reunification."						
"Wants to prevent the reunification of Germany, that's all I know."						
"France wants to sabotage our reunification."						
"They fear the reunification of Germany."						
<u>To get closer to other Western Powers:</u>	*	*	-	2	1	1
"No definite aim, they only want to side with the other Western Powers."						
"Alliance with USA and England against Russia."						
"France wants to show its connection with the Western Powers."						
<u>Other aims:</u>	1	2	-	4	1	-
"France wants to vote to Germany's disadvantage."						
"France, as always, wants to humiliate us."						
"They won't be any better than the Russians."						
"To be in the game as an important factor."						
<u>TOTALS:</u>	9	62	2	16	58	6
<u>Don't know French aims (in- cluding France does not know what it wants):</u>						
				46		44
<u>TOTAL ANSWERS:</u>				119%		124%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## COMMENTS AS TO RUSSIAN AIMS AT CONFERENCE ...

"What aims does, in your opinion, Russia pursue with this conference? Do you approve of it or do you disapprove of it?"

	West Germany			West Berlin		
	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	know	Dis- Approve	Don't approve	know
<u>To come to terms with the West:</u>	4%	1%	1%	12%	2%	1%
"The Russians want to come to terms with the West."						
"I believe that Russia now wants to come to terms with the West about Germany."						
"May perhaps want to come to a peaceful settlement."						
"Sincere conciliation."						
"Russia wants to give in, cannot get any further by other means."						
"Don't want to step on the toes of others too much, no refusal any more."						

<u>To gain tactical or propaganda advantages:</u>	*	10	*	1	13	-
"They only want to find out what the others are planning in order to start a new propaganda against the West."						
"It is nothing but the customary concealed tactics, nothing else."						
"Small maneuvers to deceive."						
"In order to prove their readiness for world peace, when it has come to that point they will refuse."						
"They only want to appear as the angel of peace."						
"Russia wants to fool the world."						

<u>To hamper the EDC:</u>	1	2	*	1	14	-
"To hamper or to prevent the EDC treaties."						
"To delay the EDC treaty by deceiving the Western powers and keeping them in suspense by negotiations."						
"In order to prevent the Western European defense community."						
"Delay of the EDC in order to maintain her predominance."						
"If possible, they will postpone the realization of the EDC."						

<u>To gain time:</u>	*	7	1	-	17	1
"They only want to gain time since they fear a war."						
"To gain time in order to become strong enough on all sectors to be able to counteract external pressure."						
"Russia wants to put off the Western powers only to gain time for further armament."						
"He wants to gain time without being accused of not to be willing to negotiate."						
"Gaining time in her efforts for world domination."						

<u>To promote Communism:</u>	*	1	-	-	3	-
"It tries to achieve its objectives of World Bolshevism."						
"Spreading of Bolshevism."						
"Unification of the proletariat of the entire world."						
"They just want that we all become Communist."						
"It wants to fight Capitalism."						

<u>German rearmament:</u>	1	4	1	-	2	-
"To postpone the rearmament of Germany."						
"To prevent rearmament."						
"A delay in the rearmament of Germany."						
"They don't want to say 'yes', but they want to stop the rearmament of Western Germany."						

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	West Germany			West Berlin		
	Dis-	Don't		Dis-	Don't	
	Approve	approve	know	Approve	approve	know
To take over all of Germany:	*%	6%	<del>4</del>	<del>4</del>	1%	<del>4</del>
"It wants to put Western Germany into the bag too."						
"To conquer all of Germany."						
"They would love to have all of Germany."						
"They want to manage in such way that Germany will belong to them entirely."						
<u>To obtain the acknowledgment of the German Eastern border.</u>						
(Oder - Neisse):	*	6	*	1	5	*
"That the Oder - Neisse Line be set as border."						
"That the Oder - Neisse Line shall be final."						
"They want to try that they be awarded the conquered German areas by the Western Powers."						
"Wants to keep the Eastern territories by all means."						
To learn Western intentions:	2	2	1	-	4	-
"They want to eavesdrop only."						
"They want to hear everything."						
"They want to know what the others have agreed upon recently."						
To weaken Western unity:	*	5	-	1	12	1
"To split the unity of the Western Powers."						
"Want to drive the Western Powers apart."						
"To separate the Western Powers."						
"Russia wants to crack the Western Block."						
"Russia wants to undermine the unity of the West."						
To woo France:	*	3	*	1	5	-
"Perhaps tries to come to terms with France behind America's and England's back."						
"To show France that they are willing to negotiate to make her join their side."						
"To bring France to their side."						
"She tries to make friends with France."						
To prevent reunification:	-	3	-	-	7	-
"To prevent reunification of Germany."						
"Russia wants to prevent the unification of East and West Germany."						
"Russia will be opposed to the reunification and will set unacceptable conditions."						
Other aims:	2	3	*	2	4	-
"Peace with Germany the Russian way."						
"They will present again unjustified accusations."						
"Russia wants to neutralize Germany."						
"They want to secure for ever what they have received preliminarily. They want to keep what they were promised in Potsdam."						
"Russia wants to remain an Occupation Power."						
"They may want to devote more interest to Asia and give peace to Europe."						
TOTALS:	15	67	4	12	89	3
Don't know Russian aims:			36			24
TOTAL ANSWERS:			122 1/2			131 1/2

\* Less than one half of one per cent.  
\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.  
- 31 -  
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APPENDIX BEAST GERMAN REASONS FOR ACCEPTING NEUTRALITY AS PRICE FOR REUNIFICATION ...

"Supposing Russia would agree to a reunification of Germany through free elections only on condition that Germany would remain neutral and would not be allowed to enter into an alliance with either West or East: would you under these circumstances be more for or more against an immediate reunification?"

IF "More for reunification":

"For what reasons would you be more for it then?"

East  
Germany

Reunification under any circumstances to get rid of the Russians:

12%

"This would mean in the first place that we would get rid of the Russians, and that's the most important thing there is."

"Whether we are neutral or not, who cares? - The main thing is Germany will be reunited and the Russians will withdraw."

"Because in that case the Russians would leave Germany, and that's the main point."

"Neutrality would mean, among other things, that we'd be rid of the Russians, and that's certainly a thing worth striving for."

"I prefer to live in a neutral Germany to living in the Russian-occupied zone."

"We all want German unity, and thus we have no choice, we have to grab at this chance for we want to shake off the Russian yoke, after all."

"The main thing for us is to get rid of the Russians and the SED in the first place."

"If Germany is not reunited, the Russians will stay on here forever, and then we'll never prosper."

With Germany reunited we can get along on our own:

12

"Germany has been independent and neutral in the past, we know how to manage our affairs all alone and we can feed our people, too."

"That's the most important problem there is, and we'll get back on our feet even if we are all alone, we've been independent in the past, too, after all."

"The Germans have managed on their own pretty well up till now, and they will pull through even without any outside help, all we want to see our country reunified."

"Because once we're unified, we'll get back on our feet even without the help of either West or East."

"Unification is the most important point, Germany has always got back to its feet in the past, and it would recover once more."

"If we are on our own and can handle our affairs, the way we want to, I believe we will regain our favorable position of old, that's why I feel they may well accept reunification, even under condition that we have to stay neutral."

Reunification is more important than anything:

10

"Reunification at any cost."

"They should strive to bring about a reunification whatever the circumstances may be."

"All I care about is to see reunification come true, everything else is of no importance, we'll recover economically."

"For me is the most important thing there is the unification of the whole of Germany."

"All we want is to live in a unified Germany soon, we want to be together again soon, old as I am, this thought is uppermost in my mind."

"Everybody wants a reunified Germany, that's more important than entering into an alliance with some partner or other."

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Reg. 4/93,  
Jan. 18, 1954East  
Germany

Neutrality would serve the purpose - it can be given up later on:

6%

- "Neutrality could be dropped later on after negotiations, reunification is the most important thing."
- "We have to be reunited at last, if that's been brought about we won't stay neutral for a long time - treaties have a short life nowadays."
- "Immediate reunification, that's most important of all, everything else can be settled later when we are strong and reunited, what would neutrality mean then? We could shake it off quickly enough."
- "It would be a great progress if reunification would come about at all, as regards economy we need the West anyway and politically I'm sure we can side with it later."
- "Once we are 60 millions of Germans again we can protect ourselves and later on we would take sides with the West, nobody could stop that."

Neutrality would decrease the danger of war:

3

- "Neutrality would decrease the danger of war."
- "As long as Germany isn't united the danger of war will weigh upon us."
- "Neutrality would prevent a new war, and we don't want war, therefore, Germany has to remain neutral."
- "We'll never again experience war if Germany is neutral."

Neutrality would be advantageous:

2

- "A neutral Germany is a good thing."
- "If we Germans keep neutral we'll achieve more than the other way around."
- "The Germans will be more successful in their reconstruction work if they are on their own instead of being allied with other nations, such alliances always include obligations."
- "We don't want to join with the East and with the West either, we want an independent Germany."
- "I favor the idea of neutrality, look at Switzerland that has commercial relations with all countries and that enjoys a sound economy."

Neutrality doesn't make such a difference in the reunification issue. In case of aggression from the East the West would have to protect us:

2

- "Germany would still be defended by the West in case of an attack from the East."
- "Reunification is the main subject, after all, neutrality isn't the worst that could happen, the Western powers would only have to be careful that the Russians won't gobble us up."

Other answers:

No opinion - No answer:

47%

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.
- @ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## EAST GERMAN REASONS FOR REJECTING NEUTRALITY AS PRICE FOR REUNIFICATION ...

IF "More against reunification": "Why?"

East  
Germany

17%

We need Western help:

"We cannot be neutral since we depend on the Western Powers in every respect, formerly we couldn't live on our own agricultural production and were forced to import a great deal."

"The only help we got came from the West and even later on we couldn't do without it."

"Because then we won't have an economic basis, we depend on support from outside and that can only come from the West."

"This proposal cannot be accepted because it is dictated by the Russians and the only support we got up till now came from the Western Powers."

"We can't live without help and help is coming from the West only - that's proved by these food parcels."

"Our fatherland can exist within a free Europe only then if we take sides with the West - it's better to hold out some time longer than to have a sickly all-Germany that would sooner or later be gobbled up by the Russians."

The Russians would then overrun Germany:

12.

"Because then Germany would be overrun by the Russians one fine day."

"Because we would again get into the power of the Russians."

"The Russians would occupy Germany immediately, West Germany as well."

"The Russians would make hash out of us if we were without protection by the Western Powers."

Mistrust of Russian promises and proposals:

8

"Because I suspect everything that is suggested by the Russians, there's always a snare in it."

"As for me the Russians could tell whatever they like, I won't believe them any more."

"Neutrality is impossible for us because the Russians would never keep their promises."

"Russia would never stick to its treaties."

"Who would guarantee for it that they would not violate these conditions. The Russians don't keep any promises, that would be too dangerous."

Neutrality means isolation. Germany cannot exist all alone (general):

4

"There must be trade relations between East and West, if we aren't allowed to have treaties we won't have any trade either and that's no good."

"I think that Germany can't exist all alone, we must be able to trade with any country we want to."

"Because we must take part in world's trade, each country has to export its products and has to buy other goods."

(Cont'd on next page)

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Neutrality is impossible (owing to the geographical situation of Germany):

3%

"Neutrality is quite out of the question for a country like Germany because of its geographic situation."

"The show-down between East and West is unavoidable and then we'll be right in the middle of it, either the West or the East will overrun us and neither of them will stop at neutrality."

"Much as I, or we all would want a reunification we cannot afford it simply because of our geographic position."

If Germany remained neutral Communist influence might grow through KPD activities:

2

"Because there would still be Communist influence, I mean through the KPD which would still exist and cooperate with the Russians."

"Because then the Russians might still have a strong influence on Germany, they would try to gradually get the Communists into power."

"I fear that under these conditions the Russians would continue to undermine our country."

Other answers:

3

"Reunification must not be subject to any conditions."

"I fear that if we stayed neutral the Germans would start fighting among themselves."

"As a soldier who has fought at all theaters of war I'm telling you that a nation can only then afford to be neutral if it has an army of its own."

No opinion / No answer:

\*  
129%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PUBLIC OPINION DURING THE FOUR POWER CONFERENCE  
A Series Of High Speed Guidance Surveys

Report Number 194  
Series No. 2  
February 22, 1954

*done* I. January 24, 1954 - West German Views On Eve Of  
Four Power Conference

*done* II. January 31, 1954 - West German Reactions To Initial  
Developments In The Four Power Conference

*not done* III. February 3, 1954 - Flash Reactions To Eden And  
Molotov Plans

*done* IV. February 7, 1954 - West German Reactions To Western  
Versus Soviet Proposals At The Four Power Conference

*done* V. February 8, 1954 - East German Reactions To Western  
Versus Soviet Proposals At The Four Power Conference

*done* VI. February 15, 1954 - West German Opinion On Molotov's  
European Security Proposal And Other Late Conference  
Developments.

HICOG. G7. J. 173-1

## WEST GERMAN VIEWS ON EVE OF FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

194-I

Conference Flash Report Number I  
January 24th, 1954

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The present report describes West German and West Berlin public opinion on eve of the Four Power conference as ascertained from a high speed survey conducted January 20th through 22nd - immediately before the opening of the Four Power conference on January 25th. This survey marks the opening of what is planned to be a series of weekly soundings throughout the duration of the conference.

In the interest of the utmost dispatch in reporting on the results they are presented without discussion. Reference to respondents' comments as to whys and wherefors for positions taken are also omitted because of the length of time demanded for analysis and quantification. These details of respondents' reasoning can be supplied upon request.

The high speed sample utilized in the present survey embraces approximately 300 cases (18 years of age and over) in West Germany and 150 cases in West Berlin. While these samples are small they are of the most modern and efficient representative probability type and can be relied upon as offering very good approximations of the facts.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## C O N T E N T S

- I. Awareness And Expectations
- II. Current Strength Of Reunification Sentiment
- III. Extent Of Satisfaction With Adenauer On Reunification
- IV. Awareness And Reactions To The Preliminary Conference
- V. Satisfaction And Perturbations As To Germany's Role In Conference
- VI. Latest Trend On Neutrality As Price For Reunification
- VII. Reactions To An Austrian Solution For The Germany Problem
- VIII. Some Thinking On A Security Guarantee For Russia

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I. Awareness And Expectations

"And have you perhaps heard or read of any plans for a Four Power conference between America, England, France and Russia?"

IF "Yes":

"And do you perhaps remember when this conference is to take place? And do you perhaps know where?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Late Dec 53 (601)	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Late Dec 53 (207)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)
Yes	66%	77%	85%	92%
Know time and place	38%	61%	79%	81%
Know time	3	*	3	8
Know place	15	9	3	8
Know neither time nor place	10	7	3	3
No	$\frac{34}{100\%}$	$\frac{23}{100\%}$	$\frac{15}{100\%}$	$\frac{8}{100\%}$

(INFORMATION FOR UNINFORMED)

"As you may have heard or read Russia, England, France and America wish to get together in a Four Power conference in Berlin on January 25th."

"Of course, everybody hopes that the conference will soon come to a successful close, but apart from that, for about how long, do you believe, will this Four Power conference last?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (309)	<u>West Berlin</u> (147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
One week or less	12%	6%
Two weeks	10	7
Three weeks	13	22
Four weeks	20	27
Five to seven weeks	12	10
Two to three months	8	10
Four months and more	5	11
No opinion	20	7
	$\frac{100\%}{100\%}$	$\frac{100\%}{100\%}$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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"Do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for Germany will occur in the Four Power conference?"

West Germany

	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late Apr 53 (376)	Late June 53 (761)	Late July 53 (625)	Late Dec 53* (601)	Jan 20-22 1954* (309)
Advantages likely	48%	44%	47%	42%	32%	46%
Advantages unlikely	30	30	32	32	41	45
No opinion	22	26	21	26	27	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

West Berlin

	Mid Apr 53 (299)	Late June 53 (186)	Late July 53 (189)	Late Dec 53* (207)	Jan 20-22 1954* (147)
Advantages likely	69%	65%	62%	49%	55%
Advantages unlikely	23	27	31	39	39
No opinion	8	8	7	12	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* (In preceding surveys before decision to have a conference was taken, wording of question ran: "Supposing in the near future a Four Power conference on Germany would take place, do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for West Germany will result from it?")

"Apart from what you may hope or wish from such a Four Power conference, do you consider it more likely that at this Four Power conference an agreement on a reunification of Germany will be reached, or do you consider it more likely that no such agreement will be reached?"

West GermanyWest Berlin

	July 53 (625)	Late Dec 53 (601)	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	July 53 (199)	Late Dec 53 (207)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)
Agreement likely	26%	17%	29%	41%	19%	33%
Agreement unlikely	43	60	57	52	68	62
No opinion	31	23	14	7	13	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## II. Current Strength Of Reunification Sentiment

"What is for you personally the most important problem facing West Germany today?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Four Power conference	12%	8%
Reunification	37	57
Peace treaty	11	8
Return of POWs	11	1
Saar issue	-	-
Rearmament	1	1
Unemployment	7	10
Other problems	15	12
No opinion	6	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Two persons are discussing the reunification of East and West Germany and the difficulties and dangers which a reunification may involve at the present time.

Mr. Schulze: I'm for a reunification of Germany in principle, but I'm not sure whether a reunification is desirable at the present time because of the difficulties and dangers connected with it.

Mr. Maier: I'm all for a reunification at the present time, regardless of the difficulties and dangers which may be involved.

Whom would you be most likely to agree with?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Mr. Schulze	37%	24%
Mr. Maier	50	69
Undecided	13	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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### III. Extent Of Satisfaction With Adenauer On Reunification

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Late June 53 (761)	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Late June 53 (186)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)
Satisfied	58%	72%	74%	82%
Dissatisfied	13	8	11	10
No opinion	29	20	15	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you have the impression that Dr. Adenauer is for a reunification at the present time or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (309)	<u>West Berlin</u> (147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
For it	68%	78%
Not for it	10	10
No opinion	22	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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IV. Awareness And Reactions To The Preliminary Conference

"Have you heard or read that a Four Power preliminary conference has taken place in Berlin?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Yes	62%	84%
No	<u>38</u>	<u>16</u>
	100%	100%

IF "Yes":

"What was the subject of this preliminary conference?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Correct	53%	74%
Wrong	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
	62%	84%

IF "Correct":

"Do you feel that this preliminary conference has gone well or badly?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Gone well	20%	42%
Gone badly	27	30
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>
	53%	74%

IF "Gone badly":

"In your opinion, who is chiefly to blame for this preliminary conference having gone badly?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Russia	22%	22%
Western Powers	*	1
America	-	1
England	-	-
France	-	1
All	3	4
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	27%	30%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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IF "Has gone well" or "No opinion" or "Russia,"  
"All" or "No opinion":

"Do you have the impression that the Western Powers behaved right in this preliminary conference or was there anything about the behavior of the Western Powers in this conference that you did not like?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Behaved right	30%	54%
Disliked something	7	11
No opinion	16	6
	<u>53%</u>	<u>71%</u>

"Do you perhaps have any criticism to offer as to how the Americans acted up till now in the preparations for the forthcoming Four Power conference?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Yes	3%	7%
No	<u>97</u>	<u>93</u>
	100%	100%

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# V. Satisfaction And Perturbations As To Germany's Role In Conference

"Do you have the impression that the Federal government was consulted by the Western Powers in regard to its wishes for the Four Power conference, or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Yes, it was	59%	75%
No, it was not	14	10
No opinion	27	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes, it was":

"In your opinion, has this been done to a sufficient extent, or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
To a sufficient extent	35%	61%
Not to a sufficient extent	8	3
No opinion	16	11
	<u>59%</u>	<u>75%</u>

"And do you perhaps also know whether West Germany was invited to send representatives to this Four Power conference, or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Yes, invited	22%	22%
No, not invited	24	33
No opinion	54	45
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "No, not invited":

"And why was West Germany not invited, in your opinion?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
In order not to be obliged to invite the East Zone government	7%	14%
Other reasons	17	19
	<u>24%</u>	<u>33%</u>

"Are there any matters in connection with the Four Power conference that disturb or worry you?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
(January 20-22, 1954)	(309)	(147)
Yes	28%	17%
No	<u>72</u>	<u>83</u>
	100%	100%

"Would you approve of it or not if the Austrian question would be put on the agenda of the Four Power conference, too?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
(January 20-22, 1954)	(309)	(147)
Approve of it	59%	73%
Don't approve of it	15	22
No opinion	<u>26</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%

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# VI. Latest Trend On Neutrality As Price For Reunification

"Supposing Russia would agree to a reunification of Germany through free elections only on condition that Germany would remain neutral and would not be allowed to enter into an alliance with either West or East: would you on that condition be more for or more against a reunification?"

## West Germany

	July 53 (625)	Sept 53 (1344)	Nov 53 (635)	Late Dec 53 (601)	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)
More for reunification	55%	47%	45%	47%	50%
More against reunification	21	30	31	33	38
No opinion	24	23	24	20	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## West Berlin

	July 53 (199)	Nov 53 (227)	Late Dec 53 (207)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)
More for reunification	42%	28%	25%	40%
More against reunification	52	63	67	57
No opinion	6	9	8	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## IF "More for reunification":

"And let's suppose the Western Powers could not guarantee the security of Germany, if Germany would have to stay neutral, would you even then be for an immediate reunification of Germany or would you be more in favor of waiting until a reunification under more favorable conditions would be possible?"

## West Germany

## West Berlin

	July 53 (625)	Late Dec 53 (601)	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	July 53 (215)	Late Dec 53 (207)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)
For an immediate reunification	22%	13%	16%	18%	8%	11%
For waiting for more favorable conditions	26	29	29	22	16	28
No opinion	7	5	5	2	1	1
	<u>55%</u>	<u>47%</u>	<u>50%</u>	<u>42%</u>	<u>25%</u>	<u>40%</u>

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# VII. Reactions To An Austrian Solution For The Germany Problem

"As you know, the Four Power conference between the Foreign Ministers of America, France, England and Russia begins January 25th in Berlin. Supposing one could not agree on a final solution of the German question at this conference, and Russia would propose an interim solution which would about correspond to the present settlement in Austria.

This would be the proposal:

Reunification of Germany through free elections and formation of an all-German government. However, the troops of America, England, France and Russia remain in Germany, and the Four Powers have the right to control the actions of the German government to a limited extent - each of the Four Powers having a veto or protest right which renders the decision of the three other powers ineffective.

Would you, under these circumstances, be for a reunification or would you be against it?"

	<u>West Germany*</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(909)	(222)
(January 13-19, 1954)		
For it	29%	32%
Against it	48	58
No opinion	23	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

- \* It should be noted that the returns to the present question derive from a somewhat earlier survey than that which is being presented, and are based upon a considerably larger West German sampling.

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VIII. Some Thinking On A Security Guarantee For Russia

"Do you have the impression that Russia fears it will be attacked by the West? (Does Russia fear this strongly or only somewhat?)"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Yes, fears it strongly	13%	15%
Yes, fears it somewhat	21	30
No, doesn't fear	51	50
No opinion	15	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes, fears it strongly" and "Yes, fears it somewhat":  
 "Do you believe that Russia is right in having such a fear or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Is right	11%	8%
Is not right	21	36
No opinion	2	1
	<u>34%</u>	<u>45%</u>

"Supposing the Western Powers would give a security guarantee to Russia against an attack from the West, among other points this security guarantee would contain the point that Germany is pledged not to make any efforts to get the lost territories East of the Oder/Neisse line back by force - would you approve of this, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
	(309)	(147)
(January 20-22, 1954)		
Approve of it	37%	47%
Don't approve of it	46	50
No opinion	17	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

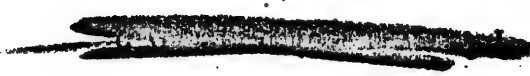
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WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO INITIAL DEVELOPMENTS  
IN THE FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

194 - II

Conference Flash Report Number II  
January 31st, 1954

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EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

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**UNCLASSIFIED****I N T R O D U C T I O N**

The present report describes West German and West Berlin reactions to initial developments of the Four Power conference, i.e., up to, but not to any appreciable extent including the announcement of the Eden plan for German reunification. The report is based upon the second of a series of high speed surveys planned for the duration of the conference.

In the interest of the utmost dispatch in reporting on the findings they are presented without discussion. Reference to respondents' comments as to whys and wherefores for positions taken are only cited in a few major instances because of the time demanded for analysis of such material.

The high speed sample utilized in the present survey embraces 324 cases (18 years of age and over) in West Germany and 147 cases in West Berlin, gathered from January 28th through January 30th. While these samples are small they are of the most modern and efficient representative probability type and can be relied upon as offering very good approximations of the facts.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

**C O N T E N T S**

- I. Trend In Awareness And Expectations.
- II. General Evaluation Of Conference To Date.
- III. Specific Reactions To Conference Developments.
- IV. Judgment On Western-Power Unity.
- V. Are Germany's Interests Being Cared For?
- VI. Trend In Reunification Sentiment And Neutrality As A Price.
- VII. Some Thinking On An All German Government.

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- 1 -  
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# I. Trend In Awareness And Expectations

"Can you perhaps tell me whether a Four Power conference between America, England, France and Russia is being held at present?" IF "Yes": "Do you perhaps also know where this conference is being held?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Late Dec 53 <sup>a</sup>	Jan 20-22 1954 <sup>a</sup>	Jan 28-30 1954	Late Dec 53 <sup>a</sup>	Jan 20-22 1954 <sup>a</sup>	Jan 28-30 1954
	(601)	(309)	(324)	(207)	(147)	(147)
Yes, know place	53%	70%	91%	82%	89%	98%
Yes, but do not know place	13	7	3	3	3	1
No, don't know of a conference being held	<u>34</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%

<sup>a</sup> (In previous surveys question ran: "And have you perhaps heard or read of any plans for a Four Power conference between America, England, France and Russia?")

"Have you personally since the beginning of the Four Power conference become more hopeful or less hopeful in regard to a successful outcome of this conference?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
More hopeful	45%	51%
Less hopeful	19	25
No opinion	<u>36</u> 100%	<u>24</u> 100%

"Do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for Germany will occur in the Four Power conference?"

	<u>West Germany</u>						
	Mid Apr 53	Late Apr 53	Late June 53	Late July 53	Late Dec 53*	Jan 20-22 1954*	Jan 28-30 1954*
	(764)	(376)	(761)	(625)	(601)	(309)	(324)
Advantages likely	48%	44%	47%	42%	32%	46%	51%
Advantages unlikely	30	30	32	32	41	45	34
No opinion	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%

	<u>West Berlin</u>					
	Mid Apr 53	Late June 53	Late July 53	Late Dec 53*	Jan 20-22 1954*	Jan 28-30 1954*
	(299)	(186)	(189)	(207)	(147)	(147)
Advantages likely	69%	65%	62%	49%	55%	60%
Advantages unlikely	23	27	31	39	39	37
No opinion	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%

\* (In preceding surveys before decision to have a conference was taken, wording of question ran: "Supposing in the near future a Four Power conference on Germany would take place, do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for West Germany will result from it?")

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"Apart from what you may hope or wish from such a Four Power conference, do you consider it more likely that at this Four Power conference an agreement on a re-unification of Germany will be reached, or do you consider it more likely that no such agreement will be reached?"

West Germany

	July 53 (625)	Late Dec 53 (601)	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)
Agreement likely	26%	17%	29%	26%
Agreement unlikely	43	60	57	62
No opinion	<u>31</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

West Berlin

	July 53 (199)	Late Dec 53 (207)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)
Agreement likely	41%	19%	33%	20%
Agreement unlikely	52	68	62	76
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

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II. General Evaluation Of Conference To Date

"On the basis of all you have learned of the Four Power conference up to the present time, how has the conference gone up till now, in your opinion?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Very well	*%	<del>4</del>
Well	11	10
Fairly well	23	30
So-so	22	24
Somewhat badly	8	7
Badly	8	10
Very badly	1	1
No opinion	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Which side has proved to be more skillful in pursuing its aims up till now, Russia or the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Russia	11%	13%
Western Powers	37	52
Both equally skillful	25	18
No opinion	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%

IF "Western Powers": "What makes you think so?"

(Answer trends for West Germany and West Berlin in order of frequency)

- (1) Firm but elastic procedure of Western Powers - giving in on minor issues, but avoiding concessions on major matters.
- (2) Western Powers made compromises concerning agenda and place of conference.
- (3) Western Powers show unanimity.

IF "Russia": "What makes you think so?"

- (1) Russia was successful concerning the agenda.
- (2) Russia was successful concerning the place for the conference.
- (3) Russia was successful in including a consideration of the Chinese question.
- (4) Russia was generally successful in standing firm.

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### III. Specific Reactions To Conference Developments

"Have you by any chance heard or read of the first major speech the American Secretary of State Dulles held at this conference?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	40%	56%
No	60	44
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes":

"How did you like it? - What do you think of the speech of Secretary of State Dulles?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Very good	13%	24%
Good	20	26
Fair	4	1
So-so	-	-
Somewhat poor	-	-
Poor	-	-
Very poor	-	-
No opinion	3	5
	<u>40%</u>	<u>56%</u>

IF "Very good, good or fair": "Why do you think the speech was...?"  
(Answer trends for West Germany and West Berlin in order of frequency)

- (1) Because of his moral support of Germany
- (2) Because he renounced previous mistakes (Yalta and Potsdam)
- (3) Because of his quiet and reasonable presentation
- (4) Because of his stand on the Red-China issue
- (5) Because he remained firm and did not give in
- (6) Because he compromised with Russia on minor issues
- (7) I liked what he said (General answers)

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- 3 -  
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"You may have heard that the Russian Foreign Minister Molotov suggested the following agenda for the Four Power conference. According to this agenda the order of succession of the points to be discussed is the following:

In first place discussions about measures to better international relations, and preparations for a Five Power conference of the Foreign Ministers of America, England, France, Russia and Red-China to take place at a later date.

In second place solution of the German question and of the problem of European security.

In third place discussions about the Austrian State Treaty.

"Do you approve of this agenda suggested by Russia, or do you disapprove it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve of it	17%	17%
Disapprove of it	58	76
No opinion	25	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"As you may also know, the Western Powers agreed to this Russian suggested agenda in order not to delay the actual negotiations through long disputes about the agenda. - In your opinion, did the Western Powers act right or not right on this?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Acted right	75%	84%
Did not act right	7	8
No opinion	18	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Acted right": "Why, in your opinion, did the Western Powers act right on this?"

(Answer trends for West Germany and West Berlin in order of frequency)

- (1) Otherwise other problems would not have been considered and conference would have broken down eventually
- (2) Otherwise treatment of really important questions would have been delayed
- (3) Western Powers demonstrated good will to keep the conference going
- (4) Had no alternative (General answers)
- (5) Because they chose the better way (General answers)

IF "Did not act right": "Why, in your opinion, did the Western Powers not act right on this?"

- (1) Present agenda makes the German problem a subordinate issue
- (2) The problem of Red-China should not be treated in this conference
- (3) One should never give in to the Russians in any respect

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IV. Judgment On Western-Power Unity

"About this Four Power conference, do you have the impression that the Western Powers agree among themselves, or are there, in your opinion, indications of England, France and America not agreeing in their policy toward the Russians?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Agree	72%	89%
Don't agree	13	8
No opinion	15	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you believe that the Western Powers, that is to say, England, France and America, will stand together until the end of this Four Power conference, or won't they?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, will stand together	81%	90%
No, won't stand together	11	3
No opinion	8	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



# V. Are Germany's Interests Being Cared For?

"Do you have the impression that in this Four Power conference the interests of West Germany have up till now been considered to a sufficient extent by the Western Powers, or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
To a sufficient extent	54%	60%
Not to a sufficient extent	15	12
No opinion	31	26
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you feel that the German Federal government has up till now been consulted to a sufficient extent about this Four Power conference, or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)
Yes, to a sufficient extent	35%	73%	61%	61%
Not to a sufficient extent	22	7	13	20
No opinion	43	20	26	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

© (Question appeared in somewhat different, but essentially comparable form in this earlier survey.)

"Do you have the impression that, by and large, everything that's going on at the conference is made public, or do you believe that important matters do not reach the public?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
By and large, everything is made public	31%	44%
Important matters do not reach the public	53	48
No opinion	16	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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VI. Trend In Reunification Sentiment And Neutrality As A Price

"Two persons are discussing the reunification of East and West Germany and the difficulties and dangers which a reunification may involve at the present time.

Mr. Schulze: I'm for a reunification of Germany in principle, but I'm not sure whether a reunification is desirable at the present time because of the difficulties and dangers connected with it.

Mr. Maier: I'm all for a reunification at the present time, regardless of the difficulties and dangers which may be involved.

Whom would you be most likely to agree with?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)
Mr. Schulze	37%	32%	24%	23%
Mr. Maier	50	57	69	71
Undecided	13	11	7	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing Russia would agree to a reunification of Germany through free elections only on condition that Germany would remain neutral and would not be allowed to enter into an alliance with either West or East: would you on that condition be more for or more against a reunification?"

	<u>West Germany</u>					
	July 53 (625)	Sept 53 (1344)	Nov 53 (635)	Late Dec 53 (601)	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)
More for re-unification	55%	47%	45%	47%	50%	47%
More against re-unification	21	30	31	33	38	37
No opinion	24	23	24	20	12	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	<u>West Berlin</u>				
	July 53 (199)	Nov 53 (227)	Late Dec 53 (207)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)
More for re-unification	42%	28%	25%	40%	40%
More against re-unification	52	63	67	57	56
No opinion	6	9	8	3	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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# VII. Some Thinking On An All German Government

"Supposing after this Four Power conference free elections would be held throughout Germany - how do you imagine developments will be:

As soon as in all of Germany new representatives have been elected in free elections, the present governments of East and West Germany will be dissolved and a new body representing the people will take office immediately.

OR

The present government of East and West Germany will not be dissolved immediately, but will remain in office for a certain interim period until a new constitution for the whole of Germany has been worked out."

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Immediate takeover	36%	47%
Delayed takeover	45	44
No opinion	19	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And which course would you personally prefer?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Immediate takeover	44%	65%
Delayed takeover	41	27
No opinion	15	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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FLASH REACTIONS TO EDEN AND MOLOTOV PLANS

Special Report  
February 3, 1954

194-III

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

Presented herein are the returns from a February 2nd flash survey of urban West German and West Berlin reactions to the Eden and the Molotov plans for the reunification of Germany. Results are based upon a 200 case quota sample of West Germans ( 18 years of age and over) residing in cities of 50,000 and over, and a 200 case quota sample of West Berlin. The findings, while in no sense precise because of speed necessities, may be taken as a useful rough approximation of urban West German public opinion.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## C O N T E N T S

- I. Reactions To The Eden Plan
- II. Reactions To The Molotov Plan
- III. Acceptability of Some Specific Molotov Provisions
- IV. Some Expectations, Recommendations And Perturbations



# I. Reactions To The Eden Plan

"As you may know, a Four Power conference between the Foreign Ministers of Russia, France, England and America is being held at present in Berlin.

Have you by any chance heard or read that the Western Powers at this Four Power conference proposed a plan for reunification of Germany - the so-called Eden plan?"

	Urban West Germany	West Berlin
Yes	72%	89%
No	28	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## IF respondent knows about Eden plan:

"From all you know about this plan, do you in general approve or disapprove of it?"

Approve	56%	80%
Disapprove	5	2
No opinion	11	7
	<u>72%</u>	<u>89%</u>

## IF respondent does not know about Eden plan:

The plan proposed in this conference by Foreign Minister Eden has the following major points:

1. Reunification through free elections under Four Power control
2. Negotiation for a peace treaty with the freely elected all-German Government
3. The new all-German Government has the right to freely decide to enter whatever alliances it wishes.

"In general do you approve or disapprove of this plan?"

	Urban West Germany	West Berlin
Approve	17%	8%
Disapprove	1	1
No opinion	10	2
	<u>28%</u>	<u>11%</u>

TOTAL APPROVING EDEN PLAN	73%	88%
DISAPPROVING	6	3
NO OPINION	21	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## IF respondent knows about Eden plan:

"Do you perhaps know whether Chancellor Adenauer approves or disapproves of this plan?"

Approves	44%	56%
Disapproves	8	2
No opinion	20	31
	<u>72%</u>	<u>89%</u>

## II. Reactions To The Molotov Plan

"Have you perhaps heard or read that Russian Foreign Minister Molotov also proposed a plan for reunification of Germany at this conference?"

	Urban West Germany	West Berlin
Yes	68%	79%
No	<u>32</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%

IF respondent knows about Molotov plan:

"Considering all you know about this plan, do you generally approve or disapprove of it?"

Approve	9%	1%
Disapprove	50	67
No opinion	<u>9</u> 68%	<u>11</u> 79%

IF respondent does not know about the Molotov plan:

In this plan proposed by the Russian Foreign Minister Molotov Russia agrees to a reunification and a peace treaty under conditions which include the following:

1. Germany is not allowed to enter any alliances with the East or West
2. Germany has the right to have its own national army with limited forces
3. Germany has to acknowledge the Oder-Neisse-Line as its final Eastern border
4. Negotiations for a peace treaty with representatives of the present East-Zone Government and the Bonn Government
5. Withdrawal of all occupation troops one year after conclusion of a peace treaty

"In general do you approve or disapprove of this plan?"

	Urban West Germany	West Berlin
Approve	10%	2%
Disapprove	12	16
No opinion	<u>10</u> 32%	<u>3</u> 21%

TOTAL APPROVING MOLOTOV PLAN	19%	3%
DISAPPROVING	62	83
NO OPINION	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%

09/81

III. Acceptability of Some Specific Molotov Provisions

"Would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that a united Germany shall not be allowed to enter any alliances with the East or the West, or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

	Urban West Germany	West Berlin
Would accept condition as price for reunification	34%	25%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	54	63
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%

"Would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that a united Germany must acknowledge the Oder-Neisse-Line as its final Eastern border or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

Would accept condition as price for reunification	12%	7%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	78	89
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%

"And would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that without prior free elections representatives of the present East Zone Government will participate in negotiations for a peace treaty with Germany, or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

Would accept condition as price for reunification	37%	14%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	49	79
No opinion	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>
	100%	100%

#### IV. Some Expectations, Recommendations and Perturbations

"From all you know about these two plans for reunification of Germany do you think that these plans permit a compromise between East and West acceptable to Germany, or do you believe that they are so far apart that a compromise acceptable to Germany cannot be achieved?"

	Urban West Germany	West Berlin
Permits compromise acceptable to Germany	33%	29%
Permits no compromise acceptable to Germany	43	54
No opinion	<u>24</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%

"Should the Western Powers try under all circumstances to reach a compromise with the East even if they would have to give up their plan, or should the Western Powers under all circumstances stick to their plan even if reunification cannot be achieved at the present time?"

Try to reach compromise	39%	25%
Stick to their plan	42	66
No opinion	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%

"Considering the state of the Four Power conference at the moment, what is your greatest worry: that the Western Powers might give in too much or too little to Russia?"

Might give in too much	53%	63%
Might give in too little	21	16
No opinion	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>21</u> 100%

"On the basis of all you have learned of the Four Power conference up to the present time, do you have the impression that the Western Powers are doing all they can to achieve a reunification acceptable to Germany, or don't you have this impression?"

Doing all they can	66%	87%
Not doing all they can	20	9
No opinion	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%

"In the light of the present status of negotiations, do you have the feeling that the reunification of Germany will be achieved at this conference, or do you have the feeling that reunification will not be achieved?"

Will be achieved	16%	14%
Will not be achieved	64	76
No opinion	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>10</u> 100%

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WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO WESTERN VERSUS SOVIET PROPOSALS  
AT THE FOUR POWER CONFERENCE 194-IV

Conference Flash Report Number III  
February 7, 1954

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**EVALUATION STAFF**

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The present report is the third in a series of high speed surveys of West German and West Berlin reactions to the course of the Four Power Foreign Minister conference in Berlin. The survey was conducted February 4th thru February 6th, and hence embraces developments through the presentation of the Eden and the Molotov plans and some of the subsequent discussions.

In the interest of the utmost dispatch in reporting on the findings they are presented without discussion. Extra effort has made it possible to include in an appendix major answer trends in order of frequency on open questions as to respondents' reasons for the opinions they express.

The high speed sample utilized in the present survey encompasses 309 cases (18 years of age and over) in West Germany and 139 cases in West Berlin. While these samples are small they are of the most modern and efficient representative probability type and can be relied upon as offering very good approximations of the facts.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## C O N T E N T S

- I. Trend In Expectations
- II. Trend In General Evaluations
- III. Reactions To Western Proposals - Eden Plan
- IV. Reactions To Russian Proposals - Molotov Plan
- V. Some Opinions On Germany's Interests In Conference
- VI. Comparative Prestige Of Conferees

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As you may know, on January 25, the Foreign Ministers of Russia, England, France and America got together in Berlin to hold a Four Power conference.

"Do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for Germany will occur in the Four Power conference?"

	West Germany				West Berlin			
	Late Dec 53 (601)	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Late Dec 53 (207)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)
Advantages likely	32%	46%	51%	33%	49%	55%	60%	37%
Advantages unlikely	41	45	34	52	39	39	37	61
No opinion	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>6</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%

"Apart from what you may hope or wish from such a Four Power conference, do you consider it more likely that at this Four Power conference an agreement on a reunification of Germany will be reached, or do you consider it more likely that no such agreement will be reached?"

	West Germany				West Berlin			
	Late Dec 53 (601)	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Late Dec 53 (207)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)
Agreement likely	17%	29%	26%	22%	19%	33%	20%	16%
Agreement unlikely	60	57	62	62	68	62	76	81
No opinion	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%

IF Advantages likely" but "Agreement unlikely":

"What advantages for Germany are you thinking of?"

(See Appendix page 11 for answer trends)

"Have you personally, since the actual negotiations about Germany began, become more hopeful or less hopeful in regard to a successful outcome of this conference?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
More hopeful	34%	44%
Less hopeful	39	34
No opinion	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%

IF "More hopeful" or "Less hopeful":

"Can you tell me what led to this?"

(See Appendix page 11)

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"On the basis of all you have learned of the Four Power conference up to the present time - how has the conference gone up till now, in your opinion?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Jan 28-30	Feb 4-6	Jan 28-30	Feb 4-6
	1954	1954	1954	1954
	(324)	(309)	(147)	(139)
Very well	%	%	%	1%
Well	11	8	10	4
Fairly well	23	22	30	22
So-so	22	28	24	38
Somewhat badly	8	10	7	12
Badly	8	17	10	14
Very badly	1	3	1	6
No opinion	27	12	18	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Which side appears to have been more successful in this conference up till now: the Western Powers or Russia?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Western Powers	29%	32%
Russia	8	9
Both sides equally successful	39	45
No opinion	24	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Western Powers" or "Russia":  
 "What makes you think so?"  
 (See Appendix page 12)

"Which side has proved to be more skillful in pursuing its aims up till now: Russia or the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Jan 28-30	Feb 4-6	Jan 28-30	Feb 4-6
	1954	1954	1954	1954
	(324)	(309)	(147)	(139)
Russia	11%	13%	13%	17%
Western Powers	37	43	52	53
Both equally skillful	25	24	18	22
No opinion	27	20	17	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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"Do you have the impression that America gives in too much or too little to the Russians in this conference, or does America, in your opinion, behave right toward the Russians?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Gives in too much	7%	16%
Gives in too little	5	2
Behaves right	65	73%
No opinion	23	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Gives in too much" or "Gives in too little":

"What makes you think so?"

(See Appendix page 12)

"What is your greater worry about this conference: that America might give in too much or too little to the Russians?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Might give in too much	50%	70%
Might give in too little	20	13
No opinion	30	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"On the basis of all you have learned of the Four Power conference up to the present time, do you have the impression that the Western Powers are doing all they can to achieve a reunification under conditions acceptable to us Germans, or don't you have this impression?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Doing all they can	82%	92%
Not doing all they can	6	6
No opinion	12	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"About this Four Power conference, do you have the impression that the Western Powers agree among themselves, or are there, in your opinion, indications of England, France and America not agreeing in their policy toward the Russians?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	<u>Jan 28-30</u>	<u>Feb 4-6</u>	<u>Jan 28-30</u>	<u>Feb 4-6</u>
	1954	1954	1954	1954
	(324)	(309)	(147)	(139)
Agree	72%	77%	89%	92%
Don't agree	13	11	8	6
No opinion	15	12	3	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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### III. Reactions To Western Proposals - Eden Plan

"Have you by any chance heard that the Western Powers at this Four Power conference proposed a plan for reunification of Germany? And can you perhaps tell me which one of the three Western Foreign Ministers proposed this plan?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, know who	36%	55%
Yes, but don't know who	21	23
No	<u>43</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%

IF "Yes, but don't know who" or "No":

INFORMATION: This Western plan for a reunification of Germany was proposed by Foreign Minister Eden.

IF "Yes, know who" or "Yes, but don't know who":

"From all you know about this plan, do you, in general, approve or disapprove of it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	50%	74%
Disapprove	*	1
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>
	57%	78%

IF "Approve" or "No opinion":

"Is there anything you don't like about this plan? What?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	2%	3%
No	<u>55</u>	<u>74</u>
	57%	77%

"And do you perhaps know whether Federal Chancellor Adenauer approves or disapproves of this plan?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approves	42%	57%
Disapproves	1	1
No opinion	<u>14</u>	<u>19</u>
	57%	77%

"In your opinion, does this Western plan for reunification of Germany contain the obligation for a new all-German government to join the EDC, that is the European Defense Community or does it leave an all-German government the opportunity to freely decide whether to join the EDC or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Contains obligation	10%	12%
Leaves free decision	28	52
No opinion	<u>19</u>	<u>13</u>
	57%	77%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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IV. Reactions To Russian Proposals - Molotov Plan

"Have you perhaps also heard or read that Russian Foreign Minister Molotov proposed a plan for reunification of Germany?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	56%	67%
No	<u>44</u>	<u>33</u>
	100%	100%

IF "Yes":

"From all you know about this plan, do you, in general, approve or disapprove of it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	5%	4%
Disapprove	41	56
No opinion	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>
	56%	67%

IF "Disapprove":

"Why do you disapprove of this plan?"  
(See Appendix page 13)

IF Aware of Eden and Molotov Plans:

"Supposing the Russians would not accept the Western plan for reunification. . Considering all you know about the Molotov Plan, would you be inclined to agree to a reunification under the conditions of the Molotov Plan, or would you prefer that things remain as they are?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Molotov Plan	4%	6%
Things should remain as they are	37	50
No opinion	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	46%	62%

"Would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that a united Germany shall not be allowed to enter any alliance with the East or the West, or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Would accept condition as price for reunification	46%	41%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	39	53
No opinion	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>
	100%	100%

"Would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that a united Germany must acknowledge the Oder/Neisse line as its final Eastern border or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

West Germany    West Berlin

Would accept condition as price for reunification	14%	11%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	76	83
No opinion	10	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that without prior free elections representatives of the present East Zone government will participate in negotiations for a peace treaty with Germany, or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

West Germany    West Berlin

Would accept condition as price for reunification	24%	17%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	60	77
No opinion	16	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"The Western Powers proposed in this Four Power conference that supervision for carrying out free elections throughout Germany should rest with the Four Powers, and if desirable, with neutral countries,

while Russian Foreign Minister Molotov holds the view that the carrying out of free elections throughout Germany should be turned over to the present East Zone government and the West German Federal government.

Which point of view would you personally be more likely to agree to: to the Western Powers' or Russia's point of view?"

West Germany    West Berlin

Western Powers	85%	91%
Russia	4	4
No opinion	11	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Russia":

"Why would you be more likely to agree to Russia's point of view?"

(See Appendix page 14)

"Perhaps you have also heard that Russia suggested in this Four Power conference a disarmament conference to take place at a later date, in which Red-China is to participate as a conferee. Do you believe that Russia is really interested in a general disarmament at the present time, or do you consider the suggestion to be more a diversionary maneuver?"

West Germany    West Berlin

Really interested	7%	7%
Diversionary maneuver	75	87
No opinion	18	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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# V. Some Opinions On Germany's Interests In Conference

"Do you have the impression that in this Four Power conference the interests of West Germany have up till now been considered to a sufficient extent by the Western Powers, or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Jan 28-30 1954	Feb 4-6 1954	Jan 28-30 1954	Feb 4-6 1954
	(324)	(309)	(147)	(139)
Yes, to a sufficient extent	54%	82%	62%	88%
Not to a sufficient extent	15	7	12	3
No opinion	31	11	26	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Two persons hold different views as to whether Germany rather stands to gain or to lose if in this conference the solution of the Germany problem is tied up with a settlement of the difficulties between East and West in other countries in the world, in Asia for instance.

Herr Schmidt: I believe Germany rather stands to gain by this as the West will probably make concessions in other countries, in Asia for instance, in order to cause Russia on its part to make concessions regarding the solution of the Germany problem.

Herr Mueller: I believe Germany rather stands to lose by this as the West will probably make concessions in the German question to Russia which will be unfavorable for us in order to cause Russia on its part to make concessions in other countries. in Asia for instance.

Whom would you be most likely to agree with?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Herr Schmidt	46%	68%
Herr Mueller	22	22
No opinion	32	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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"As you may know, the Western Powers want representatives of the Austrian government to be called in to this Four Power conference in the consideration of the Austrian question. Do you personally approve of this, or don't you?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	75%	78%
Don't approve	9	18
No opinion	16	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"As you may also know,

- (a) Molotov wanted, just as in the case of Austria representatives of the East Zone government to be invited to participate in this Four Power conference, together with representatives of the West German Federal government.
- (b) The Western Powers, however, hold the view that calling in representatives of the West German government would mean calling in representatives of the East Zone government as well, and they prefer to have no German government representatives at all at this conference to calling in representatives of the East Zone government.

Do you approve of this point of view of the Western Powers, or don't you?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	66%	86%
Don't approve	19	10
No opinion	15	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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VI. Comparative Prestige of Conference

"On the basis of all you have learned of the Four Power conference up to the present time - has ..... through its behavior in this conference gained or lost prestige in your eyes, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			
	America	England	France	Russia
Gained substantially in prestige	16%	10%	14%	1%
Gained something in prestige	25	27	26	9
Nothing has changed	44	44	37	49
Lost somewhat in prestige	2	2	3	10
Lost substantially in prestige	-	-	1	18
No opinion	<u>13</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>13</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	<u>West Berlin</u>			
	America	England	France	Russia
Gained substantially in prestige	33%	25%	27%	-%
Gained somewhat in prestige	21	28	36	5
Nothing has changed	41	37	30	58
Lost somewhat in prestige	1	1	-	11
Lost substantially in prestige	-	1	1	23
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Judging from the impression you've received of France's attitude in this conference up till now, would you say that France has behaved in this conference up till now in a way that is more favorable for Germany or more unfavorable than one would have expected?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
More favorable	52%	76%
As expected	19	5
More unfavorable	4	2
No opinion	<u>25</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%

IF "More favorable" or "More unfavorable":  
"What makes you think so?"  
(See Appendix page 14)

"And how about Russia? Do you have the impression that Russia has behaved in this conference up till now in a way that is more favorable for Germany or more unfavorable than one would have expected?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
More favorable	12%	9%
As expected	47	52
More unfavorable	25	34
No opinion	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%

IF "More favorable" or "More unfavorable":  
"What makes you think so?"  
(See Appendix page 15)



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APPENDIX

(Answer trends from West Germany and West Berlin in order of frequency)

"Do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for Germany will occur in the Four Power conference?"

"Apart from what you may hope or wish from such a Four Power conference, do you consider it more likely that at this Four Power conference an agreement on a reunification of Germany will be reached?"

IF "Advantages likely" but "Agreement unlikely":

"What advantages for Germany are you thinking of?"

- (1) General clarification of the political situation of Germany.
- (2) Economic advantages - Interzonal trade might improve.
- (3) Advantages in East-West traffic through abolition of interzonal border.

"Have you personally, since the actual negotiations about Germany began, become more hopeful or less hopeful in regard to a successful outcome of this conference?"

IF "More hopeful":

"Can you tell me what led to this?"

- (1) Because the debate about the German question has really taken place.
- (2) Because some progress has been made (general answers).
- (3) Because the conference has not yet broken down.
- (4) Because hopes and chances for successful outcome still exist (general answers).
- (5) Because there is hope that unanimity of Western Powers will lead to success.
- (6) Because Russia may want to come to an agreement.

IF "Less hopeful":

"Can you tell me what led to this?"

- (1) Because Russia rejects everything and follows delaying tactics (general answers).
- (2) Because Russia rejects EDC and with that the security of Germany.
- (3) Because Russia insists on acknowledgement of Oder - Neisse line.

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- (4) Because Russia is against free elections and for a Soviet style plebiscite.
- (5) Because Russia is afraid of a reunified Germany becoming strong again.
- (6) Because Russia wants China to attend conference.
- (7) Because nobody wants to give in.
- (8) Because everybody is just interested in his own advantages only.
- (9) Because the fault lies with the West.

"Which side appears to have been more successful in this conference up till now: the Western Powers or Russia?"

IF "Western Powers":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) The Western Powers are firm and stick together.
- (2) Shrewd compromise in acceptance of Russian agenda.
- (3) No compromise on Eden Plan.
- (4) Successful rejection of Red China Issue.
- (5) Impressive Dulles speech.
- (6) Russia's readiness to negotiate.

IF "Russia":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Russia is stubborn, firm, does not give in.
- (2) Western Powers give in too much.
- (3) Russia has succeeded in preventing agreement.

"Do you have the impression that America gives in too much or too little to the Russians in this conference, or does America, in your opinion, behave right toward the Russians?"

IF "Gives in too much":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Russia is successful in pushing through her demands.
- (2) America always gives in too much (general answers).

IF "Gives in too little":

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"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Insist too much on their demands.
- (2) No compromise on plebiscite.

"Have you perhaps also heard or read that Russian Foreign Minister Molotov proposed a plan for reunification of Germany?"

IF "Yes":

"From all you know about this plan, do you, in general, approve or disapprove of it?"

IF "Disapprove":

"Why do you disapprove of this plan?"

- (1) Because the proposed plebiscite would be undemocratic and not comparable to a free election.
- (2) Because a neutral Germany without a possibility of an alliance with the West would be without safeguards against the East.
- (3) Because free elections are most important and urgent.
- (4) Because the territory east of the Oder-Neisse belongs to Germany.
- (5) Because for some time the East Zone would remain under the present government and would be represented by it, although it is not a legitimate government.
- (6) Because the Western proposal is generally better.
- (7) Because this plan would mean that Germany is surrendered to Communism.
- (8) Because if this plan should be carried out our living standard would go down.
- (9) Because this would make the partition of Germany last forever.

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"The Western Powers proposed in this Four Power conference that supervision for carrying out free elections throughout Germany should rest with the Four Powers, and if desirable, with neutral countries, while Russian Foreign Minister Molotov holds the view that the carrying out of free elections throughout Germany should be turned over to the present East Zone government and the West German Federal government. Which point of view would you personally be more likely to agree to: to the Western Powers' or Russia's point of view?"

IF "Russia":

"Why would you be more likely to agree to Russia's point of view?"

- (1) Because this election is a German affair, we do not need foreign control.

"Judging from the impression you've received of France's attitude in this conference up till now, would you say that France has behaved in this conference up till now in a way that is more favorable for Germany or more unfavorable than one would have expected?"

IF "More favorable":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Because France takes firmly the side of the West.
- (2) Because she is in favor of EDC.
- (3) Because she even supports German interests.
- (4) Because France has given up her friendly attitude toward Russia.
- (5) Because she is not being influenced by Russia's arguments.

IF "More unfavorable":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Because France seems to take Russia's side.

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"And how about Russia? Do you have the impression that Russia has behaved in this conference up till now in a way that is more favorable for Germany or more unfavorable than one would have expected?"

IF "More favorable":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Because Russia participates in conference at all.
- (2) Because Russia continues to negotiate in the conference.
- (3) Because Russia seems generally more friendly.
- (4) Because Russia showed herself to be in favor of things like: peace-treaty; reunification; withdrawal of occupation troops; German national army.

IF "More unfavorable":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Because apparently Russia is not interested in an agreement.
- (2) Because Russia does not make concessions.
- (3) Because Russia does not want reunification.
- (4) Because Russia is against EDC.
- (5) Because of the principles contained in the Molotov Plan.

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EAST GERMAN REACTIONS TO WESTERN VERSUS SOVIET PROPOSALS  
AT THE FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

Special Report  
February 8, 1954

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

The present report embodies an effort to obtain some inkling of East Berlin and Soviet Zone reactions to the course of the Four Power Foreign Minister conference in Berlin. Respondents were sampled from the attendance at the "Green Week" exhibition in West Berlin, an event which annually attracts large numbers of East German visitors. The East German survey was conducted February 4th through 8th, and hence embraces conference developments through the presentation of the Eden and Molotov plans and some of the subsequent argumentation.

In the interest of speed in reporting upon the findings, they are presented without discussion. Returns from a regular high speed West German and West Berlin survey of February 4th through 6th are included for purposes of comparison. East German answer trends to open questions as to respondents' reasons for opinions expressed are presented in an appendix.

The number of cases in the East German sampling were 200 East Berliners and 200 Soviet Zone residents. The West German study comprised 309 cases in West Germany and 139 in West Berlin.

Readers are cautioned to understand that the East German sampling in the present study - particularly that of Soviet Zone residents - leaves much to be desired, and is merely offered as something more substantial than a guess.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## C O N T E N T S

- I. Expectations
- II. General Evaluations
- III. Reactions To Western Proposals - Eden Plan
- IV. Reactions To Russian Proposals - Molotov Plan
- V. Reactions To Russian Plebiscite Proposal
- VI. Trend In French And Russian Prestige

I. Expectations

"As you may know, on January 25, the Foreign Ministers of Russia, England, France and America got together in Berlin to hold a Four Power conference.

Do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for Germany will occur in the Four Power conference?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Advantages likely	49%	46%	33%	37%
Advantages unlikely	46	52	52	61
No opinion	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Apart from what you may hope or wish from such a Four Power conference, do you consider it more likely that at this Four Power conference an agreement on a reunification of Germany will be reached?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Agreement likely	27%	25%	22%	16%
Agreement unlikely	69	72	62	81
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF "Advantages likely" but "Agreement unlikely":

"What advantages for Germany are you thinking of?"

(See Appendix for East German answer trends)

"Have you personally, since the actual negotiations about Germany began, become more hopeful or less hopeful in regard to a successful outcome of this conference?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
More hopeful	61%	51%	34%	44%
Less hopeful	33	42	39	34
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

## II. General Evaluations

"Which side appears to have been more successful in this conference up till now: the Western Powers or Russia?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Western Powers	69%	59%	29%	32%
Russia	5	7	8	9
Both sides equally successful	18	27	39	45
No opinion	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>14</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF "Western Powers" or "Russia":

"What makes you think so?"

(See Appendix)

"Do you have the impression that America gives in too much or too little to the Russians in this conference, or does America, in your opinion, behave right toward the Russians?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Gives in too much	17%	17%	7%	16%
Gives in too little	1	4	5	2
Behaves right	76	76	65	73
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF "Gives in too much":

"What makes you think so?"

(See Appendix)

"What is your greater worry about this conference: that America might give in too much or too little to the Russians?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Give in too much	67%	71%	50%	70%
Give in too little	13	16	20	13
No opinion	<u>20</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"On the basis of all you have learned of the Four Power conference up to the present time, do you have the impression that the Western Powers are doing all they can to achieve a reunification under conditions acceptable to us Germans, or don't you have this impression?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Doing all they can	94%	94%	82%	92%
Not doing all they can	5	5	6	6
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you have the impression that in this Four Power conference the interests of the East German population\* have up till now been considered to a sufficient extent by the Western Powers, or not?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, to a sufficient extent	92%	93%	82%	88%
Not to a sufficient extent	4	5	7	3
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF "Not to a sufficient extent":

"Which interests of West Germany have up till now not been considered to a sufficient extent?"

(See Appendix)

\* Question read "West German population" in West-German surveys.



III. Reactions To Western Proposals - Eden Plan

"Have you by any chance heard that the Western Powers at this Four Power conference proposed a plan for reunification of Germany? (And can you perhaps tell me which one of the three Western Foreign Ministers proposed this plan?)"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, know who	65%	73%	36%	55%
Yes, but don't know who	24	17	21	23
No	<u>11</u> 100%	<u>10</u> 100%	<u>43</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%

IF "Yes, but don't know who" or "No":

INFORMATION: This Western plan for a reunification of Germany was proposed by Foreign Minister Eden.

IF "Yes, know who" or "Yes, but don't know who":

"From all you knew about this plan, do you, in general, approve or disapprove of it?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	86%	88%	50%	74%
Disapprove	1	1	*	1
No opinion	<u>2</u> 89%	<u>1</u> 90%	<u>7</u> 57%	<u>3</u> 78%

"In your opinion, does this Western plan for reunification of Germany contain the obligation for a new all-German government to join the EDC, that is the European Defense Community or does it leave an all-German government the opportunity to freely decide whether to join the EDC or not?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Contains obligation	7%	6%	10%	12%
Leaves free decision	66	72	28	52
No opinion	<u>16</u> 89%	<u>12</u> 90%	<u>19</u> 57%	<u>14</u> 78%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

#### IV. Reactions To Russian Proposals - Molotov Plan

"Have you perhaps also heard or read that the Russian Foreign Minister Molotov proposed a plan for reunification of Germany?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	85%	83%	56%	67%
No	15	17	44	33
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes":

"From all you know about this plan, do you, in general, approve or disapprove of it?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	2%	4%	5%	4%
Disapprove	79	78	41	56
No opinion	4	1	10	7
	<u>85%</u>	<u>83%</u>	<u>56%</u>	<u>67%</u>

IF "Disapprove":

"Why do you disapprove of this plan?"

(See Appendix)

IF aware of Eden and Molotov plans:

"Supposing the Russians would not accept the Western plan for reunification. Considering all you know about the Molotov plan, would you be inclined to agree to a reunification under the conditions of this Molotov plan, or would you prefer that things remain as they are?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Molotov plan	6%	3%	4%	6%
Things should remain as they are	69	77	37	50
No opinion	6	3	5	6
	<u>81%</u>	<u>83%</u>	<u>46%</u>	<u>62%</u>

"Would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that a united Germany shall not be allowed to enter into any alliance with the East or the West, or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Would accept condition as price for reunification	48%	39%	46%	41%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	48	57	39	53
No opinion	4	4	15	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that a united Germany must acknowledge the Oder-Neisse line as its final eastern border or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Would accept condition as price for reunification	10%	16%	14%	11%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	89	83	76	83
No opinion	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"And would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that without prior free elections representatives of the present East Zone government will participate in negotiations for a peace treaty with Germany, or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Would accept condition as price for reunification	12%	12%	24%	17%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	86	85	60	77
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"The Western Powers proposed in this Four Power conference that supervision for carrying out free elections throughout Germany should rest with the Four Powers, and if desirable, with neutral countries,

while Russian Foreign Minister Molotov holds the view that the carrying out of free elections throughout Germany should be turned over to the present East Zone government and the West German Federal government.

Which point of view would you personally be more likely to agree to: to the Western Powers' or Russia's point of view?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Western Powers	95%	97%	85%	91%
Russia	3	2	4	4
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

V. Reactions To Molotov "Plebiscite" Proposal\*

"As you may know, Russian Foreign Minister Molotov proposed last Wednesday holding a plebiscite throughout Germany in order to find out whether the German people are for a peace treaty or for the Germany and EDC treaty (European Defense Community treaty).

Do you believe that this proposal by Molotov was meant seriously, or do you consider it to be a diversionary maneuver in the Four Power conference?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>
Meant seriously	11%	18%
Diversionary maneuver	82	80
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%

"In your opinion, should the Western Powers accept or reject this Russian proposal?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>
Accept	13%	13%
Reject	81	82
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%

IF "Reject":  
"Why reject?"

(See Appendix)

"Supposing this plebiscite came to pass and you could decide for only one of the two alternatives: what would you decide for in that case, for the peace treaty proposed by Molotov or for the EDC treaty of the Western Powers?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>
Peace treaty	8%	8%
EDC treaty	88	84
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
	100%	100%

\* Questions not asked in West Germany and West Berlin.

# VI. Trend in French and Russian Prestige

"Judging from the impression you've received of France's attitude in this conference up till now, would you say that France has behaved in this conference up till now in a way that is more favorable for Germany or more unfavorable than one would have expected?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
More favorable	78%	85%	52%	76%
Just as expected	13	10	19	5
More unfavorable	2	2	4	2
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF "More favorable":

"What makes you think so?"

(See Appendix)

"And how about Russia? Do you have the impression that Russia has behaved in this conference up till now in a way that is more favorable for Germany or more unfavorable than one would have expected?"

	<u>East Germany</u>	<u>East Berlin</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
More favorable	12%	5%	12%	9%
Just as expected	44	55	47	52
More unfavorable	42	39	25	34
No opinion	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF "More favorable" or "More unfavorable":

"What makes you think so?"

(See Appendix)



A P P E N D I X

(Answer trends from East Berlin and Soviet Zone in order of frequency)

"Do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for Germany will occur in the Four Power conference?"

"Apart from what you may hope or wish from such a Four Power conference, do you consider it more likely that at this Four Power conference an agreement on a reunification of Germany will be reached or do you consider it likely that no such agreement will be reached?"

IF "Advantages likely" BUT "Agreement unlikely":

"What advantages for Germany are you thinking of?"

- (1) Economic advantages - interzonal trade might improve.
- (2) Advantages in East-West traffic.
- (3) Diminution of political pressure on East Zone population.

"Which side appears to have been more successful in this conference up till now: the Western Powers or Russia?"

IF "Western Powers":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) The Western Powers insist on their demands for really free elections and an acceptable reunification of Germany.
- (2) The Western Powers forced Russia to take a clear standpoint on the German question.
- (3) The Western Powers induced Russia to compromise on the agenda.
- (4) The Western Powers are holding a common front towards Russia.
- (5) Through suggestion of the Eden Plan the Western Powers established a solid basis for discussion.

IF "Russia":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Russia is stubborn and insists on the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements.
- (2) Russia does not give in.

"Do you have the impression that America gives in too much or little to the Russians in this conference, or does America, in your opinion, behave right toward the Russians?"

IF "Gives in too much":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) America gave in on time and place of conference.
- (2) America gave in on the agenda.
- (3) America is giving in on (a) the question of Five-Power Conference; (b) the question of Oder-Neisse Line; (c) the question of free and secret elections in the East Zone.

"Do you have the impression that in this Four Power conference the interests of East German population have up till now been considered to a sufficient extent by the Western Powers, or not?"

IF "Not to a sufficient extent":

"Which interests of West Germany have up till now not been considered to a sufficient extent?"

- (1) The right of the East Zone to free and secret elections for the foundation of a new Government.

"Have you perhaps also heard or read that Russian Foreign Minister Molotov proposed a plan for reunification of Germany?"

IF "Yes":

"From all you know about this plan, do you, in general, approve or disapprove of it?"

IF "Disapprove":

"Why do you disapprove of this plan?"

- (1) Because in the first place an all-German government would be formed which includes the non-elected representatives of the present East Zone government.
- (2) Because there is no guarantee for free and secret elections.
- (3) Because it does not provide for a change in the situation in the East Zone.
- (4) Because through this plan Germany as a whole would be placed under Communist influence.
- (5) Because it contains a recognition of the principles of Yalta and Potsdam (Oder-Neisse Line).

"As you may know, Russian Foreign Minister Molotov proposed last Wednesday holding a plebiscite throughout Germany in order to find out whether the German people are for a peace treaty or for the Germany and EDC treaty (European Defense Community treaty)."

"In your opinion, should the Western Powers accept or reject this Russian proposal?"

IF "Reject":

"Why reject?"

- (1) Because the proposal plebiscite would be undemocratic and not comparable to a free election.
- (2) Because it is nothing but a Russian slow-down manoeuvre.

"Judging from the impression you've received of France's attitude in this conference up till now, would you say that France has behaved in this conference up till now in a way that is more favorable for Germany or more unfavorable than one would have expected?"

IF "More favorable":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Because France takes firmly the side of the West.
- (2) Because France even supports German interests.
- (3) Because France is not being influenced by Russia's arguments.
- (4) Because France is in favor of Germany's participation in EDC.

"And how about Russia? Do you have the impression that Russia has behaved in this conference up till now in a way that is more favorable for Germany or more unfavorable than one would have expected?"

IF "More favorable":

- (1) Because Russia seems generally more friendly.
- (2) Because Russia seems to be for free and secret elections.
- (3) Because Russia participates conference at all.
- (4) Because Russia still continues negotiating in conference.

IF "More unfavorable":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Because apparently Russia is not interested in an agreement.
- (2) Because Russia does not want free elections.
- (3) Because Russia wants the present East Zone government to stay in power.
- (4) Because Russia does not renounce the principles of Potsdam and Yalta.
- (5) Because Russia is against EDC.

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WEST GERMAN OPINION *H1206-6YW-193-4*  
ON MOLOTOV'S EUROPEAN SECURITY PROPOSAL  
AND OTHER LATE CONFERENCE DEVELOPMENTS *491*

Conference Flash Report Number IV

February 15, 1954

*194-VI*

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## INTRODUCTION

The present report is the fourth in a series of high speed surveys of West German and West Berlin reactions to the course of the Four Power Foreign Ministers' conference in Berlin. The survey was conducted February 12th through February 14th, and hence embraces developments through the presentation of Molotov's German neutralization and European security proposals.

In the interest of the utmost dispatch in reporting on the findings they are presented without discussion. Extra effort has made it possible to include in an appendix major answer trends in order of frequency on open questions as to respondents' reasons for the opinions they express.

The high speed sample utilized in the present survey encompasses 305 cases (18 years of age and over) in West Germany and 137 cases in West Berlin. While these samples are small they are of the most modern and efficient representative probability type and can be relied upon as offering very good approximations of the facts.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO.- Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## CONTENTS

- I. General Evaluations
- II. Reactions To Molotov's European Security Proposals
- III. Reactions To French Compromise On Election Supervision And General Extent Of Readiness To Deal With East Zone Regime
- IV. Reactions To Eden Plan and Awareness Of Free Election Safeguards
- V. Acceptability Of Four Power Withdrawal And Of No Alliances As Conditions Of Reunification
- VI. Reactions In Regard To Austria Agenda And Acceptability Of Austrian-Type Solution For Germany
- VII. Sentiments On Secret Sessions And On Termination Of The Conference

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I. General Evaluations

"On the basis of all you have learned of the Four Power conference up to the present time, do you have the impression that the Western Powers are doing all they can to achieve a reunification under conditions acceptable to us Germans, or don't you have this impression?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 12-14 1954 (305)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 12-14 1954 (137)
Doing all they can	82%	78%	92%	91%
Not doing all they can	6	10	6	8
No opinion	12	12	2	1
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you have the impression in this conference up till now that Russia seriously tried to bring about a reunification under conditions acceptable to Germany - or do you rather have the impression that Russia did not seriously try?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Tried seriously	7%	4%
Did not try seriously	80	94
No opinion	13	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"About this Four Power conference, do you have the impression that the Western Powers agree among themselves, or are there, in your opinion, indications of England, France and America not agreeing in their policy toward the Russians?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 12-14 1954 (305)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 12-14 1954 (137)
Agree	72%	77%	66%	89%	92%	91%
Don't agree	13	11	22	8	6	6
No opinion	15	12	12	3	2	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Which side appears to have been more successful in this conference up till now: the Western Powers or Russia?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 12-14 1954 (305)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 12-14 1954 (137)
Western Powers	29%	19%	32%	30%
Russia	8	12	9	15
Both sides equally successful	39	38	45	50
No opinion	24	31	14	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Western Powers" or "Russia":  
"What makes you think so?"

(See Appendix page 14 for answer trends)

"Which side has proved to be more skillful in pursuing its aims up till now: Russia or the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 12-14 1954 (305)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 12-14 1954 (137)
Russia	11%	13%	18%	13%	17%	15%
Western Powers	37	43	33	52	53	54
Both equally skillful	25	24	22	18	22	23
No opinion	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%

"Do you have the impression that America gives in too much or too little to the Russians in this conference, or does America, in your opinion, behave right toward the Russians?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 12-14 1954 (305)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 12-14 1954 (137)
Gives in too much	7%	15%	16%	23%
Gives in too little	5	4	2	2
Behaves right	65	58	73	71
No opinion	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%

IF "Gives in too much":

"What makes you think so?"

(See Appendix page 14)

"Do you feel that up till now agreements favorable to Germany have been reached between East and West, or don't you think so?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Favorable agreements reached	2%	1%
No favorable agreements reached	81	98
No opinion	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%

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"Have you heard or read that on Wednesday Russian Foreign Minister Molotov made a proposal for a neutralization of Germany within the framework of a European security pact?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	50%	60%
No	50	40
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes":

"Do you, in general, approve or disapprove of this proposal?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	4%	4%
Disapprove	36	54
No opinion	10	2
	<u>50%</u>	<u>60%</u>

IF "Disapprove":

"Why do you disapprove of it?"

(See Appendix page 15)

IF unaware of recent Molotov neutralization proposal told following, then questioned:

"This Russian proposal for a neutralization of Germany contains the following main points: (Card given with following information)

1. The Four Powers continue their efforts for a satisfactory reunification of the whole of Germany.
2. Withdrawal within 6 months of all occupation troops except for certain contingents needed for security purposes.
3. The Four Powers have the right to move their troops back to Germany in case the security of some part of Germany is endangered - Russia in regard to East Germany and the Western Powers in regard to West Germany.
4. The West German Federal government and the present East Zone government have the right to set up police units in order to maintain internal order and to guard their borders.
5. Until a reunification of the whole of Germany is achieved, the West German Federal government and the present East Zone government participate in the same way in the European security pact.

Would you approve of it or not if the Western Powers would accept a proposal with these conditions?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	10%	6%
Disapprove	21	26
No opinion	19	8
	<u>50%</u>	<u>40%</u>

IF "Approve" or "Disapprove":

"For what reasons would you (approve) (disapprove) of it?"

(See Appendix page 15)

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
TOTAL APPROVING MOLOTOV NEUTRALIZATION PLAN	14%	10%
TOTAL DISAPPROVING	57	80
NO OPINION	29	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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"The Russian proposal for a neutralization of Germany is tied up with a proposal by Molotov for a European security pact in which all European countries may participate.

Have you heard or read of this proposal for a European security pact?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	40%	49%
No	60	51
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes":

"Do you approve or disapprove of this European security pact proposed by the Russian Foreign Minister?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	3%	2%
Disapprove	32	43
No opinion	5	4
	<u>40%</u>	<u>49%</u>

IF "Disapprove":

"Why do you disapprove of this proposal?"

(See Appendix page 16)

IF unaware of Molotov security proposal told following, then questioned:

"According to this Russian proposal for a European security pact: (Card given with following information)

1. America is excluded from this European security pact, and will be admitted only as an observer, just like Red China.
2. The West German Federal government and the present East Zone government are to participate in the same manner in the European security pact as two separate governments up to the time when a unification of Germany will be achieved.
3. The Atlantic Pact and the West European Defense Community treaties are given up.

In your opinion, would you approve or disapprove if the Western Powers accepted this Russian proposal?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	2%	1%
Disapprove	33	42
No opinion	25	8
	<u>60%</u>	<u>51%</u>

IF "Disapprove":

"For what reasons would you disapprove if the Western Powers accepted this Russian proposal?"

(See Appendix page 17)

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
TOTAL APPROVING MOLOTOV SECURITY PLAN	5%	3%
TOTAL DISAPPROVING	65	85
NO OPINION	30	12
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

III. Reactions To French Compromise On Election Supervision  
And General Extent Of Readiness To Deal With East Zone Regime

"You may have heard that in the interest of compromise French Foreign Minister Bidault suggested that for supervising all-German free elections a committee be formed to which representatives of the present East Zone government, the West German Federal government and neutral countries would belong.

Do you personally approve or disapprove of this compromise proposal of the French Foreign Minister?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Approve	42%	65%
Disapprove	17	22
No opinion	41	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Approve":

"For what reasons do you approve of this compromise proposal?"

(See Appendix page 17)

IF "Disapprove":

"Do you feel that the Western Powers have made too great or too small a concession toward the Russians with this compromise proposal?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Too great a concession	12%	20%
Too small a concession	2	-
No opinion	3	2
	<u>17%</u>	<u>22%</u>



"And would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that without prior free elections representatives of the present East Zone government will participate in negotiations for a peace treaty with Germany, or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 12-14 1954 (305)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 12-14 1954 (137)
Would accept condition as price for reunifi- cation	24%	21%	17%	19%
Would be against reuni- fication under such a condition	60	58	77	76
No opinion	16	21	6	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing the Western Powers and Russia would not come to an agreement on the question of a German reunification - would you agree to the West negotiating with the present East Zone regime about questions such as interzonal trade and the removal of zonal borders in order to reach some minor agreements, or should the West adhere to its principle of not recognizing the present East Zone regime?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Negotiate with East	48%	45%
Don't negotiate with East	32	50
No opinion	20	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And let's suppose Russia would in the course of this Four Power conference express its willingness to make concessions in questions such as interzonal trade and the removal of zonal borders if the West German Federal government would negotiate with the representatives of the present East Zone regime about such questions - would you agree to the West German Federal government negotiating about such questions with the East Zone regime, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Agree	58%	55%
Don't agree	20	40
No opinion	22	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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#### IV. Reactions To Eden Plan And Awareness Of Free Election Safeguards

"Have you by any chance heard that at this conference towards the end of the first week the Western Powers proposed a plan for reunification of Germany? And can you perhaps tell me which one of the three Western Foreign Ministers proposed this plan?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 4-6	Feb 12-14	Feb 4-6	Feb 12-14
	1954	1954	1954	1954
	(309)	(305)	(139)	(137)
Yes, know who	36%	33%	55%	58%
Yes, but don't know who	21	27	23	26
No	43	40	22	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes, but don't know who" or "No":

INFORMATION: "This Western plan for a reunification of Germany was proposed by Foreign Minister Eden."

IF "Yes, know who" or "Yes, but don't know who":

"From all you know about this plan, do you, in general, approve or disapprove of it?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 4-6	Feb 12-14	Feb 4-6	Feb 12-14
	1954	1954	1954	1954
	(309)	(305)	(139)	(137)
Approve	50%	50%	74%	77%
Disapprove	*	2	1	1
No opinion	7	8	3	6
	<u>57%</u>	<u>60%</u>	<u>78%</u>	<u>84%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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"As you may know, the Eden Plan provides for free elections throughout Germany. Do you perhaps also know whether in this plan safeguards for really free elections have been especially dealt with?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes, have	33%	58%
No, have not	5	3
No opinion	<u>22</u>	<u>23</u>
	60%	84%

IF "Yes, have":

"Can you tell me any points in the Eden Plan which provide for guaranteeing really free elections? Any others?"

(See Appendix page 18)

"On the basis of all you know about the Eden Plan for free elections and reunification of Germany, do you have the impression that in this Western plan the carrying out of really free elections is sufficiently safeguarded or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Yes	37%	67%
No	4	5
No opinion	<u>19</u>	<u>12</u>
	60%	84%

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V. Acceptability Of Four Power Withdrawal And Of No  
Alliances As Conditions Of Reunification

"Supposing Russia would agree to free elections prior to forming an all-German government, but only on condition that before free elections are held all four occupation powers withdraw from Germany - would you consider it wise if the Western Powers would accept this condition, or wouldn't you?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Would consider it wise	22%	18%
Wouldn't consider it wise	56	77
No opinion	22	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Would consider it wise" or "Wouldn't consider it wise":  
"Why would (wouldn't) you consider this to be a wise move?"

(See Appendix page 18)

"Would you accept as a price for reunification the condition that a united Germany shall not be allowed to enter any alliance with the East or the West, or would you be against reunification at the present time under such a condition?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	<u>Feb 4-6</u>	<u>Feb 12-14</u>	<u>Feb 4-6</u>	<u>Feb 12-14</u>
	<u>1954</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1954</u>
	<u>(309)</u>	<u>(305)</u>	<u>(139)</u>	<u>(137)</u>
Would accept condition as price for reunification	46%	36%	41%	33%
Would be against reunification under such a condition	39	46	53	57
No opinion	15	18	6	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

VI. Reactions In Regard To Austria Agenda  
And Acceptability Of Austrian-Type Solution For Germany

"Do you have the impression that Austria will be given the opportunity to adequately represent its interests in the negotiations about an Austrian state treaty, or don't you have this impression?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Have the impression	25%	45%
Don't have the impression	36	29
No opinion	39	26
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you personally consider it to be likely that Russia will agree to a peace treaty (state treaty) for Austria, or don't you?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Agreement likely	18%	12%
Agreement not likely	52	69
No opinion	30	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing Russia would agree to the conclusion of a state treaty (peace treaty) for Austria at this conference, which of the following views comes closest to your opinion? (Card given with following information)

Mr. Maier: In my eyes even if no agreement is achieved on German reunification, this would prove that Russia came to this conference with a serious intention to achieve agreement with the West in the negotiations.

Mr. Schulz: I don't consider this to be proof for any serious intentions on the part of Russia to achieve agreement with the West in the negotiations, but rather an indication that Russia is only interested in a propaganda victory at this conference."

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Serious intention	14%	11%
Propaganda victory	64	81
No opinion	22	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing one would not agree on a final solution of the German question at this conference, and a proposal for an interim solution would be made which would about correspond to the present settlement in Austria.

Free elections would take place throughout Germany and an all-German government would be formed, but the four occupation powers would remain in Germany in their respective zones. The Four Powers would have the right to intervene in German legislation but only through an unanimous veto.

Would you be more for or more against accepting this proposal?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
More for it	37%	60%
More against it	38	33
No opinion	25	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



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"As you may know, smaller closed sessions about some problems have been held in this Four Power conference. Which of the following views regarding these closed sessions comes nearest to your opinion? (Card given with following information)

Mr. Schmidt: I'm against discussing the German question in secret sessions, as you never know what they'll decide about us behind locked doors.

Mr. Mueller: I'm for discussing the German question in secret sessions, as in the large sessions the results of which are published, people usually only hold long speeches instead of negotiating concrete results.

Whom are you most likely to agree with?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Mr. Schmidt	50%	42%
Mr. Mueller	31	51
No opinion	19	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing no concrete results would be reached on the German question between East and West during the next two weeks, would you agree to it if the Western Powers would then bring the conference to an early close?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Agree	57%	67%
Don't agree	25	29
No opinion	18	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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"Supposing the four Foreign Ministers couldn't reach an agreement about a reunification of Germany in this conference, and the proposal would be made to assign the consideration of these questions to the Foreign Minister deputies or a committee nominated by the Foreign Ministers - would you consider it to be a good or a bad idea if one would adopt this proposal?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Good idea	32%	52%
Bad idea	35	39
No opinion	<u>33</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%

IF "Good idea" or "Bad idea":

"Why would you consider it to be a (good) (bad) idea?"

(See Appendix page 19)

IF "Good idea":

"If one would adopt this proposal, should one then postpone all efforts for a West European defense community as long as these negotiations last, or should one make every effort to create a West European defense community regardless of these negotiations?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Postpone defense community	14%	13%
Make every effort to create a West European defense community	15	35
No opinion	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	32%	52%

"Supposing this Four Power conference would fail, - whom would you agree with: Mr. Schmidt or Mr. Meier? (Card given with following information)

Mr. Meier: Although this conference failed, one should try to bring about a new conference as soon as possible in order to exploit every chance for a reunification of Germany.

Mr. Schmidt: This Four Power conference has shown that under the present conditions negotiations between East and West won't lead to a successful result. Therefore, the West should do everything to increase its strength before embarking on new negotiations with the East."

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>West Berlin</u>
Seek new conference immediately	39%	51%
Increase strength before negotiations	46	46
No opinion	<u>15</u>	<u>3</u>
	100%	100%

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UNCLASSIFIEDA P P E N D I X

(Answer trends from West Germany and West Berlin in order of frequency)

"Which side appears to you to have been more successful in this conference up till now: the Western Powers or Russia?"

IF "Western Powers":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) The Western Powers are unanimous and resolute towards Russia.
- (2) The Western Powers pursue better objectives, make clearer and better suggestions.
- (3) Better and more skilful strategy in negotiating.
- (4) Suggestions receive worldwide approval.

IF "Russia":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) Russia is less compromising and more resolute, did not make any concessions yet.
- (2) Because Russia succeeded in avoiding an agreement on German reunification as yet.
- (3) Western Powers give in too much.

"Do you have the impression that America gives in too much or too little to the Russians in this conference, or does America, in your opinion, behave right towards the Russians?"

IF "Gives in too much":

"What makes you think so?"

- (1) The West is not firm enough, is not successful, Russia has accomplished more.
- (2) Because no success has been attained.
- (3) Because the conference is held in the East-sector also.

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"Have you heard or read that Wednesday Russian Foreign Minister Molotov made a proposal for a neutralization of Germany within the framework of a European security pact?"

IF "Yes":

"Do you, in general, approve or disapprove of this proposal?"

IF "Disapprove":

"Why do you disapprove of it?"

- (1) Because Germany would be without protection against Russia.
- (2) Because this would mean a bolshevization of Germany (Europe).
- (3) Because this suggestion provides less security for Germany and leaves it at the mercy of the Great Powers.
- (4) Because Germany needs to ally with the West.
- (5) Because the Russians do not think of withdrawing their troops from Eastern Germany.
- (6) General answers - unbearable - unacceptable.

IF "No", information given, then asked:

"Would you approve of it or not if the Western Powers would accept a proposal with these conditions?"

IF "Approve":

"For what reasons would you approve of it?"

- (1) Because there would be no occupation (occupation costs) any more. Germany can make her own decisions.
- (2) Because it is progress, a way towards peaceful reunification of Germany.
- (3) Agree under certain conditions.
- (4) Because the Russians are honest in their suggestion.

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05833

"Have you heard or read that Wednesday Russian Foreign Minister Molotov made a proposal for a neutralization of Germany within the Framework of a European security pact?"

IF "No", information given, then asked:

"Would you approve of it or not if the Western Powers would accept a proposal with these conditions?"

IF "Disapprove":

"For what reasons would you disapprove of it?"

- (1) No confidence in Russia. Russia does not mean it truthfully.
- (2) We need the protection of the West, otherwise would be completely at the mercy of Russia.
- (3) The Russian suggestion does not mean freedom. The occupying powers could return any time.
- (4) The suggestion would not lead to a reunification, because the governments of East and West Germany would remain in existence and would not come to any agreement.
- (5) Russia only wants the withdrawal of the occupation forces in order to occupy Germany as a whole. The Russian troops would be back faster than the Americans.

"The Russian proposal for a neutralization of Germany is tied up with a proposal by Molotov for a European security pact in which all European countries may participate.

Have you heard or read of this proposal for a European security pact?"

IF "Yes":

"Do you approve or disapprove of this European security pact proposed by the Russian Foreign Minister?"

IF "Disapprove":

"Why do you disapprove of this proposal?"

- (1) Because the kind of security which Russia offers is questionable.
- (2) Because this would tend to achieve a bolshevization of Germany and Europe. All would be subject to communist (Russian) influence.
- (3) Because Germany would be without protection if America withdrew.
- (4) Because EDC would be in danger.
- (5) Because Russia wants Red China to participate.

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IF "No", information given, then asked:

"In you opinion, would you approve or disapprove if the Western Powers accepted this Russian proposal?"

IF "Disapprove":

"For what reasons would you disapprove if the Western Powers accepted this Russian proposal?"

- (1) Because America is to be eliminated and cannot help us any more.
- (2) Because Russia would predominate.
- (3) Because Red China has no business in the matter.
- (4) Because the unification of Germany becomes questionable.
- (5) Because Russia cannot be trusted and is always insincere.
- (6) Because the Atlantic treaty cannot be dissolved.

"You may also have heard that in the interest of compromise French Foreign Minister Bidault suggested that for supervising all-German free elections a committee be formed to which representatives of the present East Zone government, the West Federal government and neutral countries would belong.

Do you personally approve or disapprove of this compromise proposal of the French Foreign Minister?"

IF "Approve":

"For what reasons do you approve of this compromise proposal?"

- (1) Because it is important that elections are achieved at all, and that there is some progress made.
- (2) Because elections would be conducted honestly under supervision.
- (3) Because peace and reunification would finally be accomplished.

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"As you may know, the Eden Plan provides for free elections throughout Germany. Do you perhaps also know whether in this plan safeguards for really free elections have been especially dealt with?"

IF "Yes, have":

"Can you tell me any points in the Eden Plan which provide for guaranteeing really free elections? Any others?"

- (1) Free elections under international (neutral) supervision.
- (2) Under supervision of the occupation powers.
- (3) Admission of all parties and free nomination of candidates.
- (4) Free and secret elections.
- (5) Freedom of opinion.

"Supposing Russia would agree to free elections prior to forming an all-German government, but only on condition that before free elections are held all four occupation powers withdraw from Germany - would you consider it wise if the Western Powers would accept this condition, or wouldn't you?"

IF "Would consider it wise":

"Why would you consider this to be a wise move?"

- (1) Because really free elections could be conducted uninfluenced. Do not need supervisors.
- (2) Because finally Germans would be free again.
- (3) Because electoral results would be against Communism.
- (4) Because Russia could not influence the election.

IF "Wouldn't consider it wise":

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05836

"Why wouldn't you consider this to be a wise move?"

- (1) Because Russia could influence the election to her favor, because she is near-by. The Russians would occupy Germany before the Western Powers could help.
- (2) Because Germany cannot do without occupation yet.
- (3) Because there would be riots and a civil war could break out.
- (4) Because the political situation in the East Zone is too instable.
- (5) Because free elections would not be possible.
- (6) Because Russia cannot be trusted. She does not keep her promises.
- (7) Because Russia would be at liberty to do whatever she wants.

"Supposing the four Foreign Ministers couldn't reach an agreement about a reunification of Germany in this conference, and the proposal would be made to assign the consideration of these questions to the Foreign Minister deputies or a committee nominated by the Foreign Ministers - would you consider it to be a good or a bad idea if one would adopt this proposal?"

IF "Good idea":

"Why would you consider it to be a good idea?"

- (1) Perhaps something can be accomplished this way.
- (2) No possibility should be missed. It is always better to negotiate than to endanger peace.
- (3) In case the negotiations are discontinued there is a risk that the whole issue will be dropped.
- (4) In order to achieve some result eventually.

IF "Bad idea":

"Why would you consider it to be a bad idea?"

- (1) If the responsible representatives cannot achieve an agreement, so much less can the deputies.
- (2) Because this means nothing but delay.
- (3) Because further negotiations could not achieve any results.
- (4) Because their authority would be too limited.

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*Barfinsky*

WHO WON THE FOUR POWER CONFERENCE?

The West German Public State Their Views

*1CD*

*Duplicate*

*(cf. # 175, 194 found together)*

Report No. 195

Series No. 2

March 11, 1954

*8-16*

*SR*

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## INTRODUCTION

Since German problems were the primary concern of the Four Power Foreign Minister conference in Berlin, the reactions of the German people to the conduct and outcome of the conference is fundamental to any judgment as to whether West or East emerged with the most credit from the talks.

A series of high speed surveys\* have already charted German anticipations before the conference, and reactions to conference developments as they emerged. It remains for the present study to present the final complete and most definitive public evaluation from the perspective of a week after the conclusion of the conference when most respondents would have had the opportunity to become aware of and digest the overall results.

The findings are based upon representative probability sampling of the most modern and efficient type encompassing 634 cases (18 years of age and over) in West Germany and 200 cases in West Berlin gathered between February 26th and March 3rd, 1954.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

The number of cases in the present study permits - as the high-speed conference surveys did not - some consideration of comparative attitudes of various elements within the West German population. This consideration should be tempered with caution, however, in those instances where the number of cases involved becomes small.

In the interest of the utmost dispatch in getting out the present report discussion has been held to bare highlight presentation and only the more important group breakdowns have been presented. For the same reason not presented also are respondents' comments on occasional questions as to why and wherefore for opinions expressed. Upon completion of the processing of these open answer returns the results can be furnished to interested persons upon request.

- \* 1. Conference Flash Report Number I, January 24, 1954 - West German Views on Eve of Four Power Conference;
- 2. Conference Flash Report Number II, January 31, 1954 - West German Reactions to Initial Developments in the Four Power Conference;
- 3. Special Report, February 3, 1954 - Flash Reactions to Eden and Molotov Plans;
- 4. Conference Flash Report Number III, February 7, 1954 - West German Reactions to Western Versus Soviet Proposals at the Four Power Conference;
- 5. Special Report, February 8, 1954 - East German Reactions to Western Versus Soviet Proposals at the Four Power Conference;
- 6. Conference Flash Report Number IV, February 15, 1954 - West German Opinion on Molotov's European Security Proposals and Other Late Conference Developments.



## I. Who Gained More Prestige?

- ... SIGNAL VICTORY FOR THE WEST
- ... PRESTIGE VICTORY GREATEST AMONG OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS
- ... FAVORABLE JUDGMENTS UNDERLIE WESTERN PRESTIGE VICTORY

## II. Who Gained More Advantages?

- ... WESTERN POWERS GAINED MORE ADVANTAGES
- ... POLITICAL VICTORY GREATEST WITH OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS

## III. Some Judgments On Tactics

- ... WEST EDGES RUSSIA IN TACTICAL SKILL

## IV. EDC And The Four Power Conference

- ... DROP IN EDC OPPOSITION
- ... OPINION SPLITS ON EDC AID OR HINDRANCE TO REUNIFICATION
- ... PREPONDERANCE SEE MORE STRENGTH PREREQUISITE TO SUCCESS OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS

## V. Should The EDC Have Been Offered For Reunification?

- ... LIMITED ECHO FOR SPD VIEW

## VI. Adenauer's Prestige And The Four Power Conference

- ... GAIN RATHER THAN LOSS IN ADENAUER'S PRESTIGE WITH CONFERENCE OUTCOME
- ... WIDESPREAD SATISFACTION WITH ADENAUER'S HANDLING OF REUNIFICATION PROBLEM
- ... MAJORITY SEE GERMAN INTERESTS ADEQUATELY CONSIDERED BY WEST

## VII. Should The West Negotiate With The East Zone Regime?

- ... PREPONDERANCE FOR NEGOTIATING WITH EAST REGIME IF NECESSARY

VIII. Post Conference Expectations On  
Reunification and Fear Of Aggression

... BOTH HOPES AND FEARS CONTINUE

IX. SPD Attitude Compared

... SPD RANK AND FILE GIVE CONFERENCE VICTORY TO THE WEST

X. Refugee And Religious Attitudes Compared

... REFUGEES AND PROTESTANTS EVEN MORE FAVORABLE THAN  
COUNTERPART GROUPS

XI. Youth Attitude Compared

... YOUTH LEAST IMPRESSED WITH BOTH WEST AND EAST AT CONFERENCE

I. Who Gained More Prestige?SIGNAL VICTORY FOR THE WEST ...

The failure of the Four Power conference to achieve German reunification apparently did not preclude the West winning a signal prestige victory over the Russians in the eyes of both West Germans and West Berliners.

"As far as you have followed the Four Power conference - have the Western Powers through their behavior in this conference gained or lost prestige in your eyes, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Gained substantially in prestige	19%	39%
Gained somewhat in prestige	20	20
Nothing has changed	42	33
Lost somewhat in prestige	2	3
Lost substantially in prestige	1	1
No opinion	16	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And has Russia through its behavior in this conference gained or lost in prestige in your eyes, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Gained substantially in prestige	1%	1%	1%	1%
Gained somewhat in prestige	9	1	6	1
Nothing has changed	49	48	57	64
Lost somewhat in prestige	10	9	11	5
Lost substantially in prestige	18	29	23	26
No opinion	13	13	3	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Who has through his behavior in this conference gained more prestige in your eyes: Russia or the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Russia	2%	3%
Western Powers	66	88
Both equal prestige	12	4
No opinion	20	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## PRESTIGE VICTORY PRETEST AMONG OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS...

The prestige victory becomes the more significant when it is noted that Western gains and Russian losses tend to be highest among the more important opinion leading population elements - men rather than women, the better educated rather than the less, the higher incomes rather than the lower, and the higher occupation levels rather than the lower.

"As far as you have followed the Four Power conference - have the Western Powers through their behavior in this conference gained or lost prestige in your eyes, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

<u>West Germany:</u>	West gained prestige	West lost prestige	Nothing changed	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	47%	4%	44%	5%...100%	278
Women	31	2	41	26	356
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	34	3	43	20	527
Beyond elementary	55	2	40	3	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	28	1	43	28	99
150 to 299 DM	37	3	40	20	200
300 to 399 DM	36	5	50	9	129
400 to 499 DM	30	2	53	15	88
500 DM and more	63	2	29	6	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	69	5	26	-	19
Businessmen	52	6	42	-	33
White-collar workers	52	2	41	5	61
Skilled laborers	38	7	48	7	76
Semi-skilled laborers	32	1	55	12	67
Farmers	42	7	35	16	43
Housewives	30	2	40	28	258
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	50	-	34	16	50

"And has Russia through its behavior in this conference gained or lost in prestige in your eyes, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

<u>West Germany:</u>	Russia gained prestige	Russia lost prestige	Nothing changed	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	3%	38%	55%	4%...100%	278
Women	1	37	42	20	356
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	2	36	47	15	527
Beyond elementary	-	44	53	3	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	2	31	44	23	99
150 to 299 DM	1	38	46	15	200
300 to 399 DM	1	37	52	10	129
400 to 499 DM	5	36	53	6	88
500 DM and more	1	50	46	3	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	-	42	58	-	19
Businessmen	3	48	49	-	33
White-collar workers	2	46	47	5	61
Skilled laborers	4	37	55	4	76
Semi-skilled laborers	1	33	52	14	67
Farmers	-	32	56	12	43
Housewives	1	35	44	20	258
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	4	32	46	18	50



Reasons for the Western rise and the Russian drop in West German esteem become evident in the large majorities both in West Germany and West Berlin who feel that (a) the West did all they could to achieve reunification, (b) Russia did not seriously try, (c) Russia was chiefly to blame for the failure to achieve reunification and (d) Russian motives were those of conquest rather than legitimate security.

"As far as you have followed the conference - do you have the impression that the Western Powers have done all they could to achieve a reunification under conditions acceptable to us Germans, or don't you have this impression?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 11-14 1954 (305)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 11-14 1954 (137)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Have done all they could	82%	78%	73%	92%	91%	87%
Not done all they could	6	10	11	6	8	10
No opinion	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%

"Did you have the impression in this conference that Russia seriously tried to bring about a reunification under conditions acceptable to Germany - or did you rather have the impression that Russia did not seriously try?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 11-14 1954 (305)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Feb 11-14 1954 (137)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Tried seriously	7%	5%	4%	6%
Did not try seriously	80	83	94	93
No opinion	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%

"In your opinion, who is chiefly to blame that this conference failed to achieve a reunification under conditions acceptable to us?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Russia	75%	88%
Western Powers	1	3
Both	12	6
No opinion	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%

IF "Both":

"In your opinion, who is more to blame for this: Russia or the Western Powers?"

Russia	7%	3%
Western Powers	1	-
No opinion	<u>4</u> 12%	<u>3</u> 6%

"For what reasons, in your opinion, did Russia not agree to a reunification of Germany and the State Treaty for Austria in this conference: chiefly because it seriously fears to be attacked by the West or chiefly because it doesn't want to give up its plans for conquest and to lose the satellites under its rule?"

Chiefly for fear of attack	6%	3%
Chiefly not to give up conquests	78	95
No opinion	<u>16</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%



## II. Who Gained More Advantages?

### **WESTERN POWERS GAINED MORE ADVANTAGES ...**

In West German eyes Russia lost to the West not only in prestige, but in favorable results from the conference. Not all see the conference as having been of value to the West, with its failure to achieve reunification. But a larger proportion see advantages, and more than four times as many in West Germany - six times as many in West Berlin - judge the Western Powers to have secured more advantages than give the palm to Russia.

"What's your overall impression of the Berlin Four Power conference: Do you feel that this conference was of value in any respect or has it been of no value whatsoever, in your opinion? (Of great value or only of some value?)"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Of great value	11%	21%
Of some value	36	41
Of no value	39	13
No opinion	14	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And has this conference any favorable effects for Russia or not?"

Yes	13%	14%
No	54	75
No opinion	33	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Considering everything, for whom has the outcome of this conference more favorable effects: for the Western Powers or for Russia?"

For the Western Powers	40%	57%
For Russia	9	9
Same for both	22	24
No opinion	29	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Are you of the opinion that through this Four Power conference the unity of the West has been increased or decreased?"

Increased	66%	90%
Decreased	3	2
Nothing has changed	18	6
No opinion	13	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you believe that relationship between the Western Powers and the West German Federal government is more likely to improve or to worsen through the outcome of the Four Power conference?"

More likely to improve	74%	91%
More likely to worsen	2	-
No opinion	24	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## POLITICAL VICTORY GREATEST WITH OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS ...

And just as was the case with prestige, so too on the score of favorable results the opinion leading population elements - men, better educated, higher incomes, higher professions - tend in greatest numbers to give the political victory to the West.

"What's your overall impression of the Berlin Four Power conference: Do you feel that this conference was of value in any respect or has it been of no value whatsoever, in your opinion? (Of great value or only of some value?)"

<u>West Germany:</u>	Of great value	Of some value	Of no value	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	14%	40%	41%	5%...100%	278
Women	9	33	37	21	356
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	11	34	40	15	527
Beyond elementary	17	45	32	6	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	12	20	47	21	99
150 to 299 DM	7	38	38	17	200
300 to 399 DM	12	33	43	12	129
400 to 499 DM	9	48	35	8	88
500 DM and more	21	42	32	5	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	26	32	42	-	19
Businessmen	24	33	37	6	33
White-collar workers	13	56	28	3	61
Skilled laborers	4	48	41	7	76
Semi-skilled laborers	7	36	51	6	67
Farmers	7	42	35	16	43
Housewives	10	31	37	22	253
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	22	18	42	18	50

"Considering everything, for whom has the outcome of this conference more favorable effects: For the Western Powers or for Russia?"

<u>West Germany:</u>	For West	For Russia	Same for both	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	51%	12%	23%	14%...100%	278
Women	31	7	22	40	356
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	38	9	22	31	527
Beyond elementary	45	10	27	18	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	33	5	24	38	99
150 to 299 DM	37	8	20	35	200
300 to 399 DM	44	13	20	23	129
400 to 499 DM	43	8	31	18	88
500 DM and more	47	10	21	22	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	37	5	32	26	19
Businessmen	73	12	9	6	33
White-collar workers	53	8	26	13	61
Skilled laborers	45	18	16	21	76
Semi-skilled laborers	37	9	36	18	67
Farmers	49	9	19	23	43
Housewives	31	8	20	41	253
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	36	4	30	30	50

## INTRODUCTION

Since German problems were the primary concern of the Four Power Foreign Minister conference in Berlin, the reactions of the German people to the conduct and outcome of the conference is fundamental to any judgment as to whether West or East emerged with the most credit from the talks.

A series of high speed surveys\* have already charted German anticipations before the conference, and reactions to conference developments as they emerged. It remains for the present study to present the final complete and most definitive public evaluation from the perspective of a week after the conclusion of the conference when most respondents would have had the opportunity to become aware of and digest the overall results.

The findings are based upon representative probability sampling of the most modern and efficient type encompassing 634 cases (18 years of age and over) in West Germany and 200 cases in West Berlin gathered between February 26th and March 3rd, 1954.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

The number of cases in the present study permits - as the high-speed conference surveys did not - some consideration of comparative attitudes of various elements within the West German population. This consideration should be tempered with caution, however, in those instances where the number of cases involved becomes small.

In the interest of the utmost dispatch in getting out the present report discussion has been held to bare highlight presentation and only the more important group breakdowns have been presented. For the same reason not presented also are respondents' comments on occasional questions as to whys and wherefors for opinions expressed. Upon completion of the processing of these open answer returns the results can be furnished to interested persons upon request.

- \* 1. Conference Flash Report Number I, January 24, 1954 - West German Views on Eve of Four Power Conference;
- 2. Conference Flash Report Number II, January 31, 1954 - West German Reactions to Initial Developments in the Four Power Conference;
- 3. Special Report, February 3, 1954 - Flash Reactions to Eden and Molotov Plans;
- 4. Conference Flash Report Number III, February 7, 1954 - West German Reactions to Western Versus Soviet Proposals at the Four Power Conference;
- 5. Special Report, February 8, 1954 - East German Reactions to Western Versus Soviet Proposals at the Four Power Conference;
- 6. Conference Flash Report Number IV, February 15, 1954 - West German Opinion on Molotov's European Security Proposals and Other Late Conference Developments.

## I. Who Gained More Prestige?

- ... SIGNAL VICTORY FOR THE WEST
- ... PRESTIGE VICTORY GREATEST AMONG OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS
- ... FAVORABLE JUDGMENTS UNDERLIE WESTERN PRESTIGE VICTORY

## II. Who Gained More Advantages?

- ... WESTERN POWERS GAINED MORE ADVANTAGES
- ... POLITICAL VICTORY GREATEST WITH OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS

## III. Some Judgments On Tactics

- ... WEST EDGES RUSSIA IN TACTICAL SKILL

## IV. EDC And The Four Power Conference

- ... DROP IN EDC OPPOSITION
- ... OPINION SPLITS ON EDC AID OR HINDRANCE TO REUNIFICATION
- ... PREPONDERANCE SEE MORE STRENGTH PREREQUISITE TO SUCCESS OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS

## V. Should The EDC Have Been Offered For Reunification?

- ... LIMITED ECHO FOR SPD VIEW

## VI. Adenauer's Prestige And The Four Power Conference

- ... GAIN RATHER THAN LOSS IN ADENAUER'S PRESTIGE WITH CONFERENCE OUTCOME
- ... WIDESPREAD SATISFACTION WITH ADENAUER'S HANDLING OF REUNIFICATION PROBLEM
- ... MAJORITY SEE GERMAN INTERESTS ADEQUATELY CONSIDERED BY WEST

## VII. Should The West Negotiate With The East Zone Regime?

- ... PREPONDERANCE FOR NEGOTIATING WITH EAST REGIME IF NECESSARY

VIII. Post Conference Expectations On  
Reunification and Fear Of Aggression

... BOTH HOPES AND FEARS CONTINUE

IX. SPD Attitude Compared

... SPD RANK AND FILE GIVE CONFERENCE VICTORY TO THE WEST

X. Refugee And Religious Attitudes Compared

... REFUGEES AND PROTESTANTS EVEN MORE FAVORABLE THAN  
COUNTERPART GROUPS

XI. Youth Attitude Compared

... YOUTH LEAST IMPRESSED WITH BOTH WEST AND EAST AT CONFERENCE



I. Who Gained More Prestige?SIGNAL VICTORY FOR THE WEST ...

The failure of the Four Power conference to achieve German reunification apparently did not preclude the West winning a signal prestige victory over the Russians in the eyes of both West Germans and West Berliners.

"As far as you have followed the Four Power conference - have the Western Powers through their behavior in this conference gained or lost prestige in your eyes, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Gained substantially in prestige	19%	39%
Gained somewhat in prestige	20	20
Nothing has changed	42	33
Lost somewhat in prestige	2	3
Lost substantially in prestige	1	1
No opinion	16	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And has Russia through its behavior in this conference gained or lost in prestige in your eyes, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Gained substantially in prestige	1%	*%	4%	1%
Gained somewhat in prestige	9	1	6	1
Nothing has changed	49	48	57	64
Lost somewhat in prestige	10	9	11	5
Lost substantially in prestige	18	29	23	26
No opinion	13	13	3	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Who has through his behavior in this conference gained more prestige in your eyes: Russia or the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Russia	2%	3%
Western Powers	66	88
Both equal prestige	12	4
No opinion	20	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

# PRESTIGE VICTORY GREATEST AMONG OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS...

The prestige victory becomes the more significant when it is noted that Western gains and Russian losses tend to be highest among the more important opinion leading population elements - men rather than women, the better educated rather than the less, the higher incomes rather than the lower, and the higher occupation levels rather than the lower.

"As far as you have followed the Four Power conference - have the Western Powers through their behavior in this conference gained or lost prestige in your eyes, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

<u>West Germany:</u>	West gained prestige	West lost prestige	Nothing changed	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	47%	4%	44%	5%...100%	278
Women	31	2	41	26	356
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	34	3	43	20	527
Beyond elementary	55	2	40	3	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	28	1	43	28	99
150 to 299 DM	37	3	40	20	200
300 to 399 DM	36	5	50	9	129
400 to 499 DM	30	2	53	15	88
500 DM and more	63	2	29	6	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	69	5	26	-	19
Businessmen	52	6	42	-	33
White-collar workers	52	2	41	5	61
Skilled laborers	38	7	48	7	76
Semi-skilled laborers	32	1	55	12	67
Farmers	42	7	35	16	43
Housewives	30	2	40	28	258
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	50	-	34	16	50

"And has Russia through its behavior in this conference gained or lost in prestige in your eyes, or has nothing changed in this respect?"

<u>West Germany:</u>	Russia gained prestige	Russia lost prestige	Nothing changed	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	3%	38%	55%	4%...100%	270
Women	1	37	42	20	356
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	2	36	47	15	527
Beyond elementary	-	44	53	3	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	2	31	44	23	99
150 to 299 DM	1	38	46	15	200
300 to 399 DM	1	37	52	10	129
400 to 499 DM	5	36	53	6	88
500 DM and more	1	50	46	3	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	-	42	58	-	19
Businessmen	3	48	49	-	33
White-collar workers	2	46	47	5	61
Skilled laborers	4	37	55	4	76
Semi-skilled laborers	1	33	52	14	67
Farmers	-	32	56	12	43
Housewives	1	35	44	20	258
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	4	32	46	10	50

Reasons for the Western rise and the Russian drop in West German esteem become evident in the large majorities both in West Germany and West Berlin who feel that (a) the West did all they could to achieve reunification, (b) Russia did not seriously try, (c) Russia was chiefly to blame for the failure to achieve reunification and (d) Russian motives were those of conquest rather than legitimate security.

"As far as you have followed the conference - do you have the impression that the Western Powers have done all they could to achieve a reunification under conditions acceptable to us Germans, or don't you have this impression?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 11-14 1954 (305)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 11-14 1954 (137)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Have done all they could	82%	78%	73%	92%	91%	87%
Not done all they could	6	10	11	6	8	10
No opinion	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%

"Did you have the impression in this conference that Russia seriously tried to bring about a reunification under conditions acceptable to Germany - or did you rather have the impression that Russia did not seriously try?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 11-14 1954 (305)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Feb 11-14 1954 (137)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Tried seriously	7%	5%	4%	6%
Did not try seriously	80	83	94	93
No opinion	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>1</u> 100%

"In your opinion, who is chiefly to blame that this conference failed to achieve a reunification under conditions acceptable to us?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Russia	75%	88%
Western Powers	1	3
Both	12	6
No opinion	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>3</u> 100%

IF "Both":

"In your opinion, who is more to blame for this: Russia or the Western Powers?"

Russia	7%	3%
Western Powers	1	-
No opinion	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	12%	6%

"For what reasons, in your opinion, did Russia not agree to a reunification of Germany and the State Treaty for Austria in this conference: chiefly because it seriously fears to be attacked by the West or chiefly because it doesn't want to give up its plans for conquest and to lose the satellites under its rule?"

Chiefly for fear of attack	6%	3%
Chiefly not to give up conquests	78	95
No opinion	<u>16</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%

## II. Who Gained More Advantages?

### WESTERN POWERS GAINED MORE ADVANTAGES ...

In West German eyes Russia lost to the West not only in prestige, but in favorable results from the conference. Not all see the conference as having been of value to the West, with its failure to achieve reunification. But a larger proportion see advantages, and more than four times as many in West Germany - six times as many in West Berlin - judge the Western Powers to have secured more advantages than give the palm to Russia.

"What's your overall impression of the Berlin Four Power conference: Do you feel that this conference was of value in any respect or has it been of no value whatsoever, in your opinion? (Of great value or only of some value?)"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Of great value	11%	21%
Of some value	36	41
Of no value	39	33
No opinion	14	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"And has this conference any favorable effects for Russia or not?"

Yes	13%	14%
No	54	75
No opinion	33	11
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Considering everything, for whom has the outcome of this conference more favorable effects: for the Western Powers or for Russia?"

For the Western Powers	40%	57%
For Russia	9	9
Same for both	22	24
No opinion	29	10
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Are you of the opinion that through this Four Power conference the unity of the West has been increased or decreased?"

Increased	66%	90%
Decreased	3	2
Nothing has changed	18	6
No opinion	13	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you believe that relationship between the Western Powers and the West German Federal government is more likely to improve or to worsen through the outcome of the Four Power conference?"

More likely to improve	74%	91%
More likely to worsen	2	-
No opinion	24	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## POLITICAL VICTORY GREATEST WITH OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS ...

And just as was the case with prestige, so too on the score of favorable results the opinion leading population elements - men, better educated, higher incomes, higher professions - tend in greatest numbers to give the political victory to the West.

"What's your overall impression of the Berlin Four Power conference: Do you feel that this conference was of value in any respect or has it been of no value whatsoever, in your opinion? (Of great value or only of some value?)"

<u>West Germany:</u>	Of great value	Of some value	Of no value	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	14%	40%	41%	5%...100%	278
Women	9	33	37	21	356
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300 to 399 DM	12	33	43	12	129
400 to 499 DM	9	48	35	8	88
500 DM and more	21	42	32	5	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	26	32	42	-	19
Businessmen	24	33	37	6	33
White-collar workers	13	56	28	3	61
Skilled laborers	4	48	41	7	76
Semi-skilled laborers	7	36	51	6	67
Farmers	7	42	35	16	43
Housewives	10	31	37	22	253
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	22	18	42	18	50

"Considering everything, for whom has the outcome of this conference more favorable effects: For the Western Powers or for Russia?"

<u>West Germany:</u>	For West	For Russia	Same for both	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
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150 to 299 DM	37	8	20	35	200
300 to 399 DM	44	13	20	23	129
400 to 499 DM	43	8	31	18	88
500 DM and more	47	10	21	22	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	37	5	32	26	19
Businessmen	73	12	9	6	33
White-collar workers	53	8	26	13	61
Skilled laborers	45	18	16	21	76
Semi-skilled laborers	37	9	36	18	67
Farmers	49	9	19	23	43
Housewives	31	8	20	41	258
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	36	4	30	30	50



### III. Some Judgments On Tactics

#### WEST EDGES RUSSIA IN TACTICAL SKILL ...

Since even the West has acknowledged Molotov's tactical skill in diplomatic maneuvering, it is not surprising that the Russians score somewhat better in this respect in West German judgment than in other facets of their conference behavior. Even here the Russians fail to score a victory, however, since the final post conference assessment gives the West a slight edge among West Germans and a large margin among West Berliners.

On two other tactical issues - firmness versus conciliatoriness in discussion, and ending of the conference - large majorities put their stamp of approval on Western actions.

"As far as you have followed the Berlin conference, which side, in your opinion, has proved to be more skillful in pursuing its aims: Russia or the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			
	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 11-14 1954 (305)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)
Russia	11%	13%	18%	20%
Western Powers	37	43	33	29
Both equally skillful	25	24	22	29
No opinion	27	20	27	22
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	<u>West Berlin</u>			
	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 11-14 1954 (137)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Russia	13%	17%	15%	21%
Western Powers	52	53	54	51
Both equally skillful	18	22	23	22
No opinion	17	8	8	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Did you have the impression that the Western Powers gave in too much or too little to the Russians in this conference, or did the Western Powers, in your opinion, behave right toward the Russians?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 11-14 1954 (305)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 11-14 1954 (137)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Gave in too much	7%	15%	9%	16%	23%	15%
Gave in too little	5	4	5	2	2	1
Behaved right	65	58	64	73	71	78
No opinion	23	23	22	9	4	6
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you personally approve that the Four Power conference was ended after four weeks or should the Western Powers have made it continue longer?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Approve ending	81%	84%
Should have made it go longer	10	14
No opinion	9	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## DROP IN EDC OPPOSITION ...

Not the least significant aftermath of the Four Power conference is that outright opposition to EDC has dropped to 23 per cent in West Germany, a level lower than any yet recorded on a similar trend question over the past two years. The result is that West German support now outweighs opposition by more than two to one - eight to one in West Berlin.

As has been the case in the past support for German participation in European defense is highest among the opinion leading population elements.

"In general, are you for or against West Germany's participation in the EDC, that is, in the West European Defense Community?"

(After those unaware of EDC - 25 per cent in West Germany, 19 per cent in West Berlin - told the following: "Under the EDC several West European countries are to unite in a West European defense community in which West Germany also is to participate with German divisions which will be integrated in an overall West European army.")

	West Germany (634)	West Berlin (200)
For it	57%	81%
Against it	23	10
No opinion	20	9
	100%	100%

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"

West Germany:	May	June	Aug	Oct	Dec	Dec	Apr	Apr	June	June	July	Nov	Dec
	52	52	52	52	52	52	53	53	53	53	53	53	53
	(791)	(786)	(1196)	(1582)	(1196)	(786)	(764)	(376)	(740)	(761)	(625)	(635)	(601)
For	44%	47%	45%	47%	48%	50%	59%	63%	51%	56%	53%	54%	57%
Against	46	42	44	47	41	40	32	28	33	34	33	32	31
No. op.	10	11	11	12	11	10	9	9	16	10	14	14	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

West Berlin:	Feb	May	Dec	Feb	Apr	June	July	Nov	Late Dec
	52	52	52	53	53	53	53	53	53
	(195)	(178)	(199)	(189)	(299)	(186)	(199)	(227)	(207)
For	74%	85%	79%	79%	83%	84%	78%	78%	83%
Against	24	13	17	17	13	11	15	18	14
No opinion	2	2	4	4	4	5	7	4	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

West Germany:	For EDC	Against EDC	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	63%	25%	12%...100%	278
Women	53	21	26	356
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	54	24	22	527
Beyond elementary	75	14	11	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	44	19	37	99
150 to 299 DM	59	21	20	200
300 to 399 DM	51	29	20	129
400 to 499 DM	66	24	10	88
500 DM and more	77	18	5	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>				
Professionals	63	21	16	19
Businessmen	82	15	3	33
White-collar workers	82	11	7	61
Skilled laborers	44	38	18	76
Semi-skilled laborers	48	33	19	67
Farmers	69	12	19	43
Housewives	54	22	24	258
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	58	16	26	50

# OPINION SPLITS ON EDC AID OR HINDRANCE TO REUNIFICATION ...

Support for EDC strongly preponderates despite the fact that opinions split in West Germany as to whether EDC will in the end act to further or hinder German reunification. West Berliners are more inclined to see EDC as aiding rather than handicapping reunification.

"Are you of the opinion that the creation of the EDC, that is, the West European Defense Community, will in the end further a reunification under conditions acceptable to us, or will the EDC have no influence on this, or do you believe that the EDC will hinder reunification of Germany?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>		
Further	24%		49%		
No influence	19		16		
Hinder	24		17		
No opinion	33		16		
	100%		100%		
<u>West Germany:</u>	Further reunification	No influence	Hinder reunification	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	29%	21%	33%	17%..100%	278
Women	20	16	17	47	356
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	22	18	23	37	527
Beyond elementary	34	18	30	18	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	19	19	9	53	99
150 to 299 DM	24	17	23	36	200
300 to 399 DM	20	19	31	30	129
400 to 499 DM	27	19	32	22	88
500 DM and more	35	19	25	21	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	16	26	42	16	19
Businessmen	55	12	24	9	33
White-collar workers	41	21	30	8	61
Skilled laborers	2	20	37	19	76
Semi-skilled laborers	15	22	27	36	67
Farmers	33	9	28	30	43
Housewives	18	15	17	50	258
Pensioners; etc.	24	26	20	30	50

PREPONDERANCE SEE MORE STRENGTH PREREQUISITE TO SUCCESS OF FUTURE  
NEGOTIATIONS ...

That the hope of gaining something from East/West talks dies hard in West Germany is indicated by the large proportion who favor another conference as soon as possible. The preponderant sentiment, however, especially in West Berlin, is that increased Western strength is prerequisite to the success of any further negotiations. The latter view is most widespread among opinion leading elements.

"Two people are discussing the outcome of this Four Power conference: with whom would you rather agree - Herr Schmidt or Herr Meier?"

Herr Meier: Although this conference has failed, one should try to bring about a new conference as soon as possible in order to exploit every chance for a reunification of Germany.

Herr Schmidt: This Four Power conference has shown that under the present conditions negotiations between East and West won't lead to a successful result. Therefore, the West should do everything to increase its strength before embarking on new negotiations with the East."

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 11-14 1954 (305)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Feb 11-14 1954 (137)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Another conference	39%	41%	51%	35%
Strength first	46	48	46	60
No opinion	15	11	3	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Another conference	Strength first	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany:</u>				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	40%	53%	7%...100%	278
Women	42	43	15	356
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	42	46	12	527
Beyond elementary	36	56	8	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	45	39	16	99
150 to 299 DM	37	51	12	200
300 to 399 DM	40	50	10	129
400 to 499 DM	50	47	3	88
500 DM and more	42	52	6	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>				
Professionals	32	58	10	19
Businessmen	27	64	9	33
White-collar workers	31	66	3	61
Skilled laborers	47	49	4	76
Semi-skilled laborers	49	39	12	67
Farmers	28	60	12	43
Housewives	43	42	15	258
Pensioners; ret. etc.	46	40	14	50



## LIMITED ECHO FOR SPD VIEW ...

The sentiment has been expressed in Social Democratic quarters that the Western Powers should have offered at the Four Power conference to give up EDC in return for German reunification. Such a viewpoint finds but limited echo in West German and West Berlin opinion with but one third support, and a feeling among two thirds in West Germany (64%) - nine-tenths in West Berlin (87) - that such an offer would not have been accepted anyhow.

"Do you have the impression that the Western Powers offered in this conference to give up the EDC, that is, the West European Defense Community, if Russia agrees to a German reunification through free elections, or didn't you have this impression?"

	West Germany (634)	West Berlin (200)
Yes, had impression	11%	15%
No, didn't have the impression	48	63
No opinion	41	22
	100%	100%

"Are you of the opinion that the Western Powers should have made this offer or not?"

	West Germany (634)	West Berlin (200)
Should have made offer	35%	32%
Should not have made offer	38	61
No opinion	27	7
	100%	100%

West Germany:	Should have made offer	Should not have made offer	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>				
Men	38%	50%	12%	253
Women	30	30	40	300
<b>Education:</b>				
Elementary school	34	35	31	460
Beyond elementary	34	55	11	93
<b>Income (per month):</b>				
Up to 149 DM	23	27	50	86
150 to 299 DM	30	38	32	178
300 to 399 DM	44	37	19	113
400 to 499 DM	36	46	18	78
500 DM and more	39	51	10	79
<b>Occupation (respondent):</b>				
Professionals	32	58	10	19
Businessmen	27	66	7	30
White-collar workers	33	58	9	55
Skilled laborers	30	42	28	71
Semi-skilled laborers	48	33	19	57
Farmers	20	40	40	40
Housewives	33	29	38	214
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	27	43	30	40

"Do you believe that Russia at this Berlin conference would have agreed to a reunification of Germany through free elections if the Western Powers had made the offer to give up the EDC, that is, the West European Defense Community, or do you believe that Russia would not have agreed to it even then?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Yes, would have agreed	12%	8%
No, would not have agreed	64	87
No opinion	24	5
	100%	100%

"Apart from the Western Powers offering to give up the EDC to the Russians, is there anything else, in your opinion, that could have led to a reunification under conditions acceptable to us which the Western Powers failed to do in this conference?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Yes	7%	4%
No	57	90
No opinion	36	6
	100%	100%



VI. Adenauer's Prestige And The Four Power Conference

GAIN RATHER THAN LOSS IN ADENAUER'S PRESTIGE WITH CONFERENCE OUTCOME ...

Despite its failure to achieve reunification the effect of the Four Power conference appears to have been to increase rather than decrease Adenauer's already high prestige with the West German people.

"What prestige does Chancellor Adenauer enjoy with you personally?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Very high	25%	34%
High	39	31
Fair	17	15
Mediocre	10	9
Low	2	4
Very low	2	4
No opinion	5	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Considering the outcome of the Berlin Four Power conference, has Chancellor Adenauer gained or lost in prestige in your eyes or has nothing changed in this respect?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Gained substantially in prestige	16%	12%	25%	15%
Gained somewhat in prestige	13	10	9	5
Nothing has changed	61	65	56	69
Lost somewhat in prestige	4	2	3	2
Lost substantially in prestige	2	*	4	1
No opinion	4	11	3	
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

<u>West Germany:</u>	Adenauer gained prestige	Adenauer lost prestige	Nothing changed	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	24%	3%	67%	6%...100%	278
Women	19	2	63	16	356
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20	3	63	14	527
Beyond elementary	26	2	69	3	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	18	-	66	16	99
150 to 299 DM	20	3	62	15	200
300 to 399 DM	24	5	59	12	129
400 to 499 DM	19	3	71	7	88
500 DM and more	28	-	70	2	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>					
Professionals	26	-	74	-	19
Businessmen	30	-	70	-	33
White-collar workers	26	2	69	3	61
Skilled laborers	21	4	66	9	76
Semi-skilled laborers	22	3	68	7	67
Farmers	18	5	68	9	43
Housewives	19	3	60	18	258
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	24	2	56	18	50

# WIDESPREAD SATISFACTION WITH ADENAUER'S HANDLING OF REUNIFICATION PROBLEM ...

Even clearer demonstration that failure of the conference to achieve reunification is not being laid at Adenauer's door is the heavy majority currently expressing satisfaction with Adenauer's handling of the unity problem. Favorable views appear most widely in evidence among the opinion leading elements of the population.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Late June 53	Jan 20-22 1954 (309)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Late June 53	Jan 20-22 1954 (147)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Satisfied	58%	72%	69%	74%	82%	79%
Dissatisfied	13	8	10	11	10	13
No opinion	29	20	21	15	8	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

<u>West Germany:</u>	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	75%	12%	13%...100%	278
Women	64	9	27	356
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	66	10	24	527
Beyond elementary	85	8	7	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	67	8	25	99
150 to 299 DM	67	6	27	200
300 to 399 DM	59	20	21	129
400 to 499 DM	78	12	10	88
500 DM and more	83	5	12	25
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>				
Professionals	90	5	5	19
Businessmen	91	3	6	33
White-collar workers	77	13	10	61
Skilled laborers	64	16	20	76
Semi-skilled laborers	61	18	21	67
Farmers	81	0	19	43
Housewives	63	8	29	258
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	70	12	18	50

MAJORITY SEE GERMAN INTERESTS ADEQUATELY CONSIDERED BY WEST ...

With the West German government precluded from any direct participation in the Four Power conference, it is not astonishing that some feel that they were inadequately consulted. The preponderant view, however, especially in West Berlin, is that the Bonn government was consulted to a sufficient extent. Moreover, majorities in both areas express the more important opinion that the interests of West Germany were considered to a sufficient extent by the Western Powers. Favorable views in this latter connection prove to be most frequent among opinion leading elements.

"Do you feel that the German Federal government was consulted to a sufficient extent about this Four Power conference or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Yes, to a sufficient extent	54%	38%	61%	62%
Not to a sufficient extent	15	23	20	22
No opinion	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>37</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%

"Do you have the impression that in this Four Power conference the interests of West Germany were considered to a sufficient extent by the Western Powers or not?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Jan 28-30 1954 (324)	Feb 4-6 1954 (309)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	Jan 28-30 1954 (147)	Feb 4-6 1954 (139)	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (200)
Yes, to a sufficient extent	54%	82%	57%	62%	88%	78%
Not to a sufficient extent	15	7	16	12	3	10
No opinion	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%

<u>West Germany:</u>	Sufficient extent	Insufficient extent	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	66%	21%	13%	270
Women	51	12	37	356
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	55	16	29	527
Beyond elementary	68	16	16	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	51	12	37	99
150 to 299 DM	51	16	33	200
300 to 399 DM	65	15	20	129
400 to 499 DM	58	24	18	88
500 DM and more	71	11	18	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>				
Professionals	74	21	5	19
Businessmen	73	15	12	33
White-collar workers	69	15	16	61
Skilled laborers	66	24	10	76
Semi-skilled laborers	50	25	25	67
Farmers	58	19	23	43
Housewives	51	12	37	258
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	56	10	34	50

# VII. Should the West Negotiate with the East Zone Regime?

## PREPONDERANCE FOR NEGOTIATING WITH EAST REGIME IF NECESSARY ...

Up till the Four Power conference German public opinion has been preponderantly in favor of no dealings with the East Zone regime to avoid any signs of recognition. However, with clear indication now of no reunification for some time at least, some Germans may be resigning themselves to some recognition of the East Zone regime to get together on a modus vivendi that might offer advantages for West and/or East Germans. That some of this kind of thinking has possibly gained currency is suggested by preponderant support in West Germany - an even split in West Berlin - for dealing with the East regime if necessary on questions of interzonal trade and traffic. This viewpoint is not least widespread among opinion leading elements.

"As you perhaps know," the Western Powers proposed towards the end of the conference that the four High Commissioners continue negotiations on East/West interzonal traffic and interzonal trade. Supposing Russia would insist on the West discussing such questions only with the present East Zone government: Would you prefer to see the West discuss such questions with the present East Zone government, or would you prefer the West not doing this?"

	West Germany (634)	West Berlin (200)		
Prefer the West negotiating with East Zone government	46%	49%		
Prefer West not negotiating with East Zone government	31	47		
No opinion	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>4</u> 100%		
	Prefer West negotiating w/ East Zone government	Prefer West not negotiating w/ East Zone government	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany:</u>				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	52%	38%	10%...100%	278
Women	42	25	33	356
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	45	31	24	527
Beyond elementary	52	32	16	107
<u>Income (per month):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	43	27	30	99
150 to 299 DM	42	31	27	200
300 to 399 DM	53	29	18	129
400 to 499 DM	49	32	19	88
500 DM and more	50	38	12	93
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>				
Professionals	53	37	10	19
Businessmen	61	33	6	33
White-collar workers	59	31	10	61
Skilled laborers	57	34	9	76
Semi-skilled laborers	46	36	18	67
Farmers	42	39	19	43
Housewives	39	27	34	258
Pensioners; ret. etc.	38	32	30	50

VIII. Post Conference Expectations On  
Reunification And Fear Of Aggression

**BOTH HOPES AND FEARS CONTINUE ...**

Two final inquiries on expectations and fears reveal (1) that many Germans despite the failure of the conference continue to feel that reunification is probable within five years, and (2) that Russian behavior at the conference was such that despite the fact that East and West had come to talks around one table fear of Russian aggression shows more evidence of increase than of decrease.

"After the failure of this conference do you consider it probable or improbable that within the next five years a reunification under conditions acceptable to us Germans will be achieved?"

	<u>West Germany</u> (634)	<u>West Berlin</u> (200)
Probable	43%	54%
Improbable	37	38
No opinion	20	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"If you have watched how Russia behaved in this conference: Are you now more worried or less worried that Russia might try to obtain its aims in Europe through a military attack, or don't you feel any different now?"

More worried	17%	21%
Less worried	9	11
Don't feel different	57	64
No opinion	17	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>



IX. SPD Attitude Compared

It has already been shown that favorable evaluations of Western efforts at the Four Power conference reaches its maximum in West Germany among the more important and influential opinion leading population elements - the higher educated, higher income, and the higher occupational levels. It now remains to examine certain other significant group comparisons, the first of which is political allegiance.

SPD RANK AND FILE GIVE CONFERENCE VICTORY TO THE WEST ...

It may be noted in the comparisons below that though the Social Democratic Party (SPD) rank and file run behind coalition parties, they too give the prestige and the political victory in the conference to the West. Also indicated is that Adenauer's prestige with the SPD, if anything, rose rather than fell in reference to the conference, and that in general a majority express themselves as satisfied with Adenauer's handling of the reunification problem.

Though SPD adherents are less favorable toward EDC than are other political groupings, support in this connection is not significantly less than opposition, and only half appear to agree with the thesis that the West should have offered EDC for German reunification at the Four Power conference. It is notable also that only one in five among SPD supporters (19%) express the view that EDC hinders German reunification. Other indications can be left to the interested reader.

	SPD (109)	CDU (231)	FDP (45)	Other parties (39)	No pref- erence (132)	No opinion (78)
<u>West Germany:</u>						
West gained prestige thru conference	37%	45%	58%	33%	30%	21%
West lost prestige	6	2	-	5	4	1
No change	49	40	40	26	50	35
No opinion	8	13	2	36	16	40
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Russia gained prestige thru conference	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%
Russia lost prestige	43	39	42	38	34	27
No change	50	49	54	36	56	33
No opinion	5	10	2	26	8	39
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Conference of great value	12%	14%	24%	3%	6%	9%
Conference of some value	34	42	42	31	33	24
Conference of no value	47	31	27	46	52	32
No opinion	7	13	7	20	9	35
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Conference produced more advantages for West	42%	47%	58%	26%	29%	29%
Conference produced more advantages for Russia	7	8	7	10	13	9
Same for both	27	19	15	33	29	13
No opinion	24	26	20	31	29	49
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	SPD (109)	CDU (231)	FDP (45)	Other parties (39)	No pref- erence (132)	No opinion (78)
For EDC	41%	72%	80%	56%	48%	40%
Against EDC	44	10	11	26	29	24
No opinion	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%
EDC furthers reunification	10%	37%	33%	26%	16%	14%
EDC hinders reunification	19	21	27	13	19	6
No influence	46	12	22	25	29	18
No opinion	<u>25</u> 100%	<u>30</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%	<u>62</u> 100%
Desire another conference as soon as possible	62%	32%	31%	41%	46%	37%
Desire Western strengthening first	30	60	67	44	43	35
No opinion	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>2</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%
West should have offered EDC for reunification	50%	26%	32%	27%	40%	27%
West should not have offered EDC	28	49	58	49	31	20
No opinion	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>25</u> 100%	<u>10</u> 100%	<u>24</u> 100%	<u>29</u> 100%	<u>53</u> 100%
Adenauer gained prestige thru conference	14%	27%	31%	23%	17%	14%
Adenauer lost prestige	6	1	2	5	2	1
No change	73	65	60	54	66	57
No opinion	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%
Satisfaction with Adenauer's handling of reunification problem	57%	85%	89%	54%	57%	53%
Dissatisfaction with Adenauer's handling	26	1	2	10	18	6
No opinion	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%	<u>25</u> 100%	<u>41</u> 100%
Adequate consideration of German interests by West at conference	61%	64%	71%	46%	47%	45%
Inadequate consideration of German interests	23	14	11	18	19	8
No opinion	<u>16</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>36</u> 100%	<u>34</u> 100%	<u>47</u> 100%
Favor negotiation with East regime if necessary	57%	41%	56%	41%	50%	38%
Oppose negotiation with East regime	23	39	31	33	32	14
No opinion	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>18</u> 100%	<u>48</u> 100%

# X. Refugee And Religious Attitudes Compared

## REFUGEES AND PROTESTANTS EVEN MORE FAVORABLE THAN COUNTERPART GROUPS ...

It is possible that refugees because of their closer ties to the East, and Protestants because East Germany is largely a Protestant area might be somewhat less inclined to voice favorable evaluations of Western efforts in the Four Power conference in view of the fact that the conference did not in the end achieve German reunification. These possibilities are clearly refuted by the figures below which reveal that in almost every instance the variation of refugees from natives and of Protestants from Catholics is in the direction of being more rather than less favorable to the West in the evaluations of the Four Power conference and in judgments on Western policy.

	Expellees, Refugees (122)	Natives (512)	Protestants (339)	Catholics (276)
<u>West Germany:</u>				
West gained prestige thru conference	45%	37%	42%	33%
West lost prestige	2	3	2	4
No change	38	43	40	45
No opinion	15	17	16	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Russia gained prestige thru conference	2%	2%	2%	1%
Russia lost prestige	44	36	39	36
No change	42	49	47	48
No opinion	12	13	12	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Conference of great value	16%	10%	13%	9%
Conference of some value	33	37	34	38
Conference of no value	35	40	39	39
No opinion	16	13	14	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Conference produced more advantages for West	44%	39%	44%	35%
Conference produced more advantages for Russia	8	9	6	12
Same for both	19	23	22	23
No opinion	29	29	28	30
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
For EDC	62%	56%	59%	56%
Against EDC	20	24	22	23
No opinion	18	20	19	21
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
EDC furtherr reunification	24%	24%	23%	26%
EDC hinders reunification	24	17	16	20
No influence	23	24	28	19
No opinion	29	35	33	35
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

	Expellees, Refugees (122)	Natives (512)	Protestants (339)	Catholics (276)
Desire another conference as soon as possible	40%	41%	37%	46%
Desire Western strengthening first	51	47	52	42
No opinion	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%
West should have offered EDC for reunification	29%	35%	34%	33%
West should not have offered EDC	44	37	41	36
No opinion	<u>27</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%	<u>25</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%
Adenauer gained prestige thru conference	30%	19%	22%	20%
Adenauer lost prestige	2	3	2	3
No change	58	66	65	64
No opinion	<u>10</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%
Satisfaction with Adenauer's handling of reunification problem	76%	68%	69%	70%
Dissatisfaction with Adenauer's handling	8	10	11	7
No opinion	<u>16</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%
Adequate consideration of German interests by West at conference	65%	55%	60%	53%
Inadequate consideration of German interests	12	17	14	18
No opinion	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>29</u> 100%
Favor negotiation with East regime if necessary	44%	47%	46%	46%
Oppose negotiation with East regime	36	30	31	32
No opinion	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%



# XI. Youth Attitude Compared

## YOUTH LEAST IMPRESSED WITH BOTH WEST AND EAST AT CONFERENCE ...

West German youth appear to be considerably less impressed than their elders with Western efforts at the Four Power conference, but at the same time are also most disenchanted with Soviet efforts. Indicated too is that support for EDC is appreciably less among German youth - especially the young men among whom falls most of the actual participation - than among older elements in the population. Despite this trend, however, to the extent that the limited number of cases is indicative, support for EDC among youth does not fail to exceed opposition.

The precise significance of these findings will have to await more detailed inquiry in further studies with youth samplings large enough to permit the kind of fractionation necessary to specifically localize effects.

<u>West Germany:</u>	18 to 24 years (58)	25 to 34 years (163)	35 to 44 years (111)	45 to 54 years (135)	55 years and over (163)
West gained prestige thru conference	17%	40%	40%	34%	44%
West lost prestige	9	2	2	3	3
No change	60	49	37	47	29
No opinion	14	9	21	16	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Russia gained prestige thru conference	4%	2%	2%	2%	1%
Russia lost prestige	48	38	39	33	36
No change	45	50	43	52	47
No opinion	7	10	16	13	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Conference of great value	7%	8%	11%	15%	13%
Conference of some value	36	42	35	37	30
Conference of no value	47	42	32	36	39
No opinion	10	8	22	12	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Conference produced more advantages for West	29%	43%	39%	45%	26%
Conference produced more advantages for Russia	10	12	5	14	4
Same for both	26	23	25	16	25
No opinion	35	22	31	25	35
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
For EDC	43%	64%	53%	58%	60%
Against EDC	28	23	24	22	19
No opinion	29	13	23	20	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(28)	(66)	(47)	(69)	(66)
For EDC (AMONG MEN ONLY)	46%	65%	60%	65%	68%
Against EDC	36	27	32	20	20
No opinion	18	8	8	15	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
EDC furthers reunification	26%	24%	20%	26%	25%
EDC hinders reunification	19	19	15	21	17
No influence	19	34	23	21	18
No opinion	36	23	42	32	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%



	18 to 24 years (58)	25 to 34 years (163)	35 to 44 years (111)	45 to 54 years (135)	55 years and over (163)
Desire another conference as soon as possible	43%	42%	43%	42%	38%
Desire Western strengthening first	50	53	38	45	50
No opinion	<u>7</u> 100%	<u>5</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>13</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%
West should have offered EDC for reunification	40%	41%	34%	30%	28%
West should not have offered EDC	31	39	38	42	39
No opinion	<u>29</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%	<u>33</u> 100%
Adenauer gained prestige thru conference	14%	19%	22%	20%	26%
Adenauer lost prestige	-	2	3	4	2
No change	83	71	63	61	56
No opinion	<u>3</u> 100%	<u>8</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%	<u>15</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%
Satisfaction with Adenauer's handling of reunification problem	73%	66%	69%	66%	72%
Dissatisfaction with Adenauer's handling	10	14	8	8	9
No opinion	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%
Adequate consideration of German interests by West at conference	58%	58%	57%	56%	56%
Inadequate consideration of German interests	21	20	14	13	13
No opinion	<u>21</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>29</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%	<u>31</u> 100%
Favor negotiation with East regime if necessary	48%	53%	47%	47%	39%
Oppose negotiation with East regime	33	31	24	30	34
No opinion	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>16</u> 100%	<u>29</u> 100%	<u>23</u> 100%	<u>27</u> 100%

CURRENT WEST GERMAN POLITICAL OPINIONS  
AND REACTIONS TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Report No. 196

Series No. 2

April 12, 1954

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C O - [REDACTED] - A L

EVALUATION STATE:

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

Recent weeks have seen important political developments on the German scene including the Russian grant of "sovereignty" to the East German regime, amendment of the Bonn Constitution, and receipt of another Russian proposal. West German reactions to these developments are presented in this report, along with current thinking on EDC and Saar issues.

Most of the returns emanate from an early April (2 - 7) West German probability sampling of 659 cases (18 years of age and over). The remainder derive from a late March (15 - 27) survey of 801 cases.

In the interest of keeping reportage as current as possible amidst a rather rapidly changing political scene, results are presented without discussion. This will pose no difficulties as the returns are such as to need little pointing up to appreciate their significance.

Details as to group variations in opinion, and whys and wherefores for positions taken - also omitted in the interests of rapid presentation - can be supplied upon request.

As usual, interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## C O N T E N T S

- I. Awareness and Evaluation Of East German Acquisition Of "Sovereignty"
- II. Extent Of Satisfaction With Present Degree Of West German Sovereignty
- III. Extent Of Awareness That EDC Prerequisite To Additional Sovereignty
- IV. Current General Reactions To EDC
- V. What Support For EDC If No Longer Prerequisite To Increased Sovereignty?
- VI. Awareness And Reactions To Some Special Conditions For Germany In EDC
- VII. Some Additional Military Judgments
- VIII. Current Views On The Saar Issue - With Relationship To The EDC
- IX. Awareness And Opinions On Constitutional Amendments, And Reactions To Western Powers' Handling Of Matter
- X. Current Views On Dealing With East Zone Regime
- XI. Awareness And Expectations For Geneva Conference With Judgments About US Non-Recognition Of Red-China
- XII. Initial Awareness And Reactions To Latest Soviet Proposal.

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I. Awareness And Evaluation  
Of East German Acquisition Of "Sovereignty"

"Have you heard or read about independence and autonomy having been granted to the East Zone by Russia?"

West Germany

Early  
 April 54  
 (659)

Yes	40%
No	60
	100%

"In your opinion, who has now greater independence and equality on paper - the East Zone government or the West German Federal government?" (After unaware were told: A few days ago, the East Zone was granted by Russia its official independence with certain qualifications to safeguard Russia's security.)

East Zone government	25%
West German government	52
No opinion	23
	100%

"And how is it actually: Who is, in your opinion, in fact politically more independent - the East Zone government or the West German Federal government?"

East Zone government	3%
West German government	82
No opinion	15
	100%

"Do you believe that the East Zone population actually obtains greater independence through this Russian move, or are you of the opinion that the situation in the East Zone is not essentially changed by this?"

Obtains greater independence	6%
Situation not essentially changed	79
No opinion	15
	100%

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II. Extent Of Satisfaction With Present Degree  
Of West German Sovereignty

"Considering everything, do you personally deem it satisfactory or unsatisfactory as to how West Germany is coming along on the road to freedom and independence?"

West Germany

Early  
April 54  
(659)

Very satisfactory	27%
Satisfactory	45
Unsatisfactory	13
No opinion	15
	<u>100%</u>

"How would you characterize the political freedom and independence the West German Federal Republic possesses at present?"

Very great	6%
Great	19
Relatively great	35
Little	20
Very little	5
No opinion	15
	<u>100%</u>

"In your opinion, has the prestige of the Western Powers in West Germany been lowered in any way through this Russian move, or hasn't it?"

Markedly lowered	2%
Somewhat lowered	8
Not lowered	67
No opinion	23
	<u>100%</u>

"And has, in your opinion, the prestige of Federal Chancellor Adenauer and his policy been lowered in any way through this Russian move, or hasn't it?"

Markedly lowered	2%
Somewhat lowered	5
Not lowered	70
No opinion	23
	<u>100%</u>

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III. Extent Of Awareness That EDC Prerequisite To  
Additional Sovereignty

"Do you perhaps know of any disadvantages for West Germany resulting from the EDC not yet having come into being? What disadvantages are these?"

West Germany

Early  
April 54  
(659)

Yes, disadvantages in regard to independence	10.5
Yes, disadvantages in regard to security, defense, etc.	14
Yes, other disadvantages	10
Don't know	73
	107%

"Can you tell me if there exists some specific plan or contract providing for greater independence and equality for the West German Federal Republic? What plan is this?"

Yes, Germany Treaty	15%
Don't know and incorrect	85
	100%

"Can you perhaps tell me why it is that the Germany Treaty or Contractual Agreement has so far not come into being?" (After all unaware told: About two years ago the Western Powers and the Federal government worked out the so-called Germany Treaty or Contractual Agreement providing for an extension of political independence and equality for West Germany.)

Yes, because of EDC	21%
Don't know and incorrect	79
	100%

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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IV. Current General Reactions To EDC

"In general, are you for or against West Germany's participation in the EDC, that is, in the West European Defense Community? Very much for it or somewhat for it? Very much against it or somewhat against it?" (After all unaware of EDC told: Under the EDC several West European countries are to unite in a West European defense community in which West Germany is also to participate with German divisions which will be integrated in an overall West European army.)

West Germany

	Feb 26-Mar 3, 1954 (634)	Late March 54 (801)	Early April 54 (659)
Very much for it	30%	28%	29%
Somewhat for it	27	31	33
Very much against it	13	14	11
Somewhat against it	10	8	13
No opinion	20	19	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you personally consider it likely or unlikely that the EDC, that is, the West European Defense Community, will come into being? Somewhat or very likely? Somewhat or very unlikely?"

West Germany

	Late March 54 (801)
Very likely	31%
Somewhat likely	30
Somewhat unlikely	10
Very unlikely	6
No opinion	23
	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing the EDC would not come into being because France doesn't agree to the EDC Treaty, what would this mean for West Germany, in your opinion?"

Would be a great disadvantage for West Germany	12%
Would be more of a disadvantage than an advantage for West Germany	20
Disadvantages and advantages balance	28
Would be more of an advantage than a disadvantage for West Germany	7
Would be a great advantage for West Germany	4
No opinion	29
	<u>100%</u>

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V. What Support For EDC

If No Longer Prerequisite To Increased Sovereignty?

"Have you recently heard or read of any statements or announcements according to which Germany is to obtain the independence and equality provided for in the Germany Treaty, even if the EDC should not come into being?" (After those unaware of Germany Treaty dependence on EDC told: The Germany Treaty or Contractual Agreement is tied up with the EDC Treaty and can come into force - under present provisions - only after all member countries have ratified the EDC Treaty.)

	<u>West Germany</u>
	Early April 54 (659)
Yes	22%
No	69
No opinion	<u>9</u> 100%

IF "Yes":

"Can you perhaps tell me who, for instance, has talked about such plans or has made a statement to this effect?"

Yes, correct	13%
Don't know and incorrect	<u>9</u> 22%

"Supposing Germany would obtain its political equality through the Germany Treaty independently of the realization of the EDC, would you then still be as strongly for the EDC as you have been up till now, or would you then think it preferable to consider other plans for a West German defense contribution?"

Just as strongly for the EDC	33%
Should consider other plans	22
Contractual Agreement without military contribution.	13
No opinion	<u>32</u> 100%

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VI. Awareness And Reactions To Some Special Conditions  
For Germany In EDC

"What is your understanding of the EDC: Is it your impression that Germany may have a general staff of its own within the European Defense Community just as the other EDC countries, or is it your impression that Germany, in distinction to the other EDC countries, may not have a general staff of its own?"

West Germany

Early  
 April 54  
 (659)

Germany may have general staff of its own like the others	41%
Germany may not have general staff	32
No opinion	27
	<u>100%</u>

"And what's your understanding about command over one's own troop contingents?"

All EDC countries may also independently command part of their own troop units	29%
None of the EDC countries may independently command part of their own troop units	22
While all other EDC countries may independently command part of their own troop units, Germany will not be allowed to do so	22
No opinion	27
	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing it were the case that West Germany is the only EDC country which may not have a general staff of its own and which is the only EDC country which does not have the right to independently command over part of its troops - would you under these circumstances be for the EDC, or would you be against the EDC?"

For it	8%
Against it	66
Doubtful	9
No opinion	17
	<u>100%</u>

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VII. Some Additional Military Judgments

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe, which way would you consider preferable?"

"A West German National Army should be established which would participate in the defense of West Europe."

"German divisions should be integrated in a general West European Army."

West Germany

	Feb 52 (794)	Dec 52 (1196)	June 53 (740)	Nov 53 (635)	Late March 54 (801)
National Army	43%	47%	42%	49%	40%
European Army	25	22	28	24	30
No opinion	32	31	30	27	30
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"If not enough German men would volunteer for German contingents in the West European Army, should the Federal government then have the right to draft German men or should it not have this right?"

West Germany

	June 16-23 1951 (798)	Feb 18-26 1952 (800)	Late March 1954 (801)
Should have the right to draft	35%	35%	46%
Should not have the right	48	55	39
No opinion	17	10	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ UNCLASSIFIEDVIII. Current Views On The Saar Issue - With Relationship To The EDC

"Supposing Federal Chancellor Adenauer would make concessions towards France on the Saar issue in order to induce France to agree to the EDC: Would you be for or against Federal Chancellor Adenauer making concessions on the Saar issue for this reason?"

West Germany

Lat,  
March 54  
(801)

For	25%
Against	48
No opinion	27
	<u>100%</u>

"By and large, are you satisfied or dissatisfied about the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer handles the Saar issue?"

Satisfied	34%
Dissatisfied	18
No opinion	48
	<u>100%</u>

"As you may know, Federal Chancellor Adenauer agreed together with France to a Europeanization of the Saar, that is, in the future she would belong neither to France nor to Germany, but would be turned into a European territory. The Saar people are to decide about this proposal in a plebiscite.

Do you agree with Federal Chancellor Adenauer on this, or do you disapprove of his consenting to this proposal?"

Agree to it	53%
Disapprove of it	27
No opinion	20
	<u>100%</u>

"Supposing the Saar would be Europeanized but France would retain some economic privileges in the Saar Basin, would you approve of Federal Chancellor Adenauer consenting to this or would you disapprove of his consenting to this?"

Total approve	17%
Total disapprove	59
Total no opinion	24
	<u>100%</u>

IF additional point added: "Suppose this would be necessary in order to induce France to agree to the EDC" results become:

Total approve	30%
Total disapprove	43
Total no opinion	27
	<u>100%</u>

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IX. Awareness And Opinions On Constitutional Amendments,  
And Reactions To Western Powers' Handling Of Matter

"Have you perhaps heard or read that our Basic Law has recently been amended? What kind of an amendment was it?"

West Germany

Early  
April 54  
(659)

Yes, correct (military amendment)	35%
Don't know and incorrect	65
	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes, correct":

"Do you perhaps also happen to know how the Western Powers reacted to this military amendment?"

Complete approval	6%
Conditional approval	22
Disapproval	1
No opinion	6
	<u>35%</u>

"Do you personally have anything to criticize about the way the Western Powers acted in this matter?"

Yes	15%
No	15
No opinion	5
	<u>35%</u>

IF "Yes":

"In your opinion, who was chiefly to blame - was it England, France or America?"

England	1%
France	13
America	2
Some other party	-
No opinion	*
	<u>16%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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# X. Current Views On Dealing With East Zone Regime

"As you perhaps know, the Western Powers proposed towards the end of the Berlin Four Power conference that the four High Commissioners continue negotiations on East/West interzonal traffic and interzonal trade.

Supposing Russia would insist on the West discussing such questions only with the present East Zone government - would you prefer to see the West discuss such questions with the present East Zone government, or would you prefer the West not doing this?"

## West Germany

Feb 26-Mar 3, Early April

	1954 (634)	1954 (659)
Prefer the West negotiating with East Zone government	46%	49%
Prefer West not negotiating with East Zone government	31	32
No opinion	23	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Do you believe that in the end the East Zone government will have to be recognized as the official, though not as the legitimate government of East Germany, or are you of the opinion that one can go along without such a recognition?"

## West Germany

Early  
April 54  
(659)

Recognition necessary in the end	22%
Go along without recognition	38
No opinion	40
	<u>100%</u>

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XI. Awareness And Expectations For Geneva Conference  
With Judgments About US Non-Recognition Of Red-China

"Have you heard or read that a conference between England, France, America, and Russia and Red-China is planned for this month? And can you tell me where this conference is supposed to take place?"

West Germany

Early  
 April 54  
 (659)

Yes, knew where	40%
Yes, don't know where	19
Don't know	41
	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes":

"Do you perhaps know what is to be discussed on this conference?"

Far East, Korea, etc	39%
Germany, Europe, etc	13
Other topics	4
Don't know	10
	<u>66%</u>

IF "Far East, Korea, etc":

"Who do you believe will probably gain more at this conference - the Western Powers or Russia and Red-China?"

Western Powers	5%
Russia and Red-China	7
Both equally	4
Neither will gain	19
No opinion	4
	<u>39%</u>

"Do you happen to know whether America is for the official recognition of the Red-China government and its admission to the United Nations, or is America, as far as you know, against it?"

America is for it	5%
America is against it	61
No opinion	34
	<u>100%</u>

"Do you believe that this attitude of America is favorable or unfavorable for Germany's situation, or do you believe that it is of no consequence for Germany's situation?" (After all unaware told: America is against the official recognition of Red-China and its admission to the United Nations.)

Favorable	21%
Unfavorable	9
Of no consequence	41
No opinion	29
	<u>100%</u>

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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XII. Initial Awareness And Reactions To  
Latest Soviet Proposal

"Do you happen to know whether Russia addressed another note to the Western Powers in the past few days?"

West Germany

Early  
April 54  
(659)

Yes  
No

34%  
66  
100%

IF "Yes":

"On the basis of all you know about the note, is there something in this note that ought to be considered for possible negotiations or does this new Russian note contain nothing of this kind?"

Yes, does contain  
something  
No, doesn't contain  
anything  
No opinion

8%  
16  
10  
34%

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by authority of  
Morton F. Fosberg,  
Acting Chief,  
PUB: Research Staff

THE STATUS OF RED-WHITE-RED  
AMONG AUSTRIAN RADIO LISTENERS

I. Preliminary Report  
For Vienna And Lower Austria

*M. F. F.*  
MAY 1 1955

Special Report  
Series No. 2  
May 17, 1954

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
I. Comparative Station Preferences	3
II. Further Evaluations of Red-White-Red	9
III. Comparative Audiences and Evaluations of Significant Political Programs	14
IV. Comparative Reliability of Major Radio News Sources	16
V. Viennese Judgments on Best Information Sources	22
VI. Comparative Awareness of Some Austrian Radio Personalities	36
APPENDIX	37

## INTRODUCTION

In order to ascertain the major facts of Austrian radio listening the Evaluation Staff, HICOG Germany, in cooperation with USCOA instituted in April 1954 a 1,600 case representative sample survey of Austrian radio listeners, utilizing a week long diary record of radio listening and a subsequent questionnaire.

The present report presents the questionnaire returns for Vienna and its environs (based on a total of 379 cases). Further reports will fill out the picture for the remainder of Austria, and will present the complete radio diary records of Austrian radio listening by 15-minute intervals.

Interviewing was conducted under Austrian auspices by the Austrian Gallup institute under the direction of Mr. Siegfried Beckert. Since a probability sample has not yet been designed for Austria, sampling in the present survey was based upon quota controls. This system though less reliable than the probability method of representative sampling, offers a reasonable basis for population estimates.

In the interest of the utmost dispatch in reporting upon the findings discussion has been foregone, and the data presented only in a handbook form.

I. Comparative Station Preferences

"Which of these stations have you ever listened to?" (Stations indicated on a card.)

	Vienna (197)	Lower Austria (182)	TOTAL (379)
RAVAG (Radio Vienna)	100%	100%	100%
Red-White-Red	100	100	100
Alpenland	97	80	90
West	20	13	16
Munich	13	34	23
None of these stations	-	-	-
	<u>330%<sup>ⓐ</sup></u>	<u>327%<sup>ⓐ</sup></u>	<u>329%<sup>ⓐ</sup></u>

If more than one radio station mentioned:

"Which of these radio stations do you value most?"

RAVAG (Radio Vienna)	8%	20%	14%
Red-White-Red	82	74	79
Alpenland	5	1	3
West	-	-	-
Munich	-	2	1
No opinion	7	4	5
	<u>102%<sup>ⓐ</sup></u>	<u>101%<sup>ⓐ</sup></u>	<u>102%<sup>ⓐ</sup></u>

ⓐ Some listeners mentioned more than one station.

If "RWR" mentioned as station valued most:

"For what reasons do you value 'Red-White-Red' most?"

	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
<u>Because program is liked best in general:</u>	36%	25%	30%
I'm sold on it, that's my station, I don't want to hear much from 'Vienna I'; there is always a good program over RWR; generally speaking, it has a better program than other stations; RWR offers the best programs; the program of RWR is the best; has the best program; always offers nice programs; it caters to all tastes; I like the program best; because the program suits us best; because I'm satisfied with the selection of broadcasts; I like it; because it has a nice program most of the time; the over-all program is better, its style is more refined; in general, the best program; etc.			
<u>Because the musical programs are liked best:</u>	14	19	17
Because it offers the best music, especially Austrian popular music; because it has the finest music - though jazz could be skipped; because it has the nicest music; because it offers more good music than other stations; its average musical program is better; primarily because of the music; because it offers much light music; because it offers pleasant popular music; because it offers more folk-music; because they broadcast more folk-music than other stations; because it offers genuine Austrian music; because it offers more jazz; etc.			
<u>Because reception is good:</u>	16	4	10
Because reception is best; because reception is better; because of the good reception; because I cannot get the other stations so clearly; because I can receive this station undisturbed most of the time; etc.			
<u>Because program is regarded as varied:</u>	10	4	7
Because it offers many different kinds of broadcasts; offers a varied program; because it presents a varied program; RWR offers most among all of them; it offers more; etc.			
<u>Because the news is regarded as most reliable:</u>	8	6	7
Because RWR tells the truth; I like it best because of its objective news service; the news is always objective; I think it tells the truth; because RWR is most truthful; the news is more reliable; because its news service is the most authentic of all; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)



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Because of preference for other programs:

Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
8%	7%	7%

I listen to the radio very rarely, but when I do I prefer RWR because of its political commentaries; good reports on current events, radio parliament; I like the spoken word programs, too; interesting programs such as "What is new in the 'Wiener Kurier' (newspaper) today" or programs by Vinzenz Ludwig Ostry; because it offers nice plays; the "Gay Hour" and the novels it offers are its strongest points; RWR presents the largest entertainment program, also many interesting subjects; the on-the-spot reports are very interesting; etc.

Because there are no Russian programs:

6	8	7
---	---	---

Because there is no Russian Hour on the RWR, contrary to the RAVAG program that is crammed with Russian broadcasts; I like RWR's program better than that of "Vienna I" because whenever you tune in to the latter station there is always Russian Hour; because there are so many Russian Hours on station "Vienna I"; because RWR's program doesn't include the Russian Hour; because its program is quite acceptable, it doesn't include any Russian programs; because RWR is free of Russian influence; etc.

Because it doesn't offer so much politics:

4	3	4
---	---	---

I would say that I give preference to it because it offers not quite so many political programs as RAVAG; it doesn't present so many political broadcasts; because it talks less of politics; because RWR is less influenced by a political slant; because its program has the least political tinge of them all, RWR isn't so strongly influenced by political groups as the other radio stations are; etc.

Because it is out out for Austria:

-	2	1
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Because it leaves more room for particularly Austrian features; because it has more Austrian programs; because it deals to a large extent with Austrian affairs; etc.

Because of other reasons:

6	8	7
---	---	---

The timing of the programs I am interested in is very convenient for me; more impartial; for us farmers RWR is the best station; RWR also cares for our creed; because it offers the best and funniest subjects; it is the banisher of cares for everybody; because you can find out what's going on here and abroad if you tune in to RWR; I prefer an American tinge to any Russian leanings; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

-	2	1
108%	88%	98%

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

If respondent had listened to "Red-White-Red", but had not mentioned "RWR" as station valued most:

"Would you please tell us why you wouldn't put 'Red-White-Red' in the first place?"

	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
<u>Because reception is bad:</u>	2%	16%	9%
I quite like RWR, but as I told you, reception is poor especially during evening hours; that's difficult to say since I don't listen regularly to it because the frequency it uses is full of noises caused by atmospheric disturbances; because in the evenings when I've got the time to listen to the radio, RWR is often jammed; though I've got a five-valve super set reception of RWR is very bad during evening hours; there is too much interference with foreign stations, we badly need another frequency or a much stronger transmitter; as I told you, it's difficult to tune in RWR, therefore, I can't put it in the first place; its reception is very bad especially during evening hours; I don't know why but I can't get RWR without distortion, not even in the daytime; the RWR reception is bad (crackling); I can tune in RWR but reception is very poor in the daytime not to speak of reception in the evening; first of all, because it is so difficult to tune it in, it's drowned by stronger stations on the same wave length; because reception of "Vienna I" is better; because reception of the RAVAG station is clearer; etc.			
<u>Because some programs of RWR are disliked; because programs of other stations are better:</u>	9	5	7
I don't like the lectures in the early morning hours (Karli Frei). Most of the agricultural broadcasts are of no use for our district; because I hate this guy Karli Frei and the lecture he gives; because the program of the Munich station is more varied; because I prefer the program of radio Munich; because it offers too much serious music; because "Vienna I" has a better musical program; I'm not too much interested in America, I rather listen to the Russian Hour now and then, - in these Russian Hours they tell you something about our workshops; some of the RWR broadcasts are too obtrusive; I couldn't care less about RWR; etc.			
<u>Because other stations' programs are regarded as equally good:</u>	2	2	2
As far as the program is concerned, I think that the Alpenland station is as good as RWR; because the quality of the programs of the different stations is about the same; etc.			
<u>Because of other reasons:</u>	5	2	3
We got used to the RAVAG station by now; it's the same as with RAVAG - RWR programs are also directed by an occupation power; I tune in to any station that offers nice music; I only tune in at 11 o'clock or when it's news time; etc.			
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	1 19%	1 26%	1 22%

If "RAVAG" mentioned as station valued most:

"For what reasons do you value 'RAVAG' most?"

	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
<u>Because reception is good:</u>	2%	15%	8%
Because it can most easily be tuned in; because I can receive it clearly with the radio set I have; because there is no jamming and I can hear it more clearly than the other stations; because it's the station you can hear most clearly; because it's the station which I can hear most clearly, I've got only a small set; with the old set I have reception of RAVAG is better than of the other stations; because reception of RWR is poor; because its program can be heard most clearly with a set like mine; good reception; etc.			
<u>Because program is liked best in general:</u>	2	2	2
Because it offers a nice program; what RAVAG offers is exactly what I like; by far the best program; a pleasant program and I like the way in which it is presented; etc.			
<u>Because musical programs are liked best:</u>	1	3	2
Because "Vienna I" offers the best music; because it offers good music; very good early morning concerts; RAVAG offers light music on Sunday mornings and good musical programs early in the morning during the week; etc.			
<u>Because of preference for other programs:</u>	3	2	3
The entertainment program of station "Vienna I" is very varied; offers news of topical interest to us; nice radio dramas; I like the women's program of this station and after I've heard it, I usually leave the set tuned in to RAVAG; etc.			
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{9\%}$ @	$\frac{1}{23\%}$ @	$\frac{1}{16\%}$ @

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

If "Radio Alpenland" mentioned as station valued most:

"For what reasons do you value 'Alpenland' most?"

(List of all answers obtained; no categories with percentages shown since too few cases available.)

Because this station offers a varied musical program.

It offers the best music and the entertainment that's most in my line.

This station brings good music, it offers more Viennese music than any other station.

Because "Alpenland" offers an excellent musical program.

Light musical programs, no political slant.

Its program is varied.

Alpenland broadcasts fewer radio plays than any other station.

Judged from the Austrian point of view, you can say that the program of this station is at least better than that of the others.

Because we think the Alpenland program is agreeable, this station seems to be the most neutral of them all.

If "Radio Munich" mentioned as station valued most:

"For what reasons do you value 'Munich' most?"

Because Munich offers the nicest musical program.

Because this station brings nice music for country folks, and its program is varied.

Because they present pleasant light music and often they offer an evening of varied entertainment.

Because it offers the nicest program of them all, it brings little about politics and much for the economy.

## II. Further Evaluations Of Red-White-Red

"As you know, opinions on radio stations are partly favorable, partly unfavorable. What favorable things do people, your friends and acquaintances generally say about radio station Red-White-Red?" (Asked of all radio listeners.)

### 1. Answers relating to program in general

	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
<u>Nothing but favorable things are said about RWR. RWR is very popular, its programs' qualities are higher than those of other stations:</u>	39%	27%	33%
That it is the best station in Austria; RWR is generally praised; I hear nothing but favorable things about RWR. It always offers something nice; my friends and acquaintances always speak highly of RWR; my neighbors and I know nothing but favorable things about RWR; RWR has the best program of them all; its broadcasts are nicer than those of "Vienna I"; RWR offers a good program, that's what I learned from my acquaintances; it's said that RWR offers a good program during the day; in general, I'm quite satisfied with RWR; nothing but favorable things are told about RWR; it is generally well liked over here; it is supposed to be all right but, as I told you, I hardly ever listen to it; it is considered rather favorably on the whole; RWR is considered to be the lesser evil compared to other stations; etc.			
<u>RWR program is varied:</u>	13	4	9
My acquaintances are of the opinion that RWR broadcasts the most varied program of all; it offers a varied program; it offers broadcasts of various kinds; that its program isn't one-sided; that it offers a great variety; etc.			
<u>Reception is good:</u>	5	4	4
Reception of RWR program is clear; reception is good; reception isn't distorted by other stations; etc.			
<u>RWR doesn't lay too much stress on politics:</u>	5	2	4
Everybody likes RWR as its political broadcasts don't dominate over other programs; it doesn't spoil its program by broadcasting inflammatory speeches; its program isn't obtrusive and isn't crammed with politics; etc.			
<u>RWR offers no Russian programs:</u>	2	1	1
That it doesn't broadcast too much about Russian developments; the one good thing about RWR is that it doesn't offer a Russian Hour; etc.			
<u>RWR offers good entertainment:</u>	-	2	1
Its entertainment program is good; it offers good entertainment; it offers more entertainment programs than "Vienna I"; that its light programs are good; it offers a lot of entertainment; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)



(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
<u>RWR program is cut out for Austria:</u>	1%	1%	1%
It attends to the interests of Austria; RWR reflects our convictions best; etc.			
<u>RWR program is adapted to the people's taste:</u>	-	1	*
RWR is very popular, it suits the ordinary people; RWR is the best of all because it offers things that are understandable to everybody; its program is more popular than that of "Vienna I"; its program is out out for the common people; etc.			
<u>Other answers relating to the program in general:</u>	7	3	5
That RWR observes the scheduled program; everybody says that RWR brings joy and relaxation; RWR is neither worse nor better than other stations; etc.			

## 2. Answers relating to specific program parts

<u>Favorable comments on musical programs:</u>	20	43	31
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The best musical programs can be heard over RWR; always good music; good light music; the musical programs are really grand; RWR is said to offer more music than other stations; it is very popular because of its musical entertainment; its musical program, including vocal music, is very good; I like the music offered by RWR best - much folk-music, morning concerts; because they offer good Austrian music; because RWR brings the best Austrian folk-music; they offer the largest program of Austrian folk-music; it brings a lot of popular music; the real nice music at noon time; nice morning music. The "Heimatklaenge" (folk-music) are very nice; the programs of light music and folk-music are very nice, operetta music as well; I like the "Music of the Masters" very much; the mandolin concert is very good; it presents good jazz music; the program "Ver-gnuegt um 11 Uhr" (in good spirits at 11 a.m.) is pleasant; etc.

<u>Favorable comments on news programs:</u>	6	10	8
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The news is quite good; you can always rely on the news of RWR; its news is reliable; they consider RWR the most reliable station; the news of RWR is always true; the news is more objective and reliable; the news is elaborate and reliable, you get a lot of information on the countries in the East; especially because of the detailed news; it conveys to the population the news from all over the world; RWR is the only station that always offers topical news; etc.

<u>Favorable comments on radio dramas:</u>	6	4	5
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Offers the best radio dramas; very nice radio plays; radio dramas are good, too; offers Austrian radio plays; etc.

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

Lower  
Vienna Austria TOTAL

<u>Favorable comments on on-the-spot and other reports:</u>	3%	4%	4%
The on-the-spot reports of RWR are good; very good, the on-the-spot reports; the reports are good; the reviews of the reporters are good, too; the reports; etc.			
<u>Favorable comments on sports programs:</u>	4	1	2
RWR offers good sports reports - Mautner-Markhof; good sports reports; etc.			
<u>Favorable comments on quiz programs:</u>	2	3	2
Good quiz programs; we like the quiz programs of RWR; good quiz programs by Maxi Boehm; night programs by Maxi Boehm; the program "Everything is solved"; "The great chance" is popular; etc.			
<u>Favorable comments on radio parliament:</u>	2	2	2
The radio parliament is very good; the radio parliament is very popular; radio parliament; etc.			
<u>Favorable comments on scientific programs:</u>	*	1	1
Its scientific programs are good; I like to listen to the scientific lectures; the lectures are always good, too; etc.			
<u>Favorable comments on farmer's program:</u>	-	2	1
I like the program for farmers; the program "For our country people" is very instructive; the program for the country people is very nice; etc.			
<u>Favorable comments on religious programs:</u>	*	1	*
RWR has more religious programs than the others; etc.			
<u>Favorable comments on other spoken word programs:</u>	2	5	3
I like the sketch "Talking to the winds" - H. Weige - very much; the program "RWR courier" is very popular; "Proverb for the day" is excellent; school program and children's hour; the novels they offer are good; etc.			
<u>Favorable comments on other programs:</u>	3	5	4
The "Radio Family" is very popular; "Ihr Wunsch ist mir Befehl" ("At your service") is very good; RWR presents the nicest popular plays; etc.			
<u>Don't know, never talked about it:</u>	10	8	10
I seldom listen to RWR, and I've never talked about it with friends; I've never discussed radio programs with somebody; I speak about other subjects than radio programs with my friends; I never talk about radio matters; it's only seldom that I have an opportunity to exchange ideas with somebody; I've no friends; etc.			
<u>No answer:</u>	$\frac{2}{132\%}$	$\frac{1}{135\%}$	$\frac{1}{132\%}$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"As you know, opinions on radio stations are partly favorable, partly unfavorable. What unfavorable things do people, your friends and acquaintances, generally say about radio station Red-White-Red?"

## 1. General criticism

	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
<u>Reception is bad:</u>	2%	16%	8%
That it is impossible to listen to RWR in the evening because its broadcasts are then marred by interference of other stations; the extremely bad reception; nothing unfavorable except bad reception in the evenings; only the one thing that the transmitter is too weak; some broadcasts, especially those in the evening, are marred by other stations cutting in; that it has a poorer reception than "Vienna I"; there is jamming in the evening; reception is rather clear until about 3 p.m. etc.			
<u>RWR is one-sided, not objective, under American influence:</u>	7	2	5
RWR program is one-sided; RWR is used by the Americans as a mouthpiece; it is too strongly influenced by the Americans; it is not free from foreign influence; etc.			

## 2. Criticism of specific program parts

<u>Criticism of jazz broadcasts:</u>	11	5	9
None of my friends likes that noisy American jazz; there is no need for hit-songs in foreign languages; jazz and hit-tunes - American negro music - often displease listeners; the modern negro music and jazz are of no use to us, many people don't like it; too many American hit-tunes and jazz, it offers too much jazz; etc.			
<u>Criticism of political broadcasts:</u>	9	6	8
The political broadcasts should be reduced to half their present size; the unpleasant political matters, I won't say more about it; political broadcasts should be cut down a bit; it offers too many political broadcasts; too large a political program in the evening; it would be appreciated if the political program in the evening would be cut down; there is an aversion against political reports and broadcasts on trade union matters; political lectures and programs about trade union affairs meet with no sympathy; broadcasts on trade union matters could be abandoned; etc.			
<u>Criticism of the commercials:</u>	10	2	6
They shouldn't overdo this advertising; that it presents commercials in-between; that the XY program is a mere advertisement program; etc.			

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	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
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Criticism of the "Voice of America":

7%	4%	6%
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That nobody is eager to listen to the American broadcasts; the "Voice of America" is slowly getting on my nerves; the "Voice of America" could be dropped; this American stuff should be cut out of the program; the program "America calls Austria" is unpopular; the American program is so heavily jammed that you can hardly understand a word, occasional indelicate jokes about women and marriage; its political program "Voice of America"; etc.

Criticism of musical broadcasts (except serious music):

8	4	6
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Its musical program doesn't always attain the high standards of other broadcasts; not all musical programs are nice; it offers too little dance music; there is too little music for country folks; most of the hit-songs in the 11 p.m. program are awful; the early morning music is not too good; etc.

Criticism of broadcasts of serious music:

2	3	2
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It's no good to offer too much music from operas; too much serious music; they offer too serious music after 8 p.m.; the musical program in the evening is too heavy; the "Concert Hour" isn't good; they should drop the concert hour at 4 p.m.; etc.

Criticism of Karl Frei's broadcasts:

2	3	2
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Karl Frei should be left out; Karl Frei talks a lot of ~~baloney~~; too many boring comments by Karl Frei; Karl Frei shouts too much; comments by Karl Frei sometimes too slanted; the program arranged by Karl Frei in the morning; etc.

Other criticisms:

23	7	15
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There are some people who share my opinion that RWR gets boring. It often presents the best program when we are about to go to bed; the RWR staff overestimates the number of those who are interested in religious broadcasts, too much air time is spent on such broadcasts before religious holidays; the program by Ostry could be cut out; too many sports news; serials aren't very popular; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

<u>37</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>44</u>
118%	104%	111%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

1992



III. Comparative Audiences and Evaluations Of  
Significant Political Programs

"Which of the following radio programs did you listen to one or more times during the past month?" (Presented on card.)

<u>Program:</u>	<u>Vienna</u>	<u>Lower Austria</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Russian program for Austria ("Aktuelle Sendung der russ. Stunde"; daily 17:45 hrs over RAVAG)	24%	48%	36%
News and on-the-spot reports (daily 18:00 hrs over RWR)	45	71	58
First evening news (daily 19:45 hrs over RAVAG)	88	96	92
America calls Austria (daily 19:45 hrs over RWR)	69	76	72
World News and Commentaries (Vinzenz Ludwig Ostry; daily except Saturday at 20:00 hrs over RWR)	96	92	95
News reports from all parts of the world ("Direkte Hoererberichte aus aller Welt"; Saturday 20:00 hrs over RWR)	63	72	68
First evening news (daily 19:45 hrs over "Alpenland-Schoenbrunn".)	$\frac{80}{465\%}$	$\frac{45}{500\%}$	$\frac{64}{485\%}$

- ② More than 100% since most listeners indicated having listened to several of these programs during preceding month.

"Now I would like to find out from you what you - considering everything - think of this program (these programs) by pointing to the small square that most closely matches the way you feel about this program. The higher you go in pointing to white squares, the more you like the program and the lower you go in pointing to black squares, the less you like it.

Would you now please point to the small square which indicates roughly how well or how little you like the ... over ...?" (Scolometer presented on card.)

	Russian program for Austria over RAVAG			News and on-the-spot reports over RWR			First evening news over RAVAG			America calls Austria over RWR			World News and Commentaries by Osty, RWR			News reports from all parts of the world over RWR			First evening news over "Alpenland"		
	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
	(47)	(88)	(135)	(88)	(130)	(218)	(172)	(175)	(348)	(135)	(139)	(275)	(188)	(168)	(356)	(125)	(132)	(257)	(157)	(83)	(240)
	-%	1%	1%	17%	31%	25%	7%	6%	6%	5%	4%	5%	41%	37%	39%	31%	36%	33%	27%	29%	28%
6	-	3	28	13	19	7	5	6	2	8	5	26	27	27	27	27	23	26	29	29	28
6	1	3	24	18	21	24	22	23	7	9	8	20	14	18	26	15	21	32	17	27	
6	2	4	18	10	13	27	28	27	7	14	10	7	6	6	6	10	8	8	7	8	
13	9	10	9	18	15	24	22	23	21	24	23	3	8	5	7	9	8	-	5	2	
13	12	12	-	-	-	3	7	5	19	13	16	1	3	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	
4	6	5	-	1	1	-	1	1	11	6	8	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	
-	10	7	1	-	1	1	1	1	7	6	7	-	-	-	-	1	*	-	-	-	
9	14	12	-	-	-	-	1	1	7	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
37	35	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	6	8	-	1	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	
pinion	6	10	7	3	9	5	7	7	3	4	4	2	4	3	2	4	2	4	13	7	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

IV. Comparative Reliability Of Major Radio News Sources

"Now we would like to ask you how reliable you consider the news of the radio stations listed here to be." (Stations and scale presented on cards.)

<u>Vienna</u>						
	Very re- liable	Fairly reliable	Little reliable	Not at all re- liable	No opi- nion	Never heard the news
RAVAG (Radio Vienna)	8%	47%	32%	7%	6%	-%...100%
Red-White-Red	47	47	1	2	3	-
Alpenland	33	51	2	*	10	4
West	*	5	-	*	10	85
Munich	2	2	*	*	6	90

<u>Lower Austria</u>						
RAVAG (Radio Vienna)	6%	39%	40%	5%	10%	-%...100%
Red-White-Red	55	35	4	2	4	-
Alpenland	16	32	3	1	24	24
West	1	3	1	1	8	86
Munich	2	6	1	1	17	73

<u>TOTAL</u>						
RAVAG (Radio Vienna)	7%	43%	36%	6%	8%	-%...100%
Red-White-Red	51	41	3	2	3	-
Alpenland	24	43	2	1	16	14
West	1	4	*	*	9	86
Munich	2	4	1	*	11	82

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

If "Red-White-Red News" considered to be  
"Very reliable":

"What makes you think that the news of Red-White-Red is very reliable?"

	Vienne	Lower Austria	TOTAL
<u>Because RWR's way of reporting is more neutral; more impartial; more objective:</u>	19%	10%	15%

It's more neutral than RAVAG; they only give the facts; because the news is presented in an unbiased manner; an accurate account of events is given; news programs are brief and impartial; RWR always brings the news impartially, without any trimmings or political opinions which I don't want as I form my own opinion; reports without commentaries; original reports with little doctoring; because it has only the faintest political tinge - but I don't care much about radio news anyway, I learn the news from the papers; they don't force a political opinion on you, or let's say they go out very little for that sort of thing, and then they hardly ever revoke some news item; there is no pressure behind the news of RWR, they don't try to force an opinion down your throat; RWR doesn't bring any news programs with a political tinge as other stations do; because it doesn't carry on loud propaganda; because you can see too easily through those horror stories the others dish out as propaganda; I think that the news programs of RWR are much more objective than those broadcast by RAVAG which are rather one-sided; etc.

<u>Because RWR's news correspond to the news in the newspapers and over other radio stations:</u>	6	14	9
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Because the news is in line with that of the papers; because the news corresponds to the official news in the papers; because the news programs accord with the newspaper reports; because it corresponds to the news you find in a large section of the press; because it is in conformity with the overall trend and the reports of independent newspapers; because the news programs correspond with those newspaper reports with which I agree; it's in line with the reports in the dailies of the Western world; because it is in conformity with the BBC news; etc.

<u>Because checks of the news' authenticity revealed its reliability:</u>	4	4	4
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I found out for myself that they are telling the truth; the news broadcast by RWR is borne out by the facts; because it coincides with current events; I found that RWR presents news correctly, while this doesn't apply to "Vicnna I"; because the news of RWR comes closer to what you know from personal experience or observations than that of other stations; I often was able to check on the news and found it to be correct, in a few cases we found that RWR came closer to the truth than any of the other stations; because sometimes I'm in a position to check on it; there are no errors that have to be corrected later on; etc.

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Lower  
Vienna Austria TOTAL

Because RWR's sources of information are more reliable:

5% 3% 4%

Their sources are more reliable; RWR has a good news service, therefore its news is reliable; because I believe that the management of this station tries hard to get the news from reliable sources; because the sources they cite are very reliable; because they are the best informed of them all on world political developments; because it has the better sources abroad; because RWR receives news from all over the world; RWR has a very well-functioning news service, it covers the whole world, as the Americans support it; etc.

Because RWR is not under pressure:

3 5 4

Because RWR is not under any political pressure; because there is no dictatorial influence; because they are not exposed to such a rigid censorship; because it offers news from a non-censored world; because there is no pressure behind the programs; because they belong to a free world; etc.

Because RWR is not under Russian influence:

2 4 3

Because it is not influenced by the Russians; because the Russians have no hand in it; this station is not under Eastern influence; because it isn't so much under the influence of a certain power; because this station is less influenced by the Russians than any of the other stations; because RWR isn't located in the Russian Zone and thus it's free from political pressure; etc.

Because all stations are equally reliable:

1 5 3

Well, I hardly know how to answer this question, it seems to me that all stations bring reliable news; in my opinion it's not only RWR that is reliable, but all of them; I believe that all news programs are good; I feel that one should listen to the news programs of all stations, for as things are, one station broadcasts the "Russian Hour" while another brings "America calls Austria", or "BBC calls Austria"; well, as it is, I like all stations equally well; why, really, who should be interested in bringing unreliable news; news over the radio simply have to be based on truth; etc.

Because RWR's news is more up-to-date:

3 2 2

RWR always brings the latest news and doesn't repeat anything; RWR and "Alpenland" bring the latest news first as a rule, it seems to me that other stations broadcast the same items, only a few hours later; RWR always brings the latest in the field of news; this station always offers up-to-date news from all over the world; you get the news earlier than from other stations; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



(Cont'd from preceding page)

Vienna      Lower Austria      TOTAL

Because RWR's news is more detailed:      \*%      4%      2%

Because their news programs are always more detailed than those of the others; because you learn much more by listening to RWR than to station "Vienna I", for instance; they offer more elaborate news programs than "Vienna I"; because it offers very detailed news programs; because it brings everything in the field of news; station RWR brings everything, item by item; etc.

Just intuition, no specific reason:      4      6      5

Because I'm convinced that the news is authentic; because it seems to me that the news broadcast by RWR is more objective; that's just the way I feel; because the news programs are in line with my ideas on things; because it seems to me that this station is more independent than any of the others, it's just that we like RWR; because it is my opinion; I just take it for granted as I only listen to this station and thus have no opportunity to compare it to other stations; it's just a feeling I have, I simply can't believe that they feed lies to us; etc.

Because of other reasons:      3      \*      2

Because of the intelligence of its staff; in the radio industry there is no greed for gain as in the newspaper business, for instance; hoaxes are impossible as the news program isn't based on sensations; because the Austrian government exercises a greater influence on this station; etc.

No opinion/No answer:       $\frac{1}{51\%}$        $\frac{1}{57\%}$        $\frac{1}{54\%}$

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.
- @ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

If "Red-White-Red" considered to be "Fairly little; not at all reliable":

"What makes you think that the news of Red-White-Red is not (so) (very) reliable?"

	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
<u>Because RWR is one-sided and shows a Western (American) tinge:</u>	23%	10%	17%
Because I think that RWR is strongly influenced by the West; American influence is noticeable in all broadcasts; both sides exaggerate things, RWR is closely bound to the Western side; RWR is <del>one</del> -sidedly oriented and not objective; RWR news is influenced by the West, it sometimes even seems to be somewhat spiteful; since RWR has a certain political trend, its news, too, has a slant; because it doesn't pay enough attention to the events in the East; RWR isn't neutral; etc.			
<u>Because of general distrust toward news:</u>	16	10	13
In these days it's hard to believe that you are told the unadulterated truth; why should it differ from other news programs? You have to read between the lines, no matter where the news comes from; is there anything reliable in this field, anyway?; as long as Austria is still occupied and a censorship is enforced, news can't be absolutely reliable; I'm a pessimist by nature; not everything the radio stations announce is in accordance with the truth, all stations, including RWR, publish news the way they are told to; I only believe such things I have seen and heard myself; there is nothing absolutely reliable; we all became a bit distrustful; it's one of my rules not to believe everything I am told; because lies are told everywhere and all the time; you can only rely on those things you have seen yourself; because lies are told everywhere, and you aren't in a position to find out the truth; as long as supervised radio stations exist, objective news won't be broadcast; because it is the general practice that one party abuses the other; etc.			
<u>Because RWR news doesn't always agree with the news of other information sources:</u>	2	4	3
Because RWR doesn't always agree with RAVAG news; it often differs from RAVAG's news; because its news doesn't accord with news from other sources; because the newspapers and the stations "Vienna I" and "Vienna II" often express quite an opposite opinion; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Vienna	Lower Austria	TOTAL
--	--------	---------------	-------

Because RWR news agrees with the news of other information sources (uncertain whether positive or negative):

1%	1%	1%
----	----	----

Because its news agrees with that carried by the newspapers; because its news usually agrees with that of other radio stations; I checked on it; I compared it with news of different papers; etc.

View is based on intuition (no reasons given):

2	3	3
---	---	---

My view is based on mere intuition; that's more or less a matter of feeling; that's a matter of feeling; my feelings tell me so; etc.

Positive comments on RWR news:

1	7	4
---	---	---

Compared with the news offered by other stations or foreign (Western) papers, RWR news comes nearest to the truth and is the most creditable; I would say it is rather objective; most of the news agrees with the news carried in the papers; RWR news is at least more trustworthy than RAVAG news; I think that not only RWR can be called relatively reliable but all radio stations, since official news has to be published by all of them; etc.

Because of other reasons:

4	3	3
---	---	---

Because the reliability of radio news can only be checked by reading newspapers, but I'm not in a position to read all the papers; that can only be judged by comparison with other sources of information; the farther news travels, the less accurate it gets, it's exactly the same as with rumors; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{3}{52\%}$	$\frac{3}{41\%}$	$\frac{3}{47\%}$
------------------	------------------	------------------

④ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

# V. Viennese Judgments On Best Information Sources

"Here is a list of various news media - sources of information. Which one of these has best fulfilled its purpose of informing the population?" (Media\* presented on card.)

	Vienna (196)
RAVAG (Radio Vienna)	3%
Wiener Kurier .	14
Arbeiterzeitung	5
Die Presse	14
Alpenland-Schoenbrunn	4
Volksstimme	-
Das kleine Volksblatt	5
Red-White-Red	39
Neues Oesterreich	20
Other media	3
No opinion	11
	<u>118</u> ®

® Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- \* RAVAG is the Russian-sponsored radio station.  
Wiener Kurier is the USIS newspaper.  
Arbeiterzeitung is the official daily of the Austrian Socialist Party.  
Die Presse is an independent daily with a conservative slant.  
Alpenland-Schoenbrunn was the Vienna outlet of the former British Zone network including also Graz and Klagenfurt. Since November 1953, it has been broadcasting, by and large, the same program as Vienna II.  
Volksstimme is the Communist Party daily..  
Das kleine Volksblatt is the mass daily of the Austrian People's Party.  
Red-White-Red is the USIS radio outlet.  
Neues Oesterreich is a daily paper jointly controlled by People's Party, Socialist, and Communist party interests.

10-59100

If "RAVAG/Radio Vienna" regarded as best news source:

"Why do you consider RAVAG/Radio Vienna to be the best information source?"

(List of all answers obtained; no categories with percentages shown since too few cases available.)

RAVAG broadcasts clear, unbiased reports which everybody enjoys listening to.

RAVAG news is clear and understandable; has better local news programs.

As I said before, I listen to the news of both stations (RWR and RAVAG) in order to be able to get a more precise picture of things. Both stations are of equal value to me.

Because it offers a more varied news program than other stations and other newspapers.

Cannot give a reason (two cases).



If "Wiener Kurier" regarded as best news source:

"Why do you consider the 'Wiener Kurier' to be the best information source?"

Vienna

Because its news is detailed; very comprehensive:

6%

The 'Wiener Kurier' is more elaborate; because it is more detailed than radio reports; it is comprehensive; because it also gives much general information; etc.

Because it is impartial, truthful:

4

Very impartial as a news media; because it publishes everything about East and West impartially; because it reports in a neutral manner; the news is not influenced by Tass reports; it is truthful; etc.

Because it has a speedy news service; is up-to-date:

3

Due to the speedy and prompt news service (1st paper); reports events earlier than the radio does; because RWR, just like all stations, lags behind the press; etc.

Because its make-up is good:

2

Because it reports in an interesting and pleasing fashion; because it has a good style; because in general and in the news it has a pleasing make-up and a high level. It is just right for the average person here; etc.

Because it is unpolitical:

2

Because it is unpolitical; because it has no political tinge; etc.

Because of other reasons:

\*

Because I can already tell by the headline what is of interest to me; the news is presented in the light of a "Weltanschauung"; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

\*  
17%<sup>②</sup>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.

If "Arbeiterzeitung" regarded as best news source:

"Why do you consider 'Arbeiterzeitung' to be the best information source?"

(List of all answers obtained; no categories with percentages shown since too few cases available.)

Because they keep up with current events by bringing good commentaries right away.

This paper has a good current-events and sports section. I'm not interested in politics.

Because when discussing a matter they present the Austrian point of view at the same time.

Because from an Austrian point of view this paper informs people better.

RWR brings clear and unbiased reports, so does AZ.

Station 'Alpenland' and AZ are moderate sources of information, therefore people like to listen to the station and read the paper.

Because it advocates my convictions.

Because I come from the working classes myself, and therefore I'm highly interested in the news of AZ.

AZ brings news for working people.

We exclusively read the 'Arbeiterzeitung'.

Because I grasp things more easily when reading about them.

If "Die Presse" regarded as best news source:

"Why do you consider 'Die Presse' to be the best information source?"

Vienna

Because it is objective; non-partisan; independent; does not agitate:

9%

'Die Presse' is an objective paper; because in my eyes 'Die Presse' is the most objective source of information; 'Die Presse' is really the most objective information source; this paper is unbiased; because they present everything in a more impartial manner than any of the others; 'Die Presse' is impartial, and that's exactly what people want; because this paper is non-partisan; this paper never carries inflammatory propaganda; because they refrain from publishing any material for agitation; etc.

Because its news is detailed, comprehensive; varied:

5

It carries detailed reports; it's detailed; because this paper reports in greater detail as compared to the radio and other papers; the political section is very detailed; I prefer the paper because it describes things in greater detail and more accurately; because it's very comprehensive; etc.

Because the economic section is good; detailed:

4

As to market reports 'Die Presse' is tops; the commercial section of 'Die Presse' is good; the economic section of 'Die Presse' is better than that of other information sources; 'Die Presse' carries an excellent commercial section which other papers lack; because it deals mainly with economic issues; they carry a large business news section, and this is important for me in my particular field; the commercial section is very detailed because a financier is interested in economic problems and not in political issues; etc.

Because it is unpolitical:

1

This paper has no political slant; because I feel it's an unpolitical paper; 'Die Presse' is unpolitical in character; etc.

Because of other reasons:

1

They bring commentaries and features from all fields; etc.

No opinion/No answer:-  
20%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

If "Alpenland-Schoenbrunn" regarded as best news source:

"Why do you consider 'Alpenland-Schoenbrunn' to be the best information source?"

Vienna

Because it is objective; not slanted; does not agitate:

2%

Because I'm under the impression that this station presents the news in a more objective manner than others; in my opinion, this radio station doesn't show any particular slant; because this station broadcasts less inflammatory propaganda than any of the others; because of all these two, "Das kleine Volksblatt" and station "Alpenland", agitate least; etc.

Because it is unobtrusive, moderate:

1

As a source of information "Alpenland" is moderate in character, and that's why people like to tune in to it; because I feel that this station has a less obtrusive manner in presenting the news than the others; because its unobtrusive manner is congenial to me; etc.

Because of other reasons:

1

Because they select the news from the point of view of what will interest Austrians; because it offers more detailed commentaries on the news; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

4%

If "Das kleine Volksblatt" regarded as best news source:

"Why do you consider 'Das kleine Volksblatt' to be the best information source?"

(List of all answers obtained; no categories with percentages shown since too few cases available.)

I am very satisfied with the 'Volksblatt', I have been subscribing to it for some years now.

That's a matter of opinion; it doesn't agitate so much as its counterpart.

Because it reflects my convictions best, and it is not so spiteful as some of the others.

Because of them all these two, 'Das kleine Volksblatt' and station 'Alpenland', agitate least.

Because it avoids big words.

Because its comments on current events are in line with my political convictions.

Good source of information.

I like it best.

Because its news is more comprehensive than that of the radio stations or of other newspapers.



If "Red-White-Red" regarded as best Viennese news source:

"Why do you consider Red-White-Red to be the best information source?"

Vienna

Because RWR is the most objective and reliable station (no agitation):

15%

Because this station seems to be objective; its news is rather objective; RWR is the most truthful of all; I take everything for granted that RWR broadcasts, it is a reliable station, but as I told you, I haven't got a chance to compare it with others; because the news offered by RWR sounds more reliable than that of other stations (RAVAG); because it also offers such news that other station pass over in silence; because of the impartial way the news is published by RWR; it doesn't force any opinion on you, it is a very objective information source; RWR doesn't misinterpret news but offers clear-cut reports, that's of high value; its news doesn't represent loud and one-sided propaganda; RWR is objective, no agitation against those with a different political conception; it conveys clear-cut, objective commentaries; etc.

Because RWR offers the latest news - is always up-to-date:

11

RWR conveys but the latest news and reports from all over the world; its news informs people about the latest events; it offers news at first hand; because it always gives the latest news; RWR is always first, the papers get the news from it; RWR broadcasts important world news earlier than other stations; because it not only offers the most news but transmits it within the shortest time; RWR news travels faster than others; etc.

Because RWR's information is detailed and precise:

5

Because it offers more comprehensive news; its reports are more detailed than those of other information sources; efficient reporters broadcast interesting and sound reports; RWR offers exact reviews of the political situation; RWR presents precise reviews of the world situation; RWR gives always precise information; etc.

Because RWR is orientated toward the West, while RAVAG is under Eastern influence:

3

Because RWR is the most effective antidote against Russian propaganda; RWR is orientated toward the West; RWR isn't orientated toward the East; because "Radio Vienna" is under Russian censorship, that means that the real facts are misrepresented or even distorted; because one can't forget that RAVAG is a Russian station; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Vienna

Because RWR's broadcasts are condensed, precise and easy to understand:

3%

Its broadcasts are offered in a condensed and generally understandable form; its broadcasts are condensed and comprehensible; its news service is clear-cut and precise, it is offered several times a day; it offers an extract of the essential facts; it presents the essential events in a clear-cut, precise form; etc.

Because listening to the radio is preferred to reading a newspaper:

4

It's much nicer to listen than to read; listening is easier than reading; listening to the radio makes paper reading superfluous; what I hear has a more lasting effect on me; papers are not in my line; radio has a greater effectiveness than newspapers; always better than newspapers; etc.

Because of other reasons:

6

To listen to the radio is less expensive; broadcasting hours of news are very convenient; it shows a more conservative attitude than other stations; in Vienna reception of Red-White-Red is best; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

\*  
47%<sup>a</sup>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

<sup>a</sup> Some respondents gave more than one answer.

If "Red-White-Red" not regarded as best news source:

"We would be interested in learning why you don't consider 'Red-White-Red' to be such a good news source for the population?"

Vienna

Because radio-information is briefer; more condensed; not so detailed:

15%

By far not so detailed; newspapers can provide much more detailed information; because it presents the news in a much more superficial manner; reports are not so exact; not so detailed information; news is condensed therefore doesn't give such a clear picture as newspapers; because a radio station offers the news in headlines and cuts it down too sharply; because RWR doesn't offer enough news; RWR programs not sufficiently detailed because of too little broadcasting time; because generally only incomplete news can be offered over the radio; 'Kurier' offers more and more comprehensive information; too condensed; etc.

Because the spoken word doesn't leave such a lasting impression as the written word; to read the newspapers is preferred:

9

It's easier to comprehend the things you read than those you hear; because written words make a more lasting impression; I find it more comprehensible if you have something in black and white; because I believe that the written word is more impressive; because what you hear won't stick in your memory; because you don't pay so much attention to the spoken word; I believe that the things you hear only produce a superficial impression; because I, being a woman, prefer to read the news in the paper to listening to it over the radio; because you are apt to forget the spoken word immediately because very often you don't listen to it with the necessary attention; I prefer newspapers; etc.

Because news in the papers is more easily accessible than radio news:

8

I can't listen to the news over the radio whenever I want to, but I can read the papers at any time; you can get a newspaper wherever you go, while you won't find a radio everywhere; because I can't hear it as often as I can read the newspapers; because a newspaper is more handy than a radio; if you're on the way you have no chance to listen to the radio but you can read a paper any time; what is written down I can read at any time of the day and I don't have to observe broadcasting time; I can study the paper more comfortably; broadcasting hours of RWR news aren't always very convenient; because the news is mostly broadcast at a time when working people can't listen in; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Vienna

Because it is too strongly influenced by the Americans:

7%

Because it views things too much from the American viewpoint; because, at least up till now, RWR was too strongly influenced by the Americans; too political and too strongly pro-American; just for the reason I gave, that it was influenced too strongly by the Americans; because American influence is too strong; because I believe that the news is tinged in order to feed as many Western ideas as possible to people; it shows too much of a pro-Western tendency, that's why; because RWR, just as "Radio Vienna," is used as a political mouthpiece for the Occupation Powers; looks at things from an American point of view; because the information it offers is censored in a way; etc.

Because it is not objective, it is biased:

6

Because I can't help feeling that it isn't absolutely objective; because it isn't quite objective; because RWR has a one-sided political tinge; all the stations are influenced in one way or another and so is RWR; it's biased; RWR is too one-sided; because they deliberately suppress such facts as might be detrimental to them; seems to me as if it was somewhat less objective than the "Presse"; because the news isn't being selected according to the Austrian (national) point of view; because RWR obviously represents party interests; etc.

Because respondent is not interested in radio news; has no time for it:

4

Radio news are of secondary importance to me; I don't attach any importance to radio news, it's only in the morning that I listen in to have an idea on how things stand, but I don't have a chance to compare; I almost never listen to the news; I'm chiefly interested in the music offered by radio stations; I don't set great store by the news; who has time and leisure enough to listen to all that stuff; etc.

Because RWR doesn't offer enough about subjects of interest:

3

Not enough local news; too few reports about local events; for the sports section I always buy the "Arbeiterzeitung"; and besides, the radio doesn't offer any party news; because it doesn't show enough interests in workers' problems; etc.

Because of other reasons:

4

Because working people often consider the radio program as a sort of background noise; it's too loud in character; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

12  
68%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

If "Neues Oesterreich" regarded as best news source:

"Why do you consider 'Neues Oesterreich' to be the best information source?"

Vienna

Because it is impartial, politically independent:

8%

It is an impartial paper; its attitude is entirely neutral; because it isn't linked with any political party, but each party is given the chance to make itself heard in this paper; because members of all parties are represented on its staff; because it is nonpartisan and keeps away from agitatory propaganda; because all parties have a say in this paper; it is not tied to any political party; it is no party organ; the news published by this information source is the least spiteful of all; because its language isn't spiteful; etc.

Because it is objective:

5

"Neues Oesterreich" can't be called absolutely objective but at least it's relatively so; in my eyes it is the most objective of all; "Neues Oesterreich" is more objective than other information sources; because it is rather objective; etc.

Because it is detailed and comprehensive:

4

Its news is more detailed than that conveyed over the radio; "Neues Oesterreich" carries very detailed reports; its reports are comprehensive; it offers very detailed reports; because it is more detailed and more comprehensive than others; etc.

Because it is non-political:

3

It doesn't lay the main stress on political matters; it is only very slightly influenced by political trends; because it is a non-political paper; etc.

Because it has a large circulation:

1

It has a large circulation; because it has the largest circulation; etc.

Because of other reasons:

4

Because it carries comments to the news; because it offers all kinds of news in condensed form in black and white; because the way it carries the news suits Viennese taste best; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

25%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



If other media regarded as best news source:

"Why do you consider ... to be the best information source?"

(List of all answers obtained; no categories with percentages shown since too few cases available.)

"Wiener Zeitung"

"Wiener Zeitung" is the most objective source of information.

"Wiener Zeitung" is completely impartial.

Because it's unpolitical; because it's an all-round paper.

"Salzburger Nachrichten"

"Salzburger Nachrichten" are really objective, comprehensive and varied.

"Salzburger Nachrichten" have a certain intellectual level, objective reporting.

"Weltpresse"

"Weltpresse" is more thorough in its reporting, many local news items.

# VI. Comparative Awareness Of Some Austrian Radio Personalities

"Most of the people I'm going to name now - but not all of them - are either radio commentators, actors or conductors (directors of orchestras). For each of them would you please tell me whether or not the name is familiar to you, and what the particular person does on the radio." (Names and categories presented on cards.)

	Vienna					Lower Austria					TOTAL				
	Radio commentator	Actor	Con- duc- tor	Other capa- city	No opi- nion	Radio commentator	Actor	Con- duc- tor	Other capa- city	No opi- nion	Radio commentator	Actor	Con- duc- tor	Other capa- city	No opi- nion
Maxi Boehm	16%	24%	-	70%	*%..110%	56%	19%	-	41%	1%..117%	35%	22%	-	56%	1%..114%
Toby Clarke	11	6	1	5	77	12	4	1	5	78	11	5	1	5	78
Erwin Zueker-Schilling	24	3	-	9	65	31	-	-	21	53	27	2	-	14	59
Hans Hagen	3	3	78	3	14	*	1	63	3	105	2	2	71	3	23
Karl Frel	51	7	2	4	36	68	2	2	8	100	60	4	2	6	28
Alexander Steinbrecher	9	15	18	46	20	5	3	26	32	109	7	9	22	39	31
Heinz Conrads	20	55	*	52	1	50	47	-	45	143	34	51	*	49	1
Vinzenz Ludwig Ostry	98	-	1	1	128	94	-	1	1	100	96	-	1	1	2
Heribert Meisel	26	*	*	72	5	37	1	3	33	101	31	1	2	53	15
Karl Leubold	1	-	88	4	7	1	2	58	4	101	1	1	74	4	20
Edi Flinger	20	2	*	43	36	27	1	-	23	101	24	1	*	33	42
Konrad Maril	20	3	1	3	73	42	1	-	4	101	31	2	1	3	63
Prof. Gottfried Kassowitz	2	-	25	4	69	3	-	15	7	101	2	-	20	5	73
Die Bafreiten	1	53	-	19	29	2	30	-	14	101	1	42	-	16	42
Walter Engel	50	5	-	3	42	41	-	2	4	101	46	4	1	3	101
Bruno Frel	24	6	-	*	67	22	-	1	5	101	22	3	2	3	70
Hans Weigel	51	4	3	22	23	36	1	2	14	102	44	2	3	18	35
Josef Wiener	14	13	2	8	63	47	1	-	4	100	30	7	1	6	56
Daniel Brler	49	5	2	29	19	44	1	-	21	104	46	3	*	25	29
Peter Lorenz	33	7	2	3	55	42	3	6	9	100	37	5	4	6	48
Lindley Prazer	24	2	4	4	67	14	1	1	7	101	19	2	2	6	72
Carl de Groof	1	5	61	6	28	1	1	55	8	101	1	3	58	7	32

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

APPENDIX

Maxi Brehm - comedian and quiz master, heard in various programs over all Austrian stations.

Toby Clarke - BBC commentator, relayed until about ten months ago by RWR and Alpenland.

Erwin Zucker-Schilling - Russian Hour commentator (Vienna I).

Hans Hagen - conductor (RWR and Vienna I and II).

Karli Frei - RWR labor commentator.

Alexander Steinbrecher - actor, quiz master, conductor (RWR).

Heinz Conrads - comedian and quiz master (all stations).

Vinzenz Ludwig Ostry - RWR political commentator.

Heribert Meisel - RWR sportscaster (often relayed by other stations as well).

Karl Loube - conductor (RWR).

Edi Finger - Vienna I sportscaster (often relayed by other stations, incl. RWR, as well).

Konrad Maril - VOA commentator (relayed by RWR and, until February 1954, Alpenland).

Prof. Gottfried Kassowitz - Russian Hour conductor (Vienna I).

Die Befreiten - RWR political cabaret.

Walter Engel - VOA commentator (relayed by RWR and, until February 1954, Alpenland).

Bruno Frei - Russian Hour commentator (Vienna I).

Hans Weigel - RWR commentator and frequent discussion panel member.

Josef Wiener - Russian Hour commentator (Vienna I).

Daniel Brier - RWR Radio Parliament moderator and occasional commentator.

Peter Lorenz - League of Industrialists commentator over RWR.

Lindley Fraser - BBC commentator (relayed by RWR and Alpenland).

Carl de Groof - Vienna I and II conductor.

*HICOG. GYW. 200-5*

THE AMERICAN AND WEST GERMAN AID PROGRAM  
IN THE EYES OF WEST BERLINERS

With General Indications Of  
Current West Berlin Morale

Special Report  
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OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

Not the least important consideration in the American and West German aid programs to West Berlin is that of public relations. With the West Berlin population subjected to continuous severe stress incident to their nearly isolated position behind the Iron Curtain, it is not only important that an aid program be economically well-planned, it should also be psychologically well-received.

To explore West Berlin economic morale in relation to the American and West German aid programs the Evaluation Staff, Office of Public Affairs, at the request of the FOA Mission surveyed a representative probability sample of 415 West Berlin residents (18 years of age and over) between April 5th and April 15th, 1954. Interviewing was conducted under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

In the interest of speed in reporting the results, and because they are meant primarily as source material for FOA program planning, the findings are presented without discussion, with but capsule headings to point up major indications.

Population sub-group comparisons on the various items in the present inquiry have been relegated to an Appendix because in most cases similarities greatly overshadow differences.

## H E A D L I N E   S U M M A R Y

## PART A - VIEWS ON WEST BERLIN ECONOMIC AID

I. Is Present Economic Situation A Problem?

- ... FEW JUDGE PRESENT WEST BERLIN ECONOMIC SITUATION AS BETTER THAN FAIR
- ... MAJORITY JUDGE UNEMPLOYMENT MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM
- ... UNEMPLOYMENT CONSEQUENCES SEEN AS SERIOUS

II. Who Should Help Solve The Economic Problem?

- ... MAJORITY REGARD WEST BERLIN ECONOMIC SITUATION MORE AS INTERNATIONAL THAN GERMAN PROBLEM
- ... ALMOST ALL SEE NEED FOR OUTSIDE ECONOMIC AID
- ... WEST GERMANY AND AMERICA LOOKED TO FOR OUTSIDE AID

III. Appraisal of West German Economic Aid

- ... PREPONDERANCE JUDGE PRESENT WEST GERMAN AID TO BE LITTLE
- ... WEST GERMAN AID SEEN USED IN VARIOUS WAYS IN WEST BERLIN
- ... SOME CRITICIZE PRESENT USE OF WEST GERMAN AID
- ... ONLY SMALL MINORITY SEE WEST GERMAN AID EMANATING SOLELY FROM AMERICAN COMPULSION
- ... BUT A THIRD FEEL THAT WEST GERMANY HAS DONE LESS THAN ITS SHARE



#### IV. Appraisal of American Economic Aid

- ... MAJORITY JUDGE WEST BERLIN TO BE RECEIVING MUCH AID FROM AMERICA
- ... MOST STATE AMERICAN AID BEING USED FOR BUILDING PROGRAMS AND GENERAL ECONOMIC REVIVAL
- ... ONLY SMALL MINORITY ADVANCE CRITICISMS OF PRESENT USE OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID
- ... HEAVY PREFERENCE FOR LONG TERM USE OF AID AS VERSUS IMPERMANENT UNEMPLOYMENT BELIEF
- ... PREPONDERANCE JUDGE AMOUNT OF WEST GERMAN AID TO BE LESS THAN AMERICAN AID
- ... LARGE PROPORTION ALSO FEEL AMERICAN AID TO BE MORE IMPORTANT - ASIDE FROM AMOUNT
- ... VERY FEW SEE UNFAVORABLE MOTIVES FOR AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID
- ... ALMOST ALL SEE AMERICA AS HAVING DONE ITS SHARE IN ITS AID EFFORTS

#### V. Does American Aid Continue To Be Necessary?

- ... FEW ANTICIPATE EITHER DECREASE OR DISCONTINUANCE OF AMERICAN AID IN NEAR FUTURE
- ... ALMOST ALL SEE CONTINUED AMERICAN AID NECESSARY
- ... PREPONDERANCE BELIEVE THAT AMOUNT OF AMERICAN AID SHOULD BE INCREASED
- ... DIRE CONSEQUENCES SEEN FOR BERLIN IF AMERICAN AID NOT CONTINUED
- ... MAJORITY BELIEVE WEST GERMANY COULD NOT TAKE UP SLACK IF AMERICAN AID DISCONTINUED
- ... WEST GERMAN INABILITY TO TAKE UP SLACK EMPHASIZED EVEN BY THOSE ACKNOWLEDGING IMPROVED WEST GERMAN ECONOMIC SITUATION

### PART B - SOME GENERAL INDICES OF MORALE

#### I. Present Situation

- ... MAJORITY CONSIDER PERSONAL INCOME SOMEWHAT MEAGER TO INADEQUATE
- ... MAJORITY FEEL ECONOMICALLY AND FINANCIALLY INSECURE
- ... INSTANCES OF IMPROVEMENT IN PERSONAL SITUATION OVER PAST YEAR MATCHED BY LOSSES
- ... NO NET IMPROVEMENT IN WEST BERLIN MORALE SEEN OVER PAST YEAR

#### II. Future Expectations

- ... MAJORITY SEE WEST BERLIN ECONOMIC SITUATION BECOMING BETTER IN FUTURE
- ... BUT MOST SEE INCOME REMAINING THE SAME FOR NEXT YEAR
- ... OPTIMISM HIGHER ON INCREASE IN INCOME OVER NEXT FIVE YEARS

#### III. Stamina

- ... LARGE MAJORITY CONFIDENT WEST BERLINERS CAN CONTINUE TO HOLD OUT AGAINST ADVERSITY
- ... MAJORITY CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO CONSIDER LEAVING BERLIN EVEN IF JOB AND HOUSING AVAILABLE IN WEST GERMANY

## PART A - VIEWS ON WEST BERLIN ECONOMIC AID

I. Is Present Economic Situation A Problem?

FEW JUDGE PRESENT WEST BERLIN ECONOMIC SITUATION AS BETTER THAN FAIR ...

"How would you describe West Berlin's present economic situation?"

	West Berlin
Very good	*%
Good	12
Fair	57
Bad	23
Very bad	5
No opinion	3
	<u>100%</u>

MAJORITY JUDGE UNEMPLOYMENT MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM ...

"Leaving the political situation for the moment, what do you think is the most important problem facing Berlin today?"

est Berlin

57%

Unemployment

"I regard the unemployment problem as the most important one."

"To find jobs for the unemployed."

"More jobs should be provided so that the unemployment would decrease."

"The general situation in the labor market, there aren't enough jobs and too many unemployed."

"That today those people who have jobs have to do overtime - for additional and temporary work they should engage unemployed."

"It has to be stopped that husband and wife both have jobs and earn money, thereby taking away many jobs which could be held by unemployed."

General economic situation:

18

"The city's economic situation is alarming."

"To overcome the economic difficulties which were a result of the isolation after the currency reform."

"To revive the West Berlin economy, to step up production by bigger orders, support of businessmen by the West and West Germany."

"Berlin with its big industry used to supply industrial goods to places all over Germany, now that this is no longer possible orders from West Germany and from abroad must be procured."

"The Senate has to see to it that our industry gets sufficient orders and that Berlin will get priority by West Germany when orders are being placed."

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West Berlin

Housing shortage:

87

"From my point of view the housing problem is the most important of all."

"The housing shortage is the most important problem because people without a home of their own suffer from depression."

"The housing problem, housing construction so that the bombed out people would at last get an apartment again."

"Lack of apartments for young married couples, they should build more housing units we could afford without having to invest money to obtain accommodation in a reconstructed house."

"That we would get more loans for housebuilding purposes, the acute housing shortage."

Prices beyond incomes:

8

"The gap between prices and wages, prices must be lowered at all events."

"The high costs in Berlin - prices too high, pensions too small."

"Everything is too expensive, money is too short, things must become cheaper."

"Prices must drop, food prices."

"That things get cheaper and wages will be raised."

Economic handicaps of no reunification:

5

"To bring about a solution of the East/West problems so that Berlin's economy will become stable and a sufficient number of jobs for the Berliners will be available."

"That we will be reunited, economically, I mean, because otherwise we can't exist."

"That an agreement be reached between the East and West governments, we need a united government for the sake of all-Berlin, in order to improve the economic situation of the Berlin people."

"Silesia, Pommerania and Posen provided the food for Berlin, we should get those districts back."

Inadequacy of pensions:

4

"That pensions be raised, we can't make ends meet here with these small pensions."

"That pensions are too low."

"The problem of pensions, I mean the upkeep of the great number of needy pensioners."

"Old people living in Berlin should be treated better, the authorities should provide more money for them and should more carefully look after the needy."

"The problem of pensions for old people in Berlin, so much depends on an improvement of their financial situation, all branches of business, social institutions and public welfare offices would benefit from it, shops would have a higher turn-over and all welfare institutions would save expenses."

Refugee problem:

4

"That the number of refugees coming to Berlin is too high that we can no longer cope with it."

"The refugee problem, that might break our neck because it costs too much."

"The refugees, we can't breathe any more because of them."

"The refugee problem - illicit work is being encouraged because the refugees work for below-tariff rates."

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West Berlin

Other answers:

5%

"The Berlin people have to find their way to God, you see, things can't go on in the world as they are, just think of the H-Bomb, Berlin will be destroyed if people don't make their peace with God."

"The most important problem is an open highway to Berlin."

"The fear of the H-Bomb, that applies to West Berlin also, that's something that concerns all of us."

No opinion/No answer:

6  
115%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

UNEMPLOYMENT CONSEQUENCES SEEN AS SERIOUS ...

"How would you describe the unemployment problem in West Berlin?"

West Berlin

Dangerously serious	17%
Very serious	26
Serious	41
Not so serious	13
Not serious at all	1
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

IF Serious to Dangerously Serious:

"Why would you say it is ...?"

West Berlin

Because unemployment is producing discontent:

19%

- "Because discontent is steadily growing."
- "The longer people are unemployed, the more discontent grows."
- "There aren't enough jobs available, the number of unemployed doesn't go down, and thus people get disgruntled."
- "It's the alpha and omega of life, if people are idle, they'll become malcontents, those people who are able to work and want to work and don't find a job, I mean."
- "Because everybody feels insecure."
- "Because so many people are unemployed, I'm sure it means mental suffering for these people, many of them have committed suicide."

Because the number of unemployed is so large:

12

- "Because there are so many unemployed and their number is steadily increasing, thus the standard of living of the population generally sinks."
- "Because there are so many unemployed, that has always been a bad thing, and nowadays you often hear that many of these people have been out of work for a long time."
- "There still are 200,000 unemployed, and all of them have some dependents so that at least 600,000 persons are directly affected, you never know how many more unemployed there will be."
- "Because the number of unemployed is excessive compared to the number of residents."
- "Because we've still got an awful lot of unemployed on our hands."

Because unemployment is harming the younger generation:

10

- "It's especially that many young people are out of work and are thus demoralized."
- "It means a grave danger to the young if they are idle."
- "Because juveniles will be corrupted if they idle around in the streets."
- "Because the young are idle and thus may hatch unwise plans."
- "Just think of those many crimes which have been committed by juveniles, they may turn into gamblers, they become ever more greedy after money, and thus the temptation to commit a crime becomes stronger, that's why the young people mustn't be idle, new jobs must be created for them."

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West Berlin

10%

Because there is so little prospect of remedy:

"Because not enough jobs can be created in the foreseeable future, that means that the present unemployment situation will practically be perpetuated."

"Because they won't be able to create enough jobs in the foreseeable future, I think that's the main problem."

"Because at present there is no hope for the unemployed finding new jobs, I know this from my son who has been out of work for two years now, I don't know what is at the root of this trouble."

"Because there are so few jobs, and the future prospects are rather dim."

Because unemployment fosters Communism:

9

"Because there are too many unemployed, unemployment figures are staggering, this means a political danger, those people who are out of work are an easy prey for Communist agitators, especially as the Labor Offices are located near the borders separating West Berlin from the Eastern sector."

"Soon the workers' districts in Berlin will become a dangerous hotbed of secret Bolshevik organizations, and those citizens who come under the category 'unemployed' will say resignedly, 'After me the deluge.'"

"The morale among the unemployed is terribly low, it may be that in the long run this will mean victory for the East, the East is very close, people can compare prices here and over there, over here prices are high, while in the East prices are within people's reach."

"I think the situation might become politically dangerous, among those people who have been unemployed for years, the Communists can easily find attentive ears for their propaganda, unemployed people may easily succumb to such temptations, and you can't even condemn such deserters."

Because unemployment relief is an unconstructive drain on the city budget:

9

"Because unemployment payments swallow up a lot of money which could be used for more constructive purposes."

"Because these people cost the city a lot of money which is spent in an unproductive way."

"Those public work programs aren't constructive projects, though they help the individual for the moment, they cost the state a lot of money and practically it doesn't get anything out of these programs, the number of unemployed isn't reduced through them."

"Those funds which have to be provided for the unemployed should be used for other purposes, that is to say, new jobs should be created with these funds, for as things are now, the unemployed go bad at the expense of the state."

"The unemployed have to be supported, and the Berlin Senate must make the unemployment payments, these funds could otherwise be used for reconstruction purposes."

Because unemployment hampers economic recovery:

9

"Because purchasing power is low if there are many unemployed, the large factories can't sell their goods as these people can't afford to buy them."

"First of all for economic reasons, for if a person is out of work, he ceases to be a consumer."

"The unemployed hamper the economy."

"Something must be done to combat unemployment in order to stimulate business."

"Because the large number of unemployed is always an indication of unhealthy economic conditions."

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West Berlin

Because unemployment is producing moral deterioration:

8%

"The number of thieves and criminals is steadily increasing as there are so many people who are out of work."

"Morals deteriorate alarmingly, besides, our country is no welfare state, people's characters are fundamentally changed, in the long run this state of affairs will have a demoralizing effect."

"Larceny cases are so numerous that you can say every unemployed person is a criminal, and a person who's led such a disorderly life isn't likely to get back on the straight path."

"Holdups are on the increase."

"The number of holdups is going up, the delinquency rate generally has increased."

Because unemployment is destroying the desire to work:

7

"Because many of the unemployed have no desire to work, they draw unemployment relief and accept odd jobs on the sly, thus they don't have to pay taxes, it's a pressing task for the Senate to remedy this abuse."

"Because people get unemployment relief for years, thus idlers are bred who will never feel like working again."

"The unemployed should do some work for the relief they get, they don't want to work any more, they don't feel like it."

"Because it will induce people to idleness, nobody will feel like working any more, everybody gets his 'pension', as I call it, nobody feels like doing a good day's work any more."

"Because many of the unemployed feel that they get along better if they draw unemployment relief than if they would work, this attitude will be disastrous in the long run."

Because older people have so little chance to find work:

6

"That people over the age of 45 have no chance to find a new job."

"Things are especially bad for people over the age of 55, they aren't yet old enough to get a pension and not young enough to find a new job."

"I know about it because it's been that way with my husband who has been out of work for a long time now, hard as they may try, old people won't find a new job, they will despair as time passes."

"Most firms don't employ older employees and artisans."

Because refugees get preferential treatment:

5

"Refugees are arriving all the time and they have a priority in everything, they get homes more easily, and above all, they are first to get jobs."

"The unemployed suffer because of the refugees, for it's the refugees who are taken care of first of all, the unemployed have to look on and wait."

"There are those refugees who always get preferential treatment."

"Refugees shouldn't get preferential treatment, this policy that's carried on is unsound, I mean, to help the refugees at the expense of the unemployed."

"Unemployment figures don't go down, people grumble about the refugees who get work immediately."

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West Berlin

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Because relief payments are inadequate to make ends meet:

"Because there is widespread misery among Berliners, the unemployed can't exist on the relief they get."

"I'm a house agent, in the house where I live there are many unemployed who hardly can pay their rents, their plight is terrible."

"Because the unemployed can't make ends meet with the relief they get, there is a large number of unemployed, and that's why things go so badly for many people, they can't buy clothes and furniture."

"Because living costs are so high that you can't get along on unemployment relief."

"It is a bitter thing really if people are out of work, they can't make ends meet."

Because West Berlin doesn't get enough help and orders from the West:

"Because we miss orders from the West, foreign countries don't buy anything in Berlin, thus there is no chance of unemployment decreasing soon."

"As not enough loans are granted to West Berlin, not enough jobs can be created for unemployed people."

"Not enough orders are placed in Berlin and thus not enough people can find work, that's why there is no prosperity in Berlin."

"The West should place more orders with Berlin firms, West Germany could do more."

Other answers:

"Perhaps the competent authorities lack a certain sense of responsibility, the members of the Senate should judge things according to their human aspects and not from the point of view of party politics in order to create new jobs."

"As the economy is in bad shape, the unemployment problem can't be solved without outside help, basic problems have to be tackled, people shouldn't only talk about these things, these problems are too ticklish as to be discussed in detail."

"The organization is to blame, the overall organization isn't good, new jobs should be created."

No opinion/No answer:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

\*  
117%

IF Not So Serious to Not Serious At All:

"Why would you say the unemployment problem in West Berlin is ...?"

West Berlin

7%

Because unemployment is decreasing:

"Conditions have considerably improved lately, many unemployed have found jobs."

"Unemployment shows a downward trend, more jobs are available."

"I read in the papers that for the first time the unemployment figure is below 200,000."

"As long as the construction business flourishes many workers can find a job in this field. As I already told you, queues at the Labor Exchange aren't so long any more."

"There are so many things under construction, such works absorb a lot of people."

Because those who want to work can find a job:

"Those who are diligent and willing to work can find a job. They make more fuss about this problem than it deserves."

"Those who really want to work, no matter what kind of work, can find a job."

"The majority of the unemployed could find regular work, but they don't want to, they rather do illegal work."

"There is no skilled worker out of a job, there is even a lack of specialists."

"Vacancies for all kinds of jobs are advertised in the papers."

Because the unemployed are not left to starve:

"In spite of unemployment people get sufficient money to buy things, subsidies for rents are given to them, they aren't too hard up, that's what I think."

"Sometimes the rate of unemployment is high, sometimes it is low, but whatever conditions may be the unemployed are always taken care of, they get their relief payments punctually."

Other answers:

"A lot of things could be changed if only they would develop more courage, the situation only looks so desperate because they are too generous, letting the unemployed sit comfortably at home."

"Illegal work is an essential factor in this field, the refugees who get relief often undercut the prices by doing odd jobs for lower than regular rates, those who live on their wages can't do such work for so low a pay as the refugees do."

"I can't imagine that the competent authorities shouldn't realize that the situation is critical and that something must be done about it, therefore I don't take this problem too seriously."

No opinion/No answer:\*  
15%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## II. Who Should Help Solve The Economic Problem?

MAJORITY REGARD WEST BERLIN ECONOMIC SITUATION MORE AS INTERNATIONAL THAN GERMAN PROBLEM ...

"Do you regard the economic situation in West Berlin more as an international problem or more as a German problem?"

	West Berlin
International problem	60%
German problem	27
No opinion	13
	<u>100%</u>

### IF International Problem:

"Why do you tend to look upon this more as an international problem?"

Because we are still under the control of the occupation powers:

West Berlin

18%

"Because of the occupation business, Berlin is still under Four-Power control, and therefore it's an international problem."

"Because everything that concerns Berlin is managed in one way or the other by the Allies, Germany alone can't handle these affairs."

"Because Berlin is occupied, we have no rights here, and therefore let the occupation powers take care of the economic situation."

"Because the Western powers still are here and jointly manage things, so far the Germans have no say in matters."

"Because the occupation powers are still here, that's why I feel it's an international problem."

"Because in our country the occupation powers have a voice in matters, that's why we can't decide freely and can't take steps to improve our situation."

Because the West must maintain Berlin as a bulwark against Communism:

15

"Berlin is the bulwark against the East, if its economic situation is favorable, this will be beneficial for the West, if it's unfavorable, it will be harmful."

"Because we people in Berlin represent an advance post against the Eastern powers, every nation that wants to ward off Communism must be interested in averting economic ruin from West Berlin."

"It follows from reason, West Berlin is a distress area and something must be done to relieve the misery so that we will be strong enough to serve as a bulwark against the East, if this bulwark should ever crumble, the whole West is endangered, I mean all Western countries."

"If the Western world doesn't want Communism to take over, they have to help Berlin, for the Berliners will stick by those who support them - he who commands Berlin, will command Europe, and he who commands Europe, will command the whole world."

"Because if it weren't for Berlin, Communism would spread even further, and the West has to prevent this otherwise it won't be secure any more, I mean the whole of Europe."

"If we didn't represent a small island in the middle of the East Zone, the Russians would have advanced across the river Elbe long ago, therefore a healthy West Berlin is vital for all of the Western powers, which includes France, England and America."

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West Berlin

Because alone we Germans are too weak to be able to master the economic difficulties:

10%

- "All the other countries must make it their business how we are doing, for we can't get along on our own resources."
- "Because we aren't capable of helping ourselves, I mean West Germany and West Berlin, help must come from outside."
- "Because the Germans all by themselves can't raise the loans which are needed for the island of Berlin."
- "West Germany isn't so rich as to be able to support West Berlin, therefore all the other countries should pitch in."
- "Foreign countries should aid Berlin so that this city will get back on its feet, Germany is too impoverished to pull it off, only a joint effort of all the other nations will accomplish this, I mean all of the Western powers, to be sure."

As the Allied created Berlin's isolated position, they have to do something about it:

9

- "There can't be any doubt about the economic situation being an international problem as the isolated position of Berlin was created by the Allies, therefore it's up to them to bring about a change."
- "Because the Allies created the present situation after they had won the war, they divided the city."
- "Because the occupation powers are still here and this crazy division of Germany still exists, they are responsible for the present situation and nobody else."
- "Because the division of Berlin is the result of the occupation policy, in the beginning the Western powers made too many concessions to the Russians, therefore it's up to the occupation powers to put things in order again."
- "All those things go back to the East/West struggle, we didn't want the division of our country, after all, it's only the Russians and the Americans who quarrel."

Because we are cut off from our hinterland and local markets:

5

- "We lack the hinterland which we need for trading."
- "The unfavorable economic situation is undoubtedly due to the fact that we are cut off from our hinterland through the division of Germany into different zones."
- "As our country is divided into an Eastern and Western part we can't trade with Germany, and as we export goods from West Berlin to America and import things in exchange, this is trade on an international level."
- "Because especially as far as the electrical engineering industry is concerned we Berliners depend on foreign markets, I'm thinking of the Siemens works where I'm employed, we receive many orders from abroad - as we can't trade with the East Zone and thus can't sell our goods there the economic situation in Berlin is an international problem."
- "In order to survive we have to cooperate with foreign countries, we must trade with them, otherwise the industry of Berlin won't have enough market outlets."

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West Berlin

Because we are dependent on the Americans:

4%

"Because we can't manage all on our own, we are dependent on American aid."

"Economically, we depend on American aid, Berlin can't pull it off all alone, not enough orders are placed with us, and we can only get them from the Americans."

"Because as things stand, we are dependent on America in economic matters."

"All the orders we receive go back to the initiative of the Americans, we are dependent on them, today all these problems are solved on an international basis."

Other answers:

5

"Because they all want to make a profit out of Berlin, they want to do business, all four of the great powers are interested in Berlin."

"Berlin is the capital of Germany, and the other countries want to form an alliance with Germany, that's it."

"More goods should be produced and sold in Germany and no foreign goods should be imported, then things would pick up for us, that goes especially for Berlin."

No opinion/No answer:

1  
67%

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

If German Problem:

"Why do you tend to look upon this (economic situation in West Berlin) as more a German problem?"

West Berlin

Because we are primarily interested in a solution:

11%

"Because they are all matters which we ourselves are concerned with, we have experienced them and only we are in a position to understand them right and to tackle them successfully."

"Because the German authorities who are in power now have to solve them and not foreign countries. You see because it's strictly the German's business to solve these problems."

"Because we are primarily interested in having a united Germany again. That is the crux of the whole problem of a future German recovery, for we cannot exist indefinitely like this."

"Because it is of the greatest interest for German itself to make Berlin economy stable and sound again. Berlin is still the capital of Germany and this city must not be allowed to become impoverished."

Because we should help ourselves and not wait for the help of others:

9

"We shouldn't rely on others so much and go begging all the time. We should show them, for once, what we are able to do all by ourselves."

"The Germans must manage to take care of themselves. The Federal government lays claim on so many things and at the same time pretends to be incapable of taking proper care of Berlin."

"Everybody must try to clean up his own household without relying too much on other people, even if you are dependent on aid from outside."

"Because we Germans should help each other. West Germany should give us more aid and support."

"Germany must become stronger out of its own efforts, at the most with minor aid from the Allies, and West Berlin belongs to Germany after all."

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West Berlin

Because we want to remain independent:

6%

"Because we all want to remain German and don't want to be dependent on other countries. It is mainly our own business."

"We shouldn't be dependent upon foreign countries. Because we have to pay back foreign grants in the end and that makes everything even more difficult."

"Only we ourselves know what our problems are all about and it is just as well for foreign countries to know that we are not exactly fond of being spied upon. They could give us financial credits, but how we make use of them is strictly our own business and it is exclusively Germany's own internal problem."

Other answers:

3

"Because Berlin lacks hinterland, in my opinion, this is a purely German problem which could be solved by the Germans themselves, i.e., by a reunification."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{30\%}$

⊙ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## ALMOST ALL SEE NEED FOR OUTSIDE ECONOMIC AID ...

"Do you think that West Berlin at the present time needs outside economic aid, that is to say aid from sources other than West Berliners themselves, or don't you think outside aid is necessary."

West Berlin

West Berlin needs outside economic aid	95%
Outside aid not necessary	1
No opinion	4
	<hr/> 100%

IF Believe West Berlin Needs Outside Help:  
"Why is it necessary?"

West Berlin

33%

Because Berlin is too poor:

"Because Berlin is poor and hasn't enough money which is necessary to bring about economic recovery."

"Berlin as a city is without any financial means, it was never able to exist on its own."

"Because Berlin is still so heavily destroyed that it can't cope with its reconstruction all by its own."

"We are not strong enough to be able to help ourselves, there's a lack of money and of food."

"Berlin can't recover without outside aid because we are too poor."

"Because we here in Berlin haven't enough money to spend so that the Berlin economy can't work smoothly."

Because Berlin is an island, cut off from its hinterland:

33

"We here live as on a lonely island and don't have a hinterland we could trade with - without orders and support from outside we would fall a prey to Bolshevism."

"We are just an island and there can't be an exchange of goods because we have no market outlet, we lack a hinterland which is essential for an independent economic development."

"Because we have no hinterland and are, from the economic point of view, an island which will necessarily be a distressed area."

"Berlin is an island that has to be supplied with orders and raw materials from outside."

"Because we live on an island and haven't any field of action, we lack the possibility to extend our trade and business."

Because of the unemployment problem:

20

"The city on its own cannot support such a great number of unemployed, there has to be support from outside, we cannot do it all alone."

"Because we have more than enough unemployed who would have to starve without support from West Germany or from America."

"Because of the unemployment, it's quite impossible to make go without outside aid."

"Because there are too many unemployed here."

"Because the available financial means here are insufficient, if only because of the high unemployment figure."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Berlin

Because of the lack of orders:

12%

"Berlin's production is insufficient to support itself, there's a lack of orders."

"That orders from outside would be placed here, formerly the public and private services played a very important role here."

"We should get far more orders in order to be able to exist."

"Because Berlin can't support itself all alone, there isn't sufficient work if we don't get more orders from outside."

"We don't have so many connections outside of West Berlin, we - also have to get orders which we cannot procure ourselves."

Because of Berlin's divided condition:

8

"Because the economy of a divided city cannot provide all that's necessary to meet the requirements of 2½ millions of people."

"Because of the division into East and West it is not yet possible for us to exist independently."

"Because Berlin is divided and West Berlin cannot stand on its own legs."

"A cruel fate - its division into four parts - brought Berlin, without any fault of its own, in a position that necessitates help from outside."

Because of the refugee problem:

6

"Owing to the refugee problem Berlin funds are very small and without the aid of nations or countries which are better off than we're we cannot make ends meet."

"Because we are under great moral obligation which we cannot meet without help from outside, all the many thousand refugees arriving here monthly whom we have to help!"

"West Germany's percentage of the burden of refugees is not nearly as high as the share of West Berlin! The Berlin people can't feed those parasites from the East, Berliners won't need any help for themselves but they cannot carry that uncommonly high burden all alone, that's why aid from the West has to be given."

"Because the refugee problem has priority here it is not possible to provide jobs for the unemployed, all the money available is used to find work for the refugees in private business, the Senate can't provide labor for the unemployed because its expenses for the refugees are too high."

"Because Berlin has to spend too much money on the refugees."

Because of the pensioner problem:

6

"Because the percentage of old people is too high in proportion to the rest, those able to work simply can't provide the means for all of the pensioners."

"Because there are too many people living on public relief and those few who work cannot provide the amount of money required to support the others."

"Because of the huge number of pensioners and people living on public relief, I estimate that only 50% of the population are working and pay taxes, all the rest are living on public support."

"If only because of the pensioners and those living on public relief, the government needs a lot of money for that and couldn't possibly raise it all by itself."

"Because we are in very needy circumstances, the great number of old people and war disabled must be supported, but Berlin has no money for that, not from its own resources."

(Cont'd on next page)



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West Berlin

Other answers:

3%

"That the German living standard won't be lowered even more, we no longer have colonies which could support us by providing valuable raw materials and tropical fruit."

"Berlin can't recover without outside aid because its economy is almost ruined and it is much too highly indebted."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{122\%}$

④ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## WEST GERMANY AND AMERICA LOOKED TO FOR OUTSIDE AID ...

"Who do you think should provide this economic aid for West Berlin?" (Asked of all who believe outside aid necessary.)

	West Berlin
West Germany	44%
America	35
Both	5
Others	7
No opinion	4
	<u>95%</u>

IF America Looked To For Outside Aid:

"Why should America provide economic aid to West Berlin?"

West Berlin

23%

Because America is best able to help:

- "Because America has most of the money and also has the possibilities for aid."
- "Because America is in the best position, because it has most of the money."
- "Because it is a rich country. It is the least burden for them."
- "Because they are the wealthiest and have a stable economy by which they can give loans."
- "No other country would be qualified since the others don't have anything themselves."

Because America is responsible for the destruction in Berlin:

10

- "America was primarily responsible for the destruction of Berlin during the war, therefore, America is obliged to help us to become a sound city again."
- "Because they have ruined everything. If the Americans had not dropped that much the Russians would not have won the war the way they have."
- "Due to the terrible air raids they feel obliged to help us. Thereby they want to make amends for the terror."
- "They also have to help those many bombed-out people to get apartments again - the American fliers have made us the poor people we are. If they had not ruined everything I would now rent rooms and would not need support."
- "America still has to make up for a little debit, I am referring to the wilful destruction of our cities."

Because of American political interests in Berlin:

8

- "It has political interests that Berlin will not be taken over by the Russians."
- "It thus helps itself, because the entire world is looking upon us being the buffer-stop between East and West."
- "America has to oppose Communism by this means and has to prevent that West Berliners will act according to the principle - 'It is sink or swim' - and then gulp the food from the HO-friend."
- "They are helping us again because they need us in other respects in Europe, against Communism."
- "For political prestige. The impulse of Self-preservation of America, as they admit themselves."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Berlin

America is responsible for our present situation:

4%

"America must help us, because it is responsible, unintentionally though, for all our misery in Berlin due to the foolish agreement with Russia."

"Because they have permitted the Russians to come to Berlin and now they should at least maintain West Berlin."

"America should do it for human considerations. It has to make amends, plenty of it. The cession of large areas to the Russians, Yalta."

"They have to compensate us for a great deal, because I have lost my home and so have many other people, because the Americans have let the Polish people into our homeland and into our houses."

"They are responsible for our situation and they have to help us out of the lurch."

Because of American sympathy and friendship:

3

"Because they sympathize with us."

"Because it takes the greatest friendly interest in us. For sympathy I think."

"Because they have much sympathy for Berlin and because they can rely on the Berliners."

"It has offered to help us always."

"Because they want to cooperate with us."

Other answers:

6

"I always think of the human point of view."

"Because they need Germany for trade in general. Berlin belongs to it, to Germany."

"Because we cannot get along alone, the refugees devour us. Western Germany cannot help us either with its many refugees."

No opinion/No answer:

\*  
54%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

### III. Appraisal Of West German Economic Aid

#### PREPONDERANCE JUDGE PRESENT WEST GERMAN AID TO BE LITTLE ...

"And can you perhaps tell me whether West Berlin now receives any economic aid from West Germany? (Very much, much, or just a little aid?)"

	West Berlin
Yes, very much aid	5%
Yes, much aid	26
Yes, just a little aid	39
No aid	6
No opinion	24
	<u>100%</u>

#### WEST GERMAN AID SEEN USED IN VARIED WAYS IN WEST BERLIN ...

"Can you perhaps tell me in what way the West German economic aid for West Berlin is used?" (Asked of respondents aware of the existence of West German aid.)

West Berlin

##### For building programs:

21%

"A large part of the aid given is earmarked for building projects."

"I guess part of it is used for rebuilding the city."

"Chiefly for financing loans for building projects."

"The funds are spent on constructing new homes."

"I think the funds are spent for reconstruction projects and new homes."

##### For financing the work relief program:

19

"For the work relief program and things like that."

"For financing the unemployment relief program."

"Funds from the Federal Republic are used for carrying out the work relief program."

"In West Germany people pay higher taxes, and the additional funds are spent for the unemployed in Berlin, and for the work relief program, too, I guess."

##### For reviving the economy:

17

"It's given to free enterprise in the form of loans, it's spent on rebuilding business firms."

"It's earmarked for the industries and trade and commerce of Berlin."

"For supporting our economy."

"So that Berlin firms can work."

"With this aid loans for our industries are floated."

##### For social welfare:

16

"For benefits granted under the social security system."

"Well, out of these funds are pensions paid."

"The funds from the special tax for Berlin (Notepfer) are used for pensions and social relief schemes."

"The funds are used for public expenditure and for social services, such as youth welfare."

(Cont'd on next page)

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West Berlin

For balancing the West Berlin budget:

7%

"I guess the funds are chiefly used for balancing the budget."

"To make up the budget deficit."

"To balance the budget."

"To help them balance their budget, they always have a deficit."

For paying the salaries of officials:

6

"With that money the bureaucracy is kept going, all the money goes to the Senate which spends it for the salaries of the officials."

"This aid is gobbled up by the West Berlin bureaucracy, it's used for raising the salaries of the officials, it's spent in an entirely unconstructive way."

"The funds from the special tax West Germans are forced to pay are used for the salaries of civil servants."

"The funds are used for paying the high salaries of the employees of the administration, I mean."

For supporting the refugees:

5

"For the refugees, you need a lot of money to support the 15 000 refugees who come to Berlin each month."

"These funds are used for helping refugees."

"The refugees from the East Zone are supported with these funds."

"To foot the bill run up by the refugees who mean a lot of costs for Berlin, I guess those funds don't stretch any farther."

For educational and cultural facilities:

4

"Part of it is earmarked for building schools and things like that."

"Schools and concert halls are built."

"The funds are used for building schools."

"For constructing public buildings."

For roads and parks:

3

"For building roads."

"For road construction."

"Parks are constructed."

"New parks are laid out."

"Some funds are used for constructing the subway in Tegel."

Other purposes:

6

"To support bread prices."

"Part of the money is used for paying for holidays of West Berlin children in West Germany."

"The funds go to the Senate, I have no idea what they do with them, only if you learn that Mr. Stumm uses part of the money to build a splendid villa for himself in the Grunewald district you get sore."

No opinion / No answer:

13  
117%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## SOME CRITICIZE PRESENT USE OF WEST GERMAN AID ...

"Is there anything you have to criticize about the way the West German economic aid to West Berlin is used?"  
 (Asked of all respondents after those unaware of West German aid told "Berlin receives economic aid from West Germany.")

	West Berlin
Yes	19%
No, nothing to criticize	58
No opinion	23
	100%

IF Yes : "What do you have to criticize?" (Answers listed only as too few to catalogue)

- "There's a housing shortage but what they build are cinemas, official buildings and revenue-offices."
- "That planning isn't done the proper way. Instead of setting up children's playgrounds they should rather do more house-building."
- "They shouldn't construct such big buildings, for instance the government-subsidized housing projects are too luxurious, they should be made cheaper and more profitable."
- "Too many shops are being constructed instead of housing projects."
- "They shouldn't have spent so much money on constructing office buildings; more housing projects should be built."
- "That parks are planted instead of building housing projects."
- "They should much rather build schools with the money they got instead of building cinemas."
- "Too much money is spent on restaurants and the many cinemas which are in process of being built instead of spending the money for construction of schools and housing projects."
- "They shouldn't build theaters but housing projects."
- "Credits should be used in the first place for housing projects and schools and not so much for administrative buildings."
- "Relief work should be utilized for long-term working projects."
- "That money from these funds is given to the unemployed who don't do any productive work."
- "Most of it is spent on the relief program for unemployed, very often for road construction work which is not in all places necessary. You never know to whom the money is given, sometimes to firms which are not entitled to it - that much becomes clear from court-proceedings."
- "People living on social relief should be given a higher rent-allowance."
- "They should be more considerate of the needs of the small people and should use the economic aid to subsidize food prices."
- "They should continue to subsidize the bread price because bread is the substantial food stuff for the poor."
- "They shouldn't give so much money to the refugees and should watch more carefully those types who run away only for the reason that they don't want to work and incur debts."

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"Refugees get preference."

"The money should be spent solely on building purposes and not for refugees."

"They could place more orders with Berlin."

"Terms for delivery of orders placed here are much too short, if we can't comply with them they tell us they couldn't place orders here anymore, but that's just a bad excuse because they place only these orders here which nobody wants over there because deadlines are too short."

"To provide more jobs and see to it that industrial production is increased."

"I don't like it that civil servants' salaries are raised all the time whereas workers' wages remain the same."

"That too much money is spent on civil servants."

"Because only the civil servants profit by it."

"They shouldn't only increase the salaries of civil servants but give more money to pensioners, civil servants get enough already for their quite useless work."

"Most of the money has been wasted on bureaucracy."

"Because big firms get preference but small people don't get anything."

"Small people's applications for credits will be turned down but big firms will be granted credits."

"Only big industrial firms profit by it, small firms get nothing but the crumbs."

"Capitalism is supported in a much too generous way which is not at all in keeping with the support granted to medium and small firms."

"Economic aid is too easily given to firms which are not entitled to it, the money is often invested in dubious business firms."

"The financial means for Berlin should be spent in a more orderly way, the way it's done here in Berlin is downright favoritism."

"Yes, the money should be distributed to private industries instead of being given to the Magistrate. There should be more reconstruction work rather than raising the salaries of municipal employees and constructing municipal administration buildings."

"Everything happens behind closed doors - who knows what is being done? The Senate acts much too despotically and at its own discretion."

"Pensioners and people living on social relief should be paid by the Federal Government so that Berlin wouldn't have to pay such a large sum of pensions to individual persons."

"The money should be distributed by the Federal Government and not by the Berlin Senate which doesn't play fair with it."

"Everything is handled in a too bureaucratic way, there's no good faith."

"You never know whether the money gets to the right place. They should establish more administrative offices where the unemployed could find jobs."

ONLY SMALL MINORITY SEE WEST GERMAN AID EMANATING FROM AMERICAN  
COMPULSION ...

"For what reasons does West Germany support  
West Berlin with economic aid?"

West Berlin

26%

As a defense against Communism:

"Because they consider Berlin to be an advanced post  
against Communism, they are well aware that if Berlin  
can't be held, the next target of the Communists will  
be West Germany."

"West Germany has no choice, if Berlin is gobbled up  
by the Russians, West Germany will be their next target."

"For political reasons: to use Berlin as a bulwark against  
the menace from the East and as a refuge for the East Zone  
population."

"To serve as a buffer against Communism, we are expected  
to hold out so that West Berlin won't fall a prey to  
Communism."

"Because West Germany fears that Communism might spread  
to West Germany one day."

For national reasons - we too are Germans:

10

"The reasons are quite obvious - to help us preserve our  
German character and our German ways and because we are  
brothers and belong together."

"Out of national feelings, they don't want to let us down  
because we all are Germans."

"West Germany and Berlin belong together, we are all  
Germans, therefore they support us."

"West Germany renders this aid because the men at the top  
are patriots who know their responsibility."

Because we belong to West Germany (to the West):

15

"West Berlin belongs to West Germany, that means that one must  
help the other in case of need."

"Because we belong to West Germany, after all."

"Because Berlin is part of the Federal Republic."

"They possibly can't turn their back on us, we belong to the  
West, after all."

"Because they are obliged to do so, West Berlin belongs to  
the free world."

Because Berlin needs help:

15

"Because Berlin suffers and needs help."

"They know that we are worse off than the Germans in West  
Germany."

"Berlin is an island that can't support itself."

"So that our economic situation can finally improve, they  
want to help us on the island here, cut off from everything."

Because the Americans (the Allies) force West Germany to  
do so:

9

"They don't do it voluntarily, it's the Allies who force them  
to do it."

"By direction of the American Military Government, I mean  
it's done under pressure."

"They have no choice because America wants them to support  
West Berlin."

"They certainly don't render the aid voluntarily, the Ameri-  
cans make them do it."

"It's an American order."

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West Berlin

Because of Berlin's significance as capital:

"It feels obliged to do so because Berlin is the old capital."

"Because West Germany still considers Berlin the capital, and a capital has to have some standing."

"Because Berlin is still the capital of Germany."

"Germany without Berlin would mean a big loss for the Germans since it is de jure still the capital."

Because West Germany is morally obliged to do so:

"They are obliged to do so for moral reasons."

"They support us for moral reasons."

"They have no choice, they can't let us down."

"It is a moral obligation for the West Germans because we belong to them."

To facilitate German reunification:

"Because West Germany aims at Germany's reunification."

"Because the loss of Berlin would make the reunification of Germany very doubtful."

"To contribute towards Germany's reunification."

"To accelerate reunification."

Other reasons (unfavorable to West Germany):

"These people in the West aren't worth powder and shot, they only support us because they fear we might send the Russians over to them if they drop this aid program."

"Because West Germany profits by our calamity, I'm thinking of the taxes they get from those firms that moved from Berlin to West Germany."

Other reasons:

"To demonstrate to the SPD that they, too, are social-minded."

"It's an exchange of goods, they deliver things we can't produce, and take from us articles we manufacture over here."

No opinion / No answer:

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

BUT A THIRD FEEL THAT WEST GERMANY HAS DONE LESS THAN ITS SHARE ...

"In respect to economic aid to West Berlin, has the West German Government done its share, in your opinion, more than its share, or less than its share?"

West Berlin

Its share	58%
More than its share	4
Less than its share	31
No opinion	7
	100%

IF Less Than Its Share:

"What more could it have done?"

West Berlin

19%

West Germany should have placed more orders with Berlin:

"Adenauer promised big orders for Berlin, these promises should have been kept, we need work."  
 "West Germany should have provided us with more orders, it was supposed to represent our lost natural hinterland."  
 "They should have placed orders with our industry thus providing us with work."  
 "The West Germans must get rid of the fear of the Russians and the Russian corridor, because of this fear they've neglected us up till now as far as the placing of orders is concerned."  
 "They should have placed more orders with us."

West Germany should have given more aid to Berlin:

"Just send more money, the West Germans lulled themselves with the hope that West Berlin could overcome all difficulties by itself."  
 "The Berlin fund has been decreased in favor of the budget, that wasn't necessary in my eyes."

West Germany should have moved more administrative and governmental offices to Berlin:

"Instead of settling everything in Bonn, they could have moved some authorities to Berlin thus bringing work and courage to the Berliners."  
 "They should have chosen Berlin as center instead of Bonn, we then wouldn't need any financial help, but money would flow to Berlin in a quite normal way."  
 "West Germany should have moved many more administrative offices to Berlin."  
 "Shift some branches of the Federal Administration to Berlin, the patent office, for instance."

The whole Notopfer (special Berlin tax) should be used for Berlin not only part of it:

"The whole Notopfer tax should be sent to Berlin."  
 "Though we are entitled to get all of the Notopfer we only get a part of it, the other part stays in West Germany."  
 "Already from the beginning the whole of the Notopfer should have been put at Berlin's disposal."  
 "The whole Notopfer belongs to Berlin not only seven millions of it."

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West Berlin

West Berlin industry should have been promoted:

1%

"Our industry shouldn't have moved to West Germany to prevent the unemployment rate from raising so high, I mean, West German authorities shouldn't have given permission for that."

"They should develop some energy to encourage Berlin businessmen to establish new industry branches. Specialists leave Berlin because they don't dare to invest money over here."

"They should re-locate plants from West Germany to Berlin."

"It should have shown more understanding for our special concerns, it could have seen to it, for instance, that Berlin became a famous film center again, film business could be handled very successfully here in Berlin, but we lack the necessary means."

Equality and better cooperation with West Germany:

"West Germany should have made us an equal Land within the Federation, but we are only the fifth wheel to the cart."

"Closest cooperation in the political field is necessary."

Other answers:

"Above all, give all unemployed the chance to go to West Germany, that would be real help."

"See to it that the workers here get the same wages as the workers in West Germany."

"Not to pay such high salaries to the high ranking officials, the sums that would be saved then could be added to our social relief funds."

"Send basic food to Berlin at a favorable price."

No opinion / No answer:

\*  
37%

\* Less than One half Of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IV. Appraisal of American Economic Aid

MAJORITY JUDGE WEST BERLIN TO BE RECEIVING MUCH AID FROM AMERICA ...

"Can you tell me whether West Berlin now receives any economic aid from America? We don't mean here occasional gift programs. (Very much, much or just a little aid?)"

West Berlin	
Yes, very much aid	16%
Yes, much aid	38
Yes, just a little aid	6
No aid	3
No opinion	<u>37</u>
	100%

MOST STATE AMERICAN AID BEING USED FOR BUILDING PROGRAMS AND GENERAL ECONOMIC REVIVAL ...

"Can you perhaps tell me in what way the American economic aid for West Berlin is used?" (Asked of respondents aware of the existence of American aid to West Berlin.)

West Berlin

For building programs:

45%

- "Primarily for building programs."
- "For the promotion of housing construction."
- "For the construction of housing."
- "Construction programs, housing."
- "Apartments are built, the rest is still paid for by the government, I think."

For revival of the economy:

22

- "For our entire economy."
- "For industry and the economy."
- "For the revival of the economy of West Berlin."
- "For the economy by giving money to the plants."
- "For the promotion of exports."

For financing work relief programs:

12

- "The work relief program for the unemployed is financed with it."
- "These funds are used to finance work relief programs which absorb many unemployed."
- "I think that they help to support the unemployed and, furthermore, the work relief program is also financed by this."
- "The work relief program is financed by this."
- "Especially for the work relief projects."

For educational and cultural facilities:

6

- "For universities."
- "For cultural institutions (American library.)"
- "For the reconstruction of schools, I think."
- "Concert halls."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Berlin

For social relief:

5%

"For persons receiving social welfare support."

"For pension payments."

"Especially for pensioners."

"Old people are given support."

"For social welfare."

For roads and parks:

4

"For road construction and parks."

"For parks."

"They are supplying material for subway construction."

For supporting the refugees:

3

"For the alleviation of hardships of refugees."

"It is mostly used for refugees."

"Used for refugees."

"For refugees."

For health service:

1

"For medical purposes, e.g. drugs are purchased from these funds."

"For health services, medicines."

"For hospitals."

Other answers:

2

"To cover the deficit in the Berlin City Budget."

No opinion/No answer:

2

102%

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONLY SMALL MINORITY ADVANCE CRITICISMS OF PRESENT USE OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID ...

"And is there anything you have to criticize about the way the American economic aid to West Berlin is used?"\*  
(Asked of all respondents after those unaware of American aid told - "Berlin receives economic aid from America.")

West Berlin

Yes	11%
No, nothing to criticize	74
No opinion	15
	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes": "What do you have to criticize?"  
(Answers listed only as too few to catalogue.)

"They should have worked more intensively on housing projects."

"The Senate used this money chiefly for expanding the Berlin bureaucracy instead of building housing units."

"Less should be used for the industries now, and more for housing projects."

"Not so many splendid mansions should be built, they should rather construct new housing."

"Because the main stress is laid on the construction of commercial buildings, the few apartments they build often stay empty for months because the rent is too high."

"They build too few housing units. They build swimming pools and large office buildings, theaters, churches and other cultural establishments while we badly need housing units."

"Too much money is spent for the construction of commercial buildings and banks, they should rather use it for housing projects."

"They should build housing units instead of department stores."

"They should in the first place invest the money in housing projects."

"They plant too many parks, they should have built housing units instead."

"They've wasted the money on parks, while damaged houses decayed, they should have used the funds for building housing units, though parks are a nice thing, to be sure, housing is definitely more important."

"They waste the funds on parks, while the right thing to do would be to establish new positions in the administration which would mean secure jobs for people."

"Planting of parks should be more thoroughly planned so that they needn't be destroyed later on for some reason or other. Or take the shipping agency 'Kay' for instance, they've pulled it down, but when we get reunited one day we'll need that agency again."

"The relief program is mere nonsense, being in a job for only thirteen weeks means no real help. Relief work is not constructive work, it's a pity that money is wasted for such programs."

(Cont'd on next page)

\*Since this question was added to the study after the survey was already in progress, the results are based upon 232 cases only.

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"They should use the money to create real jobs instead of letting the unemployed do some odd relief work."

"They should invest money in small firms to keep them alive and not help big businessmen to become richer and to live in dream houses."

"The funds received under the aid program often go to the wrong people, people who spend the money on booze, only big business gets loans, we small shopkeepers didn't get a loan of 2,000 Marks for which we asked."

"Only the big shots are granted loans, the small people who are honest have to fend for themselves."

"The means should be distributed wisely and justly, they should be invested in a constructive way, in such a way that the people generally will benefit."

"Often these means flow into obscure channels, you never learn any details about such deals."

"It often happens that economic aid is granted to those who don't deserve it, I mean it is invested in unstable enterprises."

"Credits are often granted to people who don't appreciate them, I'm thinking of East Zone refugees who 30-40,000 DM to start business with but all they did was waste it for luxuries. People and circumstances should be more thoroughly examined before granting such credits."



# HEAVY PREFERENCE FOR LONG TERM USE OF AID AS VERSUS IMPERMANENT UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF ...

"With which of the following views as to the use of American economic aid to West Berlin would you most agree?"

Herr Schulze: I'm of the opinion that the money should be used in such a way that unemployed persons could obtain employment as quickly as possible even if such employment is not permanent.

Herr Mueller: I'm of the opinion that the money should be invested in projects that, in the long run, would increase the number of permanent jobs.

	West Berlin
Herr Schulze	24%
Herr Mueller	74
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

## PREPONDERANCE JUDGE AMOUNT OF WEST GERMAN AID TO BE LESS THAN AMERICAN AID ...

"Comparing American economic aid in amount with West German aid: is, as far as you know, West German aid greater, less or about the same as American aid? (Somewhat or much greater? Somewhat or much less?)"

	West Berlin
Much greater	6%
Somewhat greater	4
About the same	13
Somewhat less	20
Much less	30
No opinion	27
	<u>100%</u>

## LARGE PROPORTION ALSO FEEL AMERICAN AID TO BE MORE IMPORTANT - ASIDE FROM AMOUNT ...

"Do you believe that apart from its extent the American aid for West Berlin is more important in any respect than the West German aid?"

	West Berlin
Believe more important	42%
No, not more important	46
No opinion	12
	<u>100%</u>

IF Believe More Important:

"In what respect is the American aid for Berlin more important than the West German aid?"

West Berlin

Because America has more funds:

13/6

"Because America has more money, and therefore can give more."

"America has more capital and can, therefore, grant greater loans to us."

"The Americans are able to give us much more than Western Germany."

"America is the only country that has the means which we need."

"They have much more possibilities than Western Germany, because they have more capital."

Because it shows West Berliners they are not standing alone:

11

"Due to the American aid we are strengthened inasmuch as it gives us the feeling that we mean something to America and the world. Western Germany cannot give us that feeling by its aid."

"Because in West Berlin and in the East Zone it strengthens the feeling that we are not left alone in this world."

"If the Americans help us it gives us the feeling of not being left alone."

"Even if for morale reasons only I consider them more important. This aid strengthens the mood and morale and the attitude of the Berlin population."

"Because it gives us the hope that the Americans will continue to stick with us and to help us in case that the Russians should become aggressive."

Because it shows the Russians that America stands with us:

11

"That the Russians will realize that America continues to stick with us."

"If the Russians realize that the Americans stand behind Berlin they will not risk as much as would be the case otherwise."

"Because the fact of America's aid constitutes pressure against the Russian policy."

"With respect to the Russians who would be glad if America would retreat."

Because it underscores Berlin's importance to the world:

4

"Because it shows the world what importance democracy has in Berlin and what importance is attached to Berlin by the Americans."

"With respect to politics. America renders assistance voluntarily while Western Germany is obliged to do so. America thereby demonstrates the interest in Berlin before the world."

"In order to attract the attention of the world and to focus it on Berlin. It has more effect if aid is granted by a foreign country."

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West Berlin

Because West German help has been questionable:

3%

"Because Western Germany has not done much for us yet.

Western Germany is not at all willing to do so either and there is only America left to help us."

"Because you can rely on them, they certainly distribute everything but Bonn always deducts half of it."

"It is always good to have a rich friend who is reliable and who helps quite willingly, which cannot be said of Western Germany."

"I think that voluntary action impresses us more than the stingy Mr. Minister of Finances of Western Germany, who under the pretext of helping Berlin, takes a cut to supplement his budget. I am thinking of the deceit with the 'Notopfer'. The 'Notopfer' is either to be used for Berlin or it will have to be discontinued. I wonder why I am to continue paying for the 'Notopfer'."

Other answers:

6

"Well, if we receive funds from abroad they will have to accept goods in exchange for it which gives us more jobs."

"It is safer to work with American funds because they will not have to be redeemed from one to the other."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{49\%}$

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.

VERY FEW SEE UNFAVORABLE MOTIVES FOR AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID ...

"What do you believe are the reasons for America supporting West Berlin with economic aid?"

West Berlin

POLITICAL MOTIVES (FAVORABLE TO NEUTRAL IN TONE)

Because America wants to have a bulwark and a base against the Russians:

41%

"As a bulwark against the danger from the East."

"Because thereby America intends to hold and to strengthen a bastion against the East. A sound mind is found only in a healthy body."

"America needs us as a base against Communism."

"In order to hold Berlin as a base against the Russians, these would otherwise try to attack West Germany. Berlin is very important for the whole world. He who holds Berlin, holds the world."

"To use Berlin as a base against the Russians, we are their advanced post."

"Because America wants Berlin to be protected against a Russian invasion at any cost."

"So that we will not be taken over by the Russians."

Because America doesn't want us to succumb to Communism:

18

"Above all, to relieve the distress in West Berlin so that Communism will not manage to gain a footing."

"Wherever misery exists, Communism thrives, America wants to avoid this in Berlin because Berlin is the pivot of the free world."

"So that Communism cannot spread in a suffering Berlin."

"America is afraid we would turn into Communists and join the Russians, if it wouldn't support us, and they don't want that to happen."

"That we will not yield to Communism, because where there is prosperity, there are no Communists."

"To fight off Communism. I feel that people who are out of work and who don't get any support lean towards Communism."

Because of prestige and propaganda reasons:

16

"For reasons of prestige, if America does not hold Berlin it will lose the confidence of the entire world, they have said so often that they mean to keep Berlin and they've proved it, too, just think of the air-lift."

"In order not to lose their prestige in the eyes of the East."

"It's a matter of prestige, American prestige throughout the world, political motives are at the back of all this."

"For reasons of propaganda, they want to show the East what America can do."

"America wants Berlin to flourish so that the people in the East will see how well things go for us."

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West Berlin

POLITICAL MOTIVES (UNFAVORABLE IN TONE)

14

"For political reasons, the Americans have never given anything away for nothing, they want to be in a position to meddle in everything in order to rule everywhere."

"They want to wheedle us, as they want our young people to join their armed forces."

"I'm sure they don't do it out of sheer altruism, they profit from it in some way, I think they want to use our young people as cannon-fodder."

"They want to lure us, they need us, for they want us to supply soldiers for them."

HUMANITARIAN MOTIVES (FAVORABLE IN TONE)

Because America wants to help suffering Berlin:

16

"They want to help us, their motives are kind, they realize that the Germans are a hard-working people and that they need support."

"They understand what Berlin has been through during the war years and so they want to help. It's utmost generosity on their part."

"Because they have to and they want to help for humane reasons. The Americans want to reward the Berliners for their courage."

"They realize that Berliners are impoverished and they want to help us."

ECONOMIC MOTIVES (FAVORABLE TO NEUTRAL IN TONE)

5

"For economic reasons, they want to help Germany to recover so that it will be a business partner."

"America takes a financial interest in West Berlin, it wants to trade with us and they want to keep us for the West, I'm thinking of trade agreements in general."

"The Americans are sound businessmen, they feel the Berliners are a good risk."

"In order to invest capital that yields high interest, the foreign countries have confidence in Germany and in West Berlin as well."

"The Americans know what Berlin means for them and the Berliners are grateful for what America is doing, I think at the back of their mind are business considerations, the Americans are businessmen, after all."

ECONOMIC MOTIVES (UNFAVORABLE IN TONE)

7

"I feel they build up the whole of Berlin just for the purpose of doubling their investment once the reconstruction program is completed, they do it for economic reasons, America wants to export and to do business, it wants to dominate the world market."

"They finance the whole thing in order to land a profitable deal, for we have to pay interests, to be sure."

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West Berlin

RESTITUTION FOR PRIOR INJURY  
(FAVORABLE BUT BASED ON ADVERSE ASSUMPTION)

10%

"They've come to understand that after destroying Berlin by bombs they have to help rebuild it."

"They have a bad conscience and want to make up for what they did in the past, I'm thinking of the air-raids."

"They want to help us rebuild what they destroyed in the war, they just feel obliged to do so, partly they have pangs of remorse - they turned us over to the Russians and now they want to make up for it."

"Because they now realize that it was wrong to let the Russians advance as far as Berlin."

"Because they are sorry for having bombed Berlin so badly."

OTHER MOTIVES (FAVORABLE TO NEUTRAL IN TONE)

1

"Because America favors the idea of a community of nations."

"In order to help the German people get along on its own again, the Germans have always been respected and appreciated, maybe the Americans are interested in reviving the Berlin of old and in bringing about a reunification."

"In order to get the Germans to do everything in their power to help struggling Berlin."

OTHER MOTIVES (UNFAVORABLE IN TONE)

2

"Not out of altruism, to be sure."

"I guess it doesn't concern them too much that social conditions are so terrible over here."

"Because they get some advantage out of it."

No opinion/No answer:

4  
121%<sup>a</sup>

ⓐ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ALMOST ALL SEE AMERICA AS HAVING DONE ITS SHARE OR MORE THAN ITS SHARE IN ITS AID EFFORTS ...

"In respect to economic aid to West Berlin, has America done its share, in your opinion, more than its share, or less than its share?"

	West Berlin
Its share	60%
More than its share	32
Less than its share	4
No opinion	<u>4</u>
	100%

V. Does American Aid Continue To Be Necessary?

FEW ANTICIPATE EITHER DECREASE OR DISCONTINUANCE OF AMERICAN AID IN NEAR FUTURE ...

"Do you have the impression that American economic aid for West Berlin will be continued as up to now, will be decreased, or do you think that it will be entirely discontinued?"

West Berlin

Will be continued as up to now	74%
Will be decreased	7
Will be entirely discontinued	1
No opinion	18
	<u>100%</u>

IF Will Be Continued As Up To Now:

"What makes you think so?"

West Berlin

23%

Because of assurances given by Americans:

"Because both, Eisenhower and Dulles, gave their word and I am convinced that America wants to save Germany."  
 "Dulles promised not to leave Berlin in the lurch."  
 "You can gather from the speeches of the American Secretary of State that Berlin can count on America's aid."  
 "Because they emphasize all the time that they won't turn their back on us."  
 "Because the Americans have expressed time and again that they are willing to help us."  
 "The speeches made by the American Secretary of State, I'm thinking of the address he gave upon his arrival at Tempelhof airport for the Four Power conference."

Because America wants to hold this bulwark against Communism:

18

"America will continue this aid for Berlin as this town represents a bridgehead in its bitter fight against Bolshevism, a bridgehead they won't want to lose or leave to the Russians."  
 "Because the free world has recognized that it is not only Berlin that is at stake but the whole free world, to be or not to be that is the question."  
 "Because the Americans know that if nobody helps us, we'll slowly become Communist, hunger is its best ally."  
 "America has a political interest in Berlin, it wants to hold this advanced observation point in Bolshevik territory at any cost."  
 "I presume that the Americans know about our position and our needs, they are well aware that we represent a Western bulwark in Eastern territories."

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West Berlin

7%

Because America is well-disposed toward Berlin:

"You feel that the Americans had and still have a great liking for West Berlin and they are very interested in its fate."

"You can gather that from America's general attitude toward Germany-- Germany is regarded with favor by leading American politicians; because of the American belief in a better future for the German people, America will go on helping us."

"After the last conference you can presume that they will continue to support Berlin because they admire the Berliners' attitude and endurance in their struggle for existence."

"The Americans are our friends now."

Because this aid is still necessary:

7

"Because we still need the aid, for it will take years before Berlin will have recovered."

"Because we can't exist without that help, we lack everything, especially money."

"Because America knows that the economic situation of Germany hasn't yet improved."

"As long as the Americans consider this aid to be necessary, they'll go on to give loans to us for our recovery."

Because they have already invested so much:

6

"Because I think that the Americans are much too sensible they won't drop us now after they have done so much for us, also from the economic point of view - they've invested so much money here."

"They've invested so much money."

"Because America has invested capital in Germany - we cannot yet stand on our own feet and if we became orientated toward the East, America would lose the money it invested."

Because they have helped us up till now:

6

"Because they have supported us up till now, so they won't leave us in the lurch."

"If they helped so far, they will go on doing it."

"If they were not interested in helping Berlin they wouldn't have started their financial aid in the first place."

"They've helped us up till now and they'll go on helping us."

I don't know of any reason why it would be discontinued:

5

"I haven't heard anything to this effect and I don't know why they should discontinue the economic aid."

"I couldn't think of any reason why America should discontinue the economic aid."

"They don't have any reason for not continuing this aid."

"I think so, they don't have a reason for decreasing it."

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West Berlin

Because America wants to keep up Berlin morale:

4%

"If they discontinue this aid the people's morale might sink."

"If this aid will be stopped an abrupt change of the people's mood might be the consequence."

"Because otherwise discontent among the people is to be expected, and that's something America doesn't want."

Because they still want to do business with us:

2

"They make efforts to put everything right here in our city because afterwards they could do business and trade with us."

"America needs us for business purposes, they want to trade and to make money and that's just what we want."

"The Americans want their business to prosper, they want to get still more profits out of us than up till now, it would be a financial loss not only for us but for them as well if the economic aid would be discontinued."

Other answers:

4

"Because the ERP program has been continued though it was originally planned to drop it already in 1952."

"Because Reuter made a profound impression on the Americans."

"The Americans reduced Berlin to rubble, so we can expect from them that they continue to help us reconstruct it."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{3}{85\%}$

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.



ALMOST ALL SEE CONTINUED AMERICAN AID NECESSARY ...

"How necessary is it, in your opinion, that America continued its economic aid to West Berlin?"

	West Berlin
Highly necessary	36%
Very necessary	32
Necessary	24
Somewhat necessary	2
Not so necessary	1
Not necessary at all	*
No opinion	5
	<u>100%</u>

PREPONDERANCE BELIEVE THAT AMOUNT OF AMERICAN AID SHOULD BE INCREASED ...

"What is your opinion about the American economic aid for West Berlin: can it at the present time be decreased, should it remain at its present level, or are you of the opinion it should be increased?"

	West Berlin
Can be decreased	6%
Should remain at present level	35
Should be increased	49
No opinion	10
	<u>100%</u>

IF American Aid Should Be Increased:

"Why should it be increased?"

West Berlin

To more speedily solve the unemployment problem:

23%

"Unemployment would decrease all the sooner for it, because if there's more money, there are also more orders."

"That the unemployment problem could be solved more speedily."

"Because more people would find jobs and unemployment could be reduced more quickly."

"To provide more jobs as soon as possible."

"Unemployment has grown since the decrease of the economic aid."

"It should be increased in order to solve the unemployment problem."

"If it would be increased there would be more work and unemployment would decrease, we don't ask for gifts, it would be quite sufficient if we would get more orders, you get sick and tired of receiving alms all the time."

(Cont'd on next page)

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Because so much more reconstruction is still needed:

167

"There are too many ruins here, there should be a larger building program, then we would be better off."

"To think of house building - there should be more money for that purpose, more houses should be built."

"Houses and apartments are most essential, it's important that everybody should have a decent home of his own."

"There is so much construction work to be done to provide more houses for people."

"Because the housing shortage has become very serious, a great number of people still live in slums, there's the dry-rot fungus in the apartment I'm living in, places like that should be condemned."

"Because Berlin is still in such a bad state, there is no much space where houses should be built."

To stimulate our economy:

13

"That Berlin's economic capacity could be used to the full."

"Trade and commerce would be stimulated then, up till now the financial aid has been used only to promote production."

"The economic aid should be increased so that a boost could be given to small and medium firms, up till now they've always got a bad deal."

"For boosting our economy, we are still lacking so many things."

"If economic aid would be increased the economic recovery process would be speeded up."

To strengthen Berlin's power of resistance against the East:

5

"To deprive Bolshevism of any chance of aggression, to immunize the Berlin population against Eastern influence, the more support we get from America, the firmer will be the attitude of the people of Berlin in case of a serious conflict between East and West."

"To fortify our position against the East, Berlin must be strong and unassailable."

"Because at the moment we are in great danger again, owing to the political situation - it's a matter of political importance whether Berlin's economy prospers or not, especially with regard to the attitude of the East Zone population."

"If we see that the outside world is interested in us we find it easier to stick it out here."

"For political reasons, it would be a very good thing because the Americans would gain in prestige with all Berliners which would strengthen our power of resistance against the East."

To relieve the misery of pensioners and refugees:

5

"Because the misery of pensioners like we are still is very great, we would like to live a life worthy of human beings."

"Because of the widespread misery of pensioners."

"To help old people whose pensions are too small and to prevent the young from turning into criminals."

"There are too many pensioners we have to feed."

"Because a lot of money is still needed for the refugees and we can't pay that much in Germany because we have become so poor due to the war that we have to rely on the aid given by the USA."

Other answers:

3

"To give Berlin the chance to free itself of its financial obligations as soon as possible."

"Because many people could get more help then, also as far as their health is concerned, it's so often you hear that people suffer from bad nerves - all these people could get help then."

No opinion/No answer:

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

657a

## DIRE CONSEQUENCES SEEN FOR BERLIN IF AMERICAN AID NOT CONTINUED ...

"Supposing America, for some reason or other, would not continue its economic aid to West Berlin, what would be the consequences?"

West Berlin

General adverse economic consequences:

35%

- "Then things would be pretty bad for us, for we are dependent on American aid, the entire economy of West Berlin would come to a standstill."
- "Then the economy of West Berlin would collapse."
- "Then our industry would be left without capital and would slowly collapse."
- "Serious economic crises would ensue, things might be once more as they were during the blockade."
- "There would be chaos, because everything would come to a standstill, no building projects would be carried out any more, and all work begun under the relief program would stop."

West Berlin would veer toward Communism:

25

- "Berliners would more and more fall for Communist propaganda as they'd go hungry, and once Berlin is Russian, the whole of Europe will soon be Russian, the Americans are well aware of this."
- "A large part of Berlin would turn Communist and the consequences for the free world would be disastrous, other countries in a similar position would then go over to the Communist camp right away."
- "Then unemployment would become even more widespread and many people might jump on the Russian bandwagon as they'd feel that things couldn't go on in that way and as they'd hope the Russians would perhaps help them."
- "Then everybody would make an about-face and would side with the Russians, if the Americans wouldn't help us any longer people would feel that everything was lost anyway, they'd think we'll at least find a job siding with the East."
- "Unemployment would spread and Communism would easily gain a footing in our part of the city as Communist propaganda is very active at present in the Eastern sector of Berlin."

Unemployment would mount:

25

- "Through this our economic situation would become considerably worse, unemployment figures would probably rise and the standard of living would sink even lower."
- "We'd all have to live on unemployment relief."
- "Very many people would lose their jobs, many families would be destitute, the younger generation would become demoralized, I would leave Berlin in that case."
- "Widespread unemployment and discontent would ensue, people would feel resentment against the West, the Americans just moved us down in the war, after all, so the people would grumble if they'd leave us in the lurch now."
- "Unemployment would even increase and parallel with this the standard of living of the people would be sharply reduced, besides the young people will become demoralized if they don't find a job."

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West Berlin

16%

The Russians would take over West Berlin:

"That's an awful idea! - Business would come to a standstill as there would be nobody who could finance all this, and then the Russians would undoubtedly move in."

"If once more things went downhill for us, the Russians certainly would rejoice, and they'd make a grab for West Berlin."

"The people of West Berlin might become discouraged, as long as America supports Berlin, people say, 'Well, the Yanks won't throw their money away,' the moment they'd cut off their aid, the East would try to gobble up West Berlin."

"Then everybody would go shopping in the East and West Berlin would be ruined, the approaches to the West would be unguarded, that means the Russians would occupy the whole of Berlin, and later on the whole of Germany."

"At present we can't exist without getting help, if the Americans would withdraw, some other party had to take over, maybe even the Russians would step in, and I certainly don't want that to happen."

"If they left us in the lurch, then the Russians might take over West Berlin."

Strikes and riots might ensue:

10

"There might be disturbances, I'm thinking of excesses committed by disgruntled unemployed on trade unionists, strikes might break out."

"The consequences would be disastrous, serious riots might ensue, radical elements wouldn't stop at anything in order to better their desperate situation."

"The consequences for West Berlin would be dreadful, for then the day of reckoning would arrive."

"The criminal delinquency rate would rise, they'd turn to desperate means out of an instinct of preservation, thus endangering public safety."

Food would become scarce:

9

"We'd nearly starve to death, for we can't do without American aid, the support we get from West Germany doesn't suffice."

"The food situation would become desperate, we wouldn't get enough to eat, the East can't feed us."

"A famine would ensue."

"We couldn't buy anything any more, we'd starve and suffer privations."

"No food supplies would arrive any more."

West Berlin would be forced to depend on West Germany:

3

"We would be completely dependent on the Federal government, and they won't pull it off all alone."

"West Germany would have to make up the balance, but I don't think it will ever come to that, that's why I have never given that matter a thought."

"Then West Germany must stand in the gap."

"Then West Germany would supply us with the necessary funds, they'd have to, there would be no consequences for West Berlin."

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West Berlin

American prestige would suffer:

1%

"If the Americans would withdraw the Russians would triumph, American prestige would be lowered."

"People's sympathies for the Americans would cool."

"People wouldn't look upon America as the protector of freedom any more."

"The Americans would lose in political prestige."

Other answers:

6

"Then the older people would have no choice but to commit suicide, people would be terribly afraid."

"If an animal is always on the verge of starving, it will try to find something to eat from whatever source there may be."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{4}{134\%}$

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.



MAJORITY BELIEVE WEST GERMANY COULD NOT TAKE UP SLACK IF AMERICAN AID DISCONTINUED ...

"Are you of the opinion that West Germany today could take over in addition the American part of the economic aid for West Berlin, if America should discontinue its aid, or would West Germany not be in a position to do so?"

	West Berlin
Yes, could do so	22%
No, could not	64
No opinion	14
	<hr/> 100%

"If America should not continue its support for West Berlin, do you believe that the West German Federal Government would then take over the American part in addition, or don't you believe so?" (Asked of respondents who believe West Germany could make up for loss of American aid.)

	West Berlin
Yes, would take over	15%
No, would not	7
No opinion	*
	<hr/> 22%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

WEST GERMAN INABILITY TO TAKE UP SLACK EMPHASIZED EVEN BY THOSE  
ACKNOWLEDGING IMPROVED WEST GERMAN ECONOMIC SITUATION ...

"Is it your impression that the West German economic situation has improved or worsened in the past two or three years, or has it remained about the same? (Somewhat improved or much improved? Somewhat worsened or much worsened?)"

West Berlin

Much improved	52%
Somewhat improved	27
Remained the same	14
Somewhat worsened	1
Much worsened	*
No opinion	6
	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

IF Much Improved or Somewhat Improved:

"Some people say that since West Germany's economic situation has improved the West German Federal Government should now be in a position to take care of the economic problems of West Berlin alone instead of drawing further on other countries' help. Do you agree with this opinion or do you consider it to be wrong?"

West Berlin

Agree completely	14%
Agree partially	9
Consider wrong	49
No opinion	7
	<u>79%</u>

IF Consider this opinion to be wrong:  
"Why?"

West Berlin

26%

Because West Germany can't afford it yet:

"Such an opinion is wrong, West Germany too, gets foreign aid."

"I strongly doubt this, West Germany needs foreign aid now as ever, without that aid it wouldn't be in a position to support us, I presume that West Germany even depends on foreign aid though it gives the impression as if people are doing well over there."

"The situation of West Germany has improved, I grant, but it still leaves much to be desired."

"The financial situation of the Federal Republic isn't healthy enough for being fully charged with the economic support of Berlin."

"The West German government can't afford it, otherwise Minister Schaeffer wouldn't wriggle like an eel when funds are at stake."

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West Berlin

15%

Because of the West German refugee burden:

"No, that's impossible, we mustn't forget that it absorbs all the refugees and takes care of them."

"West Germany is far better off than we are, that goes without saying, but the refugee problem and all in this line is such a heavy burden for the Federal Government that it certainly can't also be fully charged with the care for Berlin."

"No, I think that also the West Germans know what sleepless nights are, the many refugees cause a lot of trouble to them."

"The West German government still has to settle the refugee problem, it can't take over America's role in addition."

"It's very doubtful as to whether West Germany can take over the whole burden, it has even more worries than we Berliners, I'm thinking of the refugee question."

Because West Germany is still busy with its own reconstruction:

9

"West Germany is busy with reconstruction work, it must look after its own interests first."

"West Germany isn't in a position to do so since it still has to remove damages caused by the war in its own territories."

"West Germany has to be reconstructed first."

"I can't imagine that West Germany could bear this additional burden, it still suffers from the after effects of the war."

"West Germany wouldn't be able to do so, it hasn't recovered yet."

Because West Germany pays occupation costs and a defense contribution:

3

"I don't believe it, there are the high occupation costs."

"It isn't that far yet, it is still hard up and the going will even become more tough since it has to set up an army."

"It can't afford it, there are too many obstacles that have to be overcome first, I'm thinking of its contribution to the Western defense."

"I don't think so, it has enough to do to pay for the upkeep of the American troops stationed over here."

Because of the many unemployed in West Germany:

3

"That's impossible, West Germany - like Berlin - has too many unemployed."

"I think that West Germany has just enough unemployed to look after, under these circumstances it can't possibly take over the upkeep of Berlin."

"That would be too much for West Germany, the high unemployed rate is quite a problem for the Federal Government, a more substantial support of Berlin would cost too much money."

"That's out of the question, the situation on the West German labor market is very difficult."

"West Germany, too, has a lot of unemployed."

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West Berlin

Because of the West German housing shortage:

1%

"That's impossible there is too great a housing shortage in West Germany, it's not only we who suffer from this."

"I don't think that West Germany could cope with such an additional burden, housing shortage is still grave over there."

"Housing shortage in West Germany is still more acute than over here."

Other answers:

2

"I don't believe it, considering the bad financial situation of the Bundesbahn (West German railway) for instance."

"I don't believe that West Germany's economic situation has improved so considerably, the high fuel prices prevent that."

No opinion/No answer:

\*  
59%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## PART B - SOME GENERAL INDICES OF MORALE

I. Present Situation

## MAJORITY CONSIDER PERSONAL INCOME SOMEWHAT MEAGER TO INADEQUATE ...

"In general, do you consider your income to be adequate, somewhat meager, or inadequate?"

	West Berlin
Entirely adequate	10%
Quite adequate	24
Somewhat meager	41
Inadequate	25
No opinion	*
	<u>100%</u>

## MAJORITY FEEL ECONOMICALLY AND FINANCIALLY INSECURE ...

"Some people feel rather secure economically and financially, Other have great economic and financial worries: How is it in your case?"

	West Berlin
Feel secure	34%
Feel somewhat secure	12
Feel somewhat insecure	13
Feel insecure	41
No opinion	-
	<u>100%</u>

IF Feel Secure or Somewhat Secure:

"Can you tell me more about it?"

Earn a living:

West Berlin  
28%

"Well, my husband has work and the money he earns suffices for our family of three."

"My husband makes a comfortable living."

"I have a good job."

"My husband has held down his present job for many years now, though many people have been dismissed it looks as if his job is secure, in most of the business firms in the East older and experienced employees are greatly valued."

"Because I was accepted as a permanent civil servant, I get a good salary, besides I have no family."

Get a pension:

10

"Because we get along on our pension."

"I'm entitled to a pension, and nobody can take it away from me."

"I get a pension as I used to be a civil servant."

"I get a pension and live contentedly with my children."

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West Berlin

Don't ask for much:

9%

"I don't demand great things of life any more."

"I live in the home of my daughter, I have a bed and get my meals, what more can I ask for, old as I am?"

"I don't ask for much."

"I get along on little."

"I'm undemanding."

"Because I'm very economical."

Other answers:

1

"I was paid a certain sum under the equalization of burdens law, that helped me quite a lot, I got a home and bought furniture."

"We are all kind toward each other, he who believes in God will always be content, we just trust God to help us, we didn't elect a new pastor as we feel that our present pastor can preach while being seated just as well, we'll let God take care of this."

"Because I'm on my own and I'm clever in handling my money."

No opinion/No answer:

\*  
48%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IF Feel Insecure or Somewhat Insecure:

"Can you tell me more about it?"

West Berlin

12%

Unemployed:

"Because I'm unemployed, I needn't say more."

"I'm unemployed since 1946, that's almost 8 years and my dole is DM 20.30 weekly, that's not enough to live on and too much to die with."

"Since I left school I haven't had a proper job, I get unemployment relief since last year but that's nothing and my mother gets only a small pension."

"I'm unemployed for a long time now and gradually everything wears out, I don't know how long I can go on like this, my husband can't find a job, and we're almost at the end of our tether."

"At the moment I get unemployment relief and I hope to get my widow's pension soon, it's the best thing to have work, only then one can live fairly well."

"I have to be prepared for not getting a job any more and always having to rely on my wife's salary and the few cents I got as unemployment relief."

Earnings are too small for present-day prices:

12

"Because I don't earn enough money and prices are getting higher and higher."

"Because living costs are too high to be covered by unemployment relief money."

"Because wages and expenses are unbalanced, I'm an employee and my salary has been increased by 7% only whereas craftsmen had an increase of 30% - it's not enough for the higher living costs."

(Cont'd on next page)

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West Berlin

"Because nowadays prices for everything are much higher than before the war and you simply can't earn enough to buy all the things you could use."

"My wages are too small that sometimes I don't know how to meet all requirements."

Pensions are too small:

"My husband's pension is too small and we have just enough for the bare necessities of life."

"Pensions are too small and you can't make any purchases, it's just enough for bare necessities."

"My pension is too small."

"I got only a widow's pension and nothing else, I don't want to draw public relief money because my children would have to repay it."

Job is only temporary, only a seasonal worker:

"Because my husband is employed with the East Berlin railways and might be fired any time because he isn't on the permanent staff."

"I'm working in the garment industry and it's seasonal work I'm doing, therefore I'm often without a job."

"Well, what could I tell you, I'm a bricklayer, I have a job at the moment but towards fall it will be different, as soon as it grows cold our work has to be stopped."

"I'm a bricklayer and I think it's awful that although being an able-bodied man you are forced to be idle five to six months a year just because there is no work and I can't put any money by."

Have business troubles:

"Because we haven't enough customers, people have to pinch nowadays and buy in those shops where prices are cheaper owing to wholesale purchases."

"Because turn-overs in my business have gone down and, besides, I'm an engineer and as such not qualified for the job of a sales agent as somebody else might be."

"I have to pay cash (Importers' association) but on the other hand I have to give credits to West German retail firms, credits up to 45 days and that's a great burden because as an importer I can only calculate with small profits - solvency in West Germany is generally much better than in Berlin."

Family troubles:

"My son was killed in action and my husband committed suicide, so I'm all alone and there's nobody to help me pay the high costs for the doctor."

"Because my husband is sick since a long time ago."

"My youngest daughter suffered from asthma and needs a cure at a health resort, I didn't even have the 70 Marks I needed."

"Because of the death of my daughter I've got into much trouble."

Too old to find work:

"I don't find a job because, being 47 years of age, I'm too old."

"I can't expect to find a job because I'm too old already."

"My husband is 57 years old and he was told repeatedly that he was too old."

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West Berlin

Housing too expensive:

"The rent is too high."

"What can you expect if you get 31 Marks unemployment relief a week and the rent is 55 Marks."

"The housing office allocated this apartment to us and it's too expensive, otherwise we would have more money to live on."

"I can't pay a higher rent and because of the small kids not all house-owners would take us in."

Lost our belongings:

"I've lost my home-country, my property and all my belongings, there can't be a greater misery than that."

"I was bombed out several times and have to start buying everything all over again."

"We've been robbed of all our financial means and our property by bombing, therefore it's a bitter and rather miserable old age we have."

"Because we have to purchase furniture we had to leave behind in the Eastern territories."

As a returned POW must begin all over:

"I'm a recently returned POW and have to buy everything anew."

"My husband was released in 1948 and had to buy everything."

"I returned after Christmas in 1948 and didn't have anything left, only in 1951 I found a job and have to purchase everything."

Other answers:

"The rate of exchange for East and West Berlin wages is too low, I got higher wages in East Berlin but when I change them into West Marks I get only as much as I would earn according to the Western tariff which is lower."

"Nobody can feel safe these days because the political situation may change any month."

"They refused payment of the grant-in-aid for purchase of furniture (Hausratshilfe), we're so bad off that I can't even buy myself a dress, you have always to stint yourself of food to buy something like that, homeowners with new houses and civil servants, especially teachers, are better off, teachers got increase in salary all the time!"

No opinion/No answer:

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

# INSTANCES OF IMPROVEMENT IN PERSONAL SITUATION OVER PAST YEAR MATCHED BY LOSSES ...

"If you look back at your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same?"

	West Berlin
Better today	29%
Worse today	26
Just as good	29
Just as bad	15
No opinion	1
	<u>100%</u>

## IF Things Better Today:

"In what respect are things better today than a year ago?"

West Berlin

### Because of increased income:

10%

- "Because a year ago I did not get the survivors' pension."
- "My pension has been increased from 45 to 81 DMs."
- "Before we did not get a pension, neither my mother nor myself, and now we are getting it."
- "I have a higher income now."
- "My husband is earning more money in the meantime."

### Because of finding employment:

5

- "Because my husband has found a good job in the meantime."
- "I was unemployed and sick for a long period, now I am working again and the longer I am employed the more stable my situation becomes."
- "I have found a job in the meantime, this of course means more money."
- "My husband has found a job as a junior assistant."
- "I have found employment again."

### Because of better employment conditions:

5

- "I am now in a secure position with Siemens, a year ago I did construction work."
- "My position seems to be more secure than a year ago."
- "Because my husband got back his old job and makes a fairly good salary."

### Because of improved conditions:

4

- "Because attempts are made to improve the standard of living of the people in West Berlin by the artificial revival of the individual, and simultaneously raising the purchasing power of the individual. This also affects my business."
- "I have sold my small bakery with its old oven and have bought a larger bakery with a larger clientele, thus having higher earnings now."
- "We have been able to move our store to another place thus getting customers besides our regular clientele."
- "I have small trade with paper flowers which is picking up now."

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West Berlin

Because of having left the East:

"I have come from the Zone and I am now receiving a pension. Now I can at least manage to live, even there I did not get anything."

"I am a refugee from the East Zone. I have a job here and I am doing fairly well according to my experience."

"Because then I was still living in the East Sector and could not buy any goods of good quality, at least only at a rate of exchange of 1:4."

"Because I don't have to be afraid any longer of being arrested by the Vopo. I am a refugee from the East Zone."

Because of increased family income:

"Because my son has completed his apprenticeship last year and is now making more money. Thus we have two earners in the family."

"Because my wife is working, too."

"I have worked in the meantime and at the present time you can make more because my husband and myself are both working."

Because the housing situation has improved:

"I have an apartment of my own now."

"Because I have an apartment of my own again."

Others:

"The ratio of exchange of 90% as to only 60% a year ago (my husband is working in the East Sector)."

"It is easier to get along today. I am supported by my fiancée now."

"As the 'Ideal Couple' of Berlin my wife and myself have started a happy marriage and we are financially well off while before we were getting along with great difficulty, with respect to income."

No opinion/No answer:

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.



IF Things Worse Today:

"In what respect are things worse today than a year ago?"

West Berlin  
8%

Because wages and pensions have remained the same while prices have gone up:

- "The wages have remained the same but everything is getting more expensive. I have to stint myself of food for every small purchase."
- "Because everything has become too expensive and the salary of my husband has remained the same."
- "Everything has become much more expensive but my allowance has remained the same."
- "Food prices have increased but our wages have remained the same or have been reduced."
- "Because everything has become more expensive, only the pension has remained the same. Even the allowance for my son has been discontinued."
- "Everything has become more expensive but wages have not gone up."

Because of the general price increase:

- "A year ago everything was cheaper than today. You cannot even buy the most essential items."
- "Owing to the price increase of foodstuffs I cannot buy as much anymore. A year ago everything was much cheaper, and that coal is now going up too makes it very hard for me."
- "Foodstuffs have become considerably more expensive and I can buy only the most essential items for my money. If rents go up more I don't know what I'll do."
- "Today we can buy less than a year ago. Meat has become more expensive and so have coal and rents."
- "Because it is getting more expensive, the most important that you need: sugar, meat, bread, etc."

Because of unemployment:

- "Because I have lost my job in the meantime."
- "My husband became unemployed in the meantime."
- "Because I had money then and now I have become unemployed because of sickness."
- "A year ago I still had a permanent job. Now I have nothing to do and don't earn anything."
- "The unemployment of my husband for five years makes itself felt more and more. There is no piece of undamaged underwear, no shoe without patches on the top, nor suit or dress that is not worn out."

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West Berlin

Because of the worsened occupational situation:

- "I have a lower turnover in my business and thus I am earning loss."
- "I am a salesman (textiles) and my sales today are only half as much as last year. Actually, I am an engineer by profession."
- "We own a small store and our situation has grown worse since last year because the big companies like 'Reichelt', etc. have moved in and by their wholesale buying they are always a few cents cheaper than we are."
- "Because I am earning loss today, I used to work as a dressmaker for the British and now I am only a maid."
- "In business competition has grown that much that price dumping is constantly increasing. Money has become scarce and my customers' payments are slow. I have less cash than at that time."

Because of family misfortune:

- "My husband has deserted me and his payments for myself and the children are very poor and irregular."
- "Owing to changes within the family, i.e. the death of my husband and the emigration of my son I have run into financial difficulty which I have not experienced before."
- "I have obtained a divorce from my husband and I receive very little support."
- "Owing to the sickness of my husband we are worse off today. We now have less money."
- "My daughter has died a short time ago. Now, with the small child of my daughter, I have to live on a small allowance. Formerly, my daughter supported me."

The pensions are too low (government allowances):

- "A year ago I was still on unemployment compensation, now I am on public relief and there are always deductions because my wife is working."
- "The situation has become more serious. Now I am really becoming aware of the hopelessness of the overall situation. Moreover, the unemployment compensation is too low, I would rather do work."
- "A year ago my husband was still working and now we have to live on the allowance."

Others:

- "Following the Korea boom the economy and the prices have gone down and the profit margin is smaller."

No opinion/No answer:

- Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## NO NET IMPROVEMENT IN WEST BERLIN MORALE SEEN OVER PAST YEAR ...

"In your opinion, how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general: Is it better than a year ago, or worse or just the same? (Just as good, just as bad?)"

	West Berlin
Better today	22%
Worse today	26
Just as good	31
Just as bad	11
No opinion	<u>10</u>
	100%

II. Future Expectations

MAJORITY SEE WEST BERLIN ECONOMIC SITUATION BECOMING BETTER IN FUTURE ...

"Are you of the opinion that the economic situation in West Berlin in general is developing favorably or unfavorably? (Favorably or very favorably?) (Unfavorably or very unfavorably?)

	West Berlin
Very favorably	2%
Favorably	53
Neither/nor	22
Unfavorably	12
Very unfavorably	1
No opinion	10
	<u>100%</u>

IF Believe Situation Developing Favorably:  
"Why are you of this opinion?"

West Berlin

Because the Federal Government has promised assistance to Berlin:

13%

"By the speeches of Dr. Adenauer and the promises he has made to us, and I believe in this. These are no unfounded promises like the ones we are brushed off with by the East. It is the firm resolution of the Federal Government to help Berlin by all means."

"Because we receive aid from West Germany for the reconstruction of our economy."

"Because Adenauer has stated that we will now receive orders and now they want to get this started immediately."

"As far as I can see it, I must say that the promises of Dr. Adenauer have been increased by the Federal Government. It was learned here that more orders of the Federal Government are given to West Berlin."

"Bonn has promised assistance, Adenauer has stressed it over and over again in his speeches."

Because of construction activity:

13

"Construction activities are constantly increasing which definitely indicates that we are economically better off than formerly. A poor country cannot build so much."

"Because more and more is being built and this is on what our economic situation depends. You can see that construction is constantly increasing."

"If you watch how store, office buildings, and plants are being rebuilt, this certainly is a good development."

"Over the past years it has become better every year, With the reconstruction of the houses, the office buildings and the parks."

"Construction activities are resumed and then other branches of business will be better off, too."

Because the West, especially America, will continue to support Berlin:

11

"Because the occupation powers, especially America, give much money to West Berlin."

"In this only that the Americans can help us and they do so. You could tell that by the Airlift and so they will continue to help us."

"I am optimistic and I don't see a reason to have no hope. America will continue its material aid to West Berlin and step by step Berlin will catch up, too, I think."

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West Berlin

"Because without America we would have starved and the Russians would have pushed us aside. Everybody says that things continue to improve."

"The Americans are constantly increasing their orders for West Berlin. There will be jobs for many people."

Because the Berlin economy receives more orders:

9

"More orders apparently are now coming to Berlin. This is the main thing. If more orders are coming in everything will slowly become more sound. Capacity will increase as a result of it."

"Orders are now coming from Western Germany, thereby the economy will continue to develop favorably."

"By having received more orders now for Berlin."

"Because fewer firms are now moving to the West than in the beginning, and the Berlin economy is receiving more orders."

Because of a general impression:

8

"Because I have the impression it is constantly improving."

"Just by intuition, it is my impression."

"I think so and I hope so."

"Because many things have improved since 1945."

Because of the decline in unemployment:

6

"There is a certain upward trend inasmuch as there are more people employed now than formerly, two years ago."

"Unemployment is going down."

"I can tell that by the decline of unemployment."

"Improvement is slowly getting under way, unemployment is not as great any more."

Because the standard of living is improving:

5

"You can see that since the end of the war people are well-dressed again and that the purchasing power, in view of the particular situation of Berlin, still shows an upward trend."

"You can see that almost every businessman owns a car now, so they too must be better off than before."

"Because the goods are improving in quality and prices are not as high any more, and you can afford to buy things to some extent."

"Even more than formerly the living of the individual has become more secure. In general, the West Berliners are well-dressed owing to the favorable development."

Because many new stores are opened:

1

"Because you can see that more and more stores are opened and never before has there been so much variety in the showwindows as now, not even before 1914."

"Thinking of the recent years, a lot has been accomplished so far. You can see that many new stores are opened."

Other answers:

5

"We the unemployed are now receiving more compensation, food-stuffs, and coal. I don't bother about other matters."

"From the trade union standpoint, that we be given credits thereby providing for economic progress."

No opinion/No answer:

1  
72

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.



BUT MOST SEE INCOME REMAINING THE SAME FOR NEXT YEAR ...

"How do you judge your financial prospects for the next year: Will your total income plus that of your family be about the same as this year, or will it be higher or lower?  
Naturally nobody knows this exactly, but what do you think?"

	West Berlin
About the same	64%
Higher	14
Lower	7
Depends on ...	14
No opinion	1
	<u>100%</u>

OPTIMISM HIGHER ON INCREASE IN INCOME OVER NEXT FIVE YEARS ...

"What are your expectations for the next five years: will your situation be about the same as it is now, or do you believe you'll be better or worse off after five years than today?"

	West Berlin
As it is now	35%
Better	38
Worse	5
Depends on ...	20
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

III. Stamina**LARGE MAJORITY CONFIDENT WEST BERLINERS CAN CONTINUE TO HOLD OUT AGAINST ADVERSITY ...**

"Please imagine the following: West Berlin's difficulties and troubles existing since the end of the war would go on without much change for about 20 years. Do you think the people of West Berlin would stand this situation for such a long time or would they not?"

<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 53 (400)
	Early April 54 (415)
Yes, they would	78%
No, they wouldn't	15
Qualified answer	5
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

**MAJORITY CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO CONSIDER LEAVING BERLIN EVEN IF JOB AND HOUSING AVAILABLE IN WEST GERMANY ...**

"Would you leave Berlin for good if you had the opportunity?"

	<u>West Berlin</u>						
	Oct 48 (399)	May 49 (300)	Aug 49 (301)	Apr 50 (510)	Dec 51 (600)	Feb 53 (400)	Early Apr 54 (415)
Yes	30%	17%	23%	27%	27%	24%	25%
No	70	83	77	73	77	76	75
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"If you or the head of the family were offered work and housing in West Germany, would you then leave West Berlin?" (Asked of those who answered 'no' to above question.)

	<u>West Berlin</u>		
	Dec 51 (600)	Feb 53 (400)	Early April 54 (415)
Yes	13%	11%	13%
No	53	55	57
Qualified answer	10	10	5
No opinion	1	*	-
	<u>77%</u>	<u>76%</u>	<u>75%</u>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

**A P P E N D I X**  
**PART A - VIEWS ON WEST BERLIN ECONOMIC AID**

**I. Is Present Economic Situation A Problem?**

"How would you describe West Berlin's present economic situation?"

	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion	No. cases*
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	12%	57%	31%	4...100%	150
Women	17	52	26	5	265
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	18	55	23	4	266
Beyond elementary	11	52	36	1	149
<b>Age</b>					
18 to 29 years	14	65	17	4	57
30 to 49 years	10	54	34	2	169
50 years and over	20	50	26	4	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>					
Up to 149 DM	18	43	34	5	83
150 to 299 DM	18	58	22	2	125
300 to 399 DM	10	63	26	1	86
400 to 499 DM	11	62	27	-	52
500 to 599 DM	13	44	33	10	30
600 DM and more	7	52	41	-	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	20	58	20	2	122
CDU/CSU	11	58	28	3	127
FDP	9	50	41	-	46
Other parties	25	25	50	-	4
No party	15	46	35	4	79
No answer	24	49	22	5	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>					
Professionals	4	46	50	-	24
Businessmen	9	47	44	-	32
White-collar workers	7	62	31	-	45
Skilled laborers	12	65	23	-	48
Semi-skilled laborers	8	61	23	8	26
Domestic Service	8	59	33	-	12
Housewives	21	52	24	3	88
Unemployed	28	39	31	2	49
Pensioners; ret.	19	54	21	6	85
Students	-	75	25	-	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>					
Employed	9	58	32	1	187
Unemployed	28	39	31	2	49
<b>Family Status:</b>					
Single	10	59	28	3	76
Married	14	54	30	2	241
Widowed	20	55	21	4	70
Divorced	25	39	29	7	28
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	15	53	30	2	369
Expellees, Refugees	19	59	15	7	46
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	15	53	30	2	40
Protestants	16	54	27	3	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>					
Yes, myself a/family member	10	67	21	2	51
Yes, family member	18	62	17	3	34
No, neither/nor	16	51	30	3	326

\* Where numbers of cases are few in this and following tables the returns are to be merely suggestive and care should be taken in their interpretation.

" How would you describe the unemployment problem in West Berlin?"

	Danger- ously serious	Very serious	Serious	Not so serious/ not serious at all	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	17%	23%	43%	16%	1%..100%	150
Women	17	27	39	14	3	265
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	13	23	45	16	3	266
Beyond elementary	24	30	34	11	1	149
<b>Age:</b>						
18 to 29 years	18	21	39	22	-	57
30 to 49 years	17	26	44	12	1	169
50 years and over	16	26	39	15	4	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>						
Up to 149 DM	23	22	37	14	4	83
150 to 299 DM	14	27	42	14	3	125
300 to 399 DM	11	27	48	13	1	86
400 to 499 DM	19	19	46	14	2	52
500 to 599 DM	20	23	43	14	-	30
600 DM and more	19	37	26	18	-	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>						
SPD	16	27	39	17	1	122
CDU/CSU	13	26	45	14	2	127
FDP	28	26	35	11	-	46
Other parties	-	75	25	-	-	4
No party	20	23	42	10	5	79
No answer	11	22	40	22	5	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>						
Professionals	17	33	42	8	-	24
Businessmen	23	27	41	6	3	32
White-collar workers	13	31	45	11	-	45
Skilled laborers	15	17	50	18	-	48
Semi-skilled laborers	19	31	23	23	4	26
Domestic Service	18	25	33	16	8	12
Housewives	17	32	41	10	-	88
Unemployed	29	14	35	22	-	49
Pensioners; ret.	11	24	43	15	7	85
Students	25	25	50	-	-	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>						
Employed	16	27	41	14	2	187
Unemployed	29	14	35	22	-	49
<b>Family Status:</b>						
Single	14	32	39	12	3	76
Married	19	25	42	14	*	241
Widowed	16	21	39	16	8	70
Divorced	14	21	43	22	-	28
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	17	26	41	14	2	369
Expellees, Refugees	15	24	41	15	5	46
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	10	25	38	17	10	40
Protestants	18	26	41	14	1	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>						
Yes, myself/family member	20	29	33	18	-	51
Yes, family member only	12	18	47	23	7	34
No, neither/nor	17	26	41	13	3	326

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## II. Who Should Help Solve The Economic Problem?

"Do you regard the economic situation in West Berlin more as an international problem or more as a German problem?"

	Inter- national problem	German problem	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>				
Men	64%	32%	4%...100%	150
Women	53	25	17	265
<b>Education:</b>				
Elementary school	57	26	17	266
Beyond elementary	66	29	5	149
<b>Age:</b>				
18 to 29 years	68	28	4	57
30 to 49 years	64	25	11	169
50 years and over	55	28	17	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>				
Up to 149 DM	51	24	25	83
150 to 299 DM	59	29	12	125
300 to 399 DM	62	28	10	86
400 to 499 DM	69	25	6	52
500 to 599 DM	73	20	7	30
600 DM and more	67	33	-	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>				
SPD	58	35	7	122
CDU/SCU	59	26	15	127
FDP	74	22	4	46
Other parties	75	-	25	4
No party	61	18	21	79
No answer	54	35	11	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>				
Professionals	63	37	-	24
Businessmen	69	28	3	32
White-collar workers	76	22	2	45
Skilled laborers	71	25	4	48
Semi-skilled laborers	69	19	12	26
Domestic service	50	33	17	12
Housewives	59	27	14	88
Unemployed	51	37	12	49
Pensioners; ret.	46	26	28	85
Students	100	-	-	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>				
Employed	69	26	5	187
Unemployed	51	37	12	49
<b>Family Status:</b>				
Single	60	28	12	76
Married	63	28	9	241
Widowed	56	20	24	70
Divorced	46	36	18	28
<b>Origin:</b>				
Natives	60	27	13	369
Expellees, Refugees	63	28	9	46
<b>Religion:</b>				
Catholics	58	27	15	40
Protestants	59	28	13	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>				
Yes, myself/family member	63	27	10	51
Yes, family member	68	23	9	34
No, neither/nor	59	28	13	326



"Do you think West Berlin at the present time needs outside economic aid, that is to say aid from sources other than West Berliners themselves, or don't you think outside aid is necessary?"

	West Berlin needs outside economic aid	Not out- side aid necessary	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>				
Men	96%	1%	3%...100%	150
Women	93	2	5	265
<b>Education:</b>				
Elementary school	92	2	6	266
Beyond elementary	99	-	1	149
<b>Age:</b>				
18 to 29 years	93	2	5	57
30 to 49 years	95	1	4	169
50 years and over	94	2	4	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>				
Up to 149 DM	92	1	7	83
150 to 299 DM	94	2	4	125
300 to 399 DM	97	-	3	86
400 to 499 DM	88	4	8	52
500 to 599	100	-	-	30
600 DM and more	100	-	-	27
<b>Party preference:</b>				
SPD	95	3	2	122
CDU/CSU	97	-	3	127
FDP	100	-	-	46
Other parties	100	-	-	4
No party	94	1	5	79
No answer	84	3	13	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>				
Professionals	100	-	-	24
Businessmen	97	-	3	32
White-collar workers	98	2	-	45
Skilled laborers	94	-	6	48
Semi-skilled laborers	100	-	-	26
Domestic service	92	-	8	12
Housewives	96	3	1	88
Unemployed	88	2	10	49
Pensioners; ret.	91	1	8	85
Students	100	-	-	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>				
Employed	96	1	3	187
Unemployed	88	2	10	49
<b>Family Status:</b>				
Single	92	1	7	76
Married	96	2	2	241
Widowed	92	1	7	70
Divorced	89	-	11	28
<b>Origin:</b>				
Natives	95	1	4	369
Expellees, Refugees	94	2	4	46
<b>Religion:</b>				
Catholics	90	-	10	40
Protestants	94	2	4	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>				
Yes, myself a/family member	100	-	-	51
Yes, family member	91	6	3	34
No, neither/nor	94	1	5	326

**"Who do you think should provide this economic aid for  
West Berlin?"**

	West Germany	America	Both	Others	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<b><u>Sex:</u></b>							
Men	55%	29%	4%	7%	1%	4%	150
Women	38	38	5	7	5	7	265
<b><u>Education:</u></b>							
Elementary school	39	37	3	6	6	9	266
Beyond elementary	54	29	7	9	-	1	149
<b><u>Age:</u></b>							
18 to 29 years	47	35	2	7	9	-	57
30 to 49 years	47	32	4	7	5	5	169
50 years and over	41	37	6	7	3	6	189
<b><u>Income (Family):</u></b>							
up to 149 DM	28	46	6	8	4	8	83
150 to 299 DM	40	37	5	6	6	6	125
300 to 399 DM	49	35	2	8	2	4	86
400 to 499 DM	60	21	4	4	-	11	52
500 to 599 DM	50	37	-	10	3	-	30
600 and more	66	22	4	4	4	-	27
<b><u>Party Preference:</u></b>							
SPD	43	38	2	6	5	6	122
CDU/CSU	47	33	7	8	2	3	127
FDP	59	35	2	4	-	-	46
Other parties	75	-	-	25	-	-	4
No party	42	26	8	10	5	9	79
No answer	22	48	3	3	8	16	37
<b><u>Occupation (Respondent):</u></b>							
Professionals	79	13	-	8	-	-	24
Businessmen	53	38	3	3	-	3	32
White-collar workers	56	31	4	7	-	2	45
Skilled laborers	46	32	4	8	4	6	48
Semi-skilled laborers	61	35	-	-	4	-	28
Domestic service	33	42	-	-	17	8	12
Housewives	30	44	6	9	6	5	88
Unemployed	41	33	4	8	2	12	49
Pensioners; ret.	38	33	8	7	5	9	85
Students	25	50	-	25	-	-	4
<b><u>Employment situation:</u></b>							
Employed	55	31	3	5	3	3	187
Unemployed	41	33	4	8	2	12	49
<b><u>Family Status:</u></b>							
Single	47	36	1	5	3	8	76
Married	47	34	5	7	3	4	241
Widowed	36	38	6	6	6	8	70
Divorced	39	25	7	14	4	11	28
<b><u>Origin:</u></b>							
Natives	45	33	5	8	3	6	369
Expellees, Refugees	39	44	-	-	11	6	46
<b><u>Religion:</u></b>							
Catholics	50	28	2	10	-	10	40
Protestants	44	37	4	6	4	5	330
<b><u>Trade Union Membership:</u></b>							
Yes, myself a/family member	61	25	4	4	6	-	51
Yes, family member	38	35	9	6	3	9	34
No, neither/nor	43	36	4	7	3	7	326

### III. Appraisal Of West German Economic Aid

"Can you perhaps tell me whether West Berlin now receives any economic aid from West Germany? (Very much, much, or just a little aid)"

	Yes much aid	Yes, just a little aid	No aid	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	36%	41%	5%	18%...100%	150
Women	28	38	6	28	265
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary School	29	31	7	33	266
Beyond elementary	33	52	5	10	149
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 29 years	28	47	2	23	57
30 to 49 years	31	40	7	22	169
50 years and over	31	36	6	27	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>					
Up to 149 DM	24	31	8	37	83
150 to 299 DM	32	31	7	30	125
300 to 399 DM	31	45	5	19	86
400 to 499 DM	29	48	4	19	52
500 to 599 DM	23	60	-	17	30
600 DM and more	48	34	7	11	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	26	36	7	31	122
CDU/CSU	35	43	5	17	127
FDP	37	50	2	11	46
Other parties	25	50	-	25	4
No party	30	37	8	25	79
No answer	24	24	8	44	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>					
Professionals	42	50	-	8	24
Businessmen	34	44	6	16	32
White-collar workers	31	54	4	11	45
Skilled laborers	25	42	8	25	48
Semi-skilled laborers	30	35	12	23	26
Domestic service	25	33	-	42	12
Housewives	30	35	8	27	88
Unemployed	18	45	8	29	49
Pensioners; ret.	37	26	4	33	85
Students	50	25	-	25	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>					
Employed	31	44	6	19	187
Unemployed	18	45	8	29	49
<b>Family status:</b>					
Single	25	52	3	20	76
Married	31	41	7	21	241
Widowed	33	25	6	36	70
Divorced	39	14	11	36	28
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	31	39	6	24	369
Expellees, Refugees	33	37	2	28	46
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	40	40	2	18	40
Protestants	30	38	7	25	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>					
Yes, myself a/family members	31	45	6	18	51
Yes, family member only	23	53	3	21	34
No, neither/nor	31	37	6	26	326

"Is there anything you have to criticize about the way the West German economic aid to West Berlin is used?"  
(Asked of all respondents after those unaware of West German aid told Berlin receives economic aid from West Germany.)

	Yes, ....	No, nothing to criticize	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	25%	62%	13%...100%	84
Women	15	56	29	148
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	14	63	23	147
Beyond elementary	26	51	23	89
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	26	64	10	42
30 to 49 years	20	58	22	85
50 years and over	14	56	30	105
<u>Income (Family):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	20	58	22	45
150 to 299 DM	15	58	27	71
300 to 399 DM	15	64	21	52
400 to 499 DM	31	48	21	29
500 to 599 DM	19	62	19	16
600 DM and more	23	54	23	13
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	11	68	21	66
CDU/CSU	21	57	22	76
FDP	19	67	14	21
Other parties	50	-	50	2
No party	31	45	24	45
No answer	5	59	36	22
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	30	50	20	10
Businessmen	36	43	21	14
White-collar workers	19	55	26	31
Skilled laborers	12	84	4	25
Semi-skilled laborers	19	62	19	16
Domestic service	11	44	45	9
Housewives	11	60	29	45
Unemployed	31	45	24	29
Pensioners; ret.	15	58	27	48
Students	-	100	-	3
<u>Employment situation:</u>				
Employed	20	60	20	105
Unemployed	31	45	24	29
<u>Family status:</u>				
Single	23	58	19	47
Married	18	58	24	132
Widowed	13	66	21	38
Divorced	20	47	33	15
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	17	61	22	207
Expellees, Refugees	32	36	32	25
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	9	69	22	23
Protestants	21	56	23	186
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, myself a/family member	17	70	13	23
Yes, family member only	25	56	19	16
No, neither/nor	18	57	25	190

"In respect to economic aid to West Berlin, has the West German government done its share, in your opinion, more than its share, or less than its share?"

	Its share	More than its share	Less than its share	No opinion	No. of cases
<b><u>Sex:</u></b>					
Men	51%	3%	41%	5%...100%	150
Women	63	4	25	8	265
<b><u>Education:</u></b>					
Elementary school	59	4	28	9	266
Beyond elementary	59	3	35	3	149
<b><u>Age:</u></b>					
Up to 29 years	63	2	30	5	57
30 to 49 years	56	5	35	4	169
50 years and over	60	3	27	10	189
<b><u>Income (Family):</u></b>					
Up to 149 DM	55	5	30	10	83
150 to 299 DM	71	2	22	5	125
300 to 399 DM	51	6	35	8	86
400 to 499 DM	50	2	40	8	52
500 to 599 DM	50	10	33	7	30
600 DM and more	67	-	33	-	27
<b><u>Party Preference:</u></b>					
SPD	59	5	31	5	122
CDU/CSU	62	3	29	6	127
FDP	59	-	37	4	46
Other parties	50	-	50	-	4
No party	50	4	35	11	79
No answer	65	8	16	11	37
<b><u>Occupation (Respondent):</u></b>					
Professionals	38	8	54	-	24
Businessmen	66	3	28	3	32
White-collar workers	57	4	37	2	45
Skilled laborers	58	2	36	4	48
Semi-skilled laborers	63	4	26	7	26
Domestic service	75	-	17	8	12
Housewives	61	5	27	7	88
Unemployed	43	2	47	8	49
Pensioners; ret.	66	3	19	12	85
Students	50	25	25	-	4
<b><u>Employment situation:</u></b>					
Employed	58	4	34	4	187
Unemployed	43	2	47	8	49
<b><u>Family status:</u></b>					
Single	58	8	29	5	76
Married	57	3	34	6	241
Widowed	69	1	20	10	70
Divorced	50	4	35	11	28
<b><u>Origin</u></b>					
Natives	58	4	32	6	369
Expellees, Refugees	67	2	22	9	46
<b><u>Religion:</u></b>					
Catholics	43	5	37	15	40
Protestants	62	4	29	5	330
<b><u>Trade Union Memberships:</u></b>					
Yes, myself a/family member	56	6	36	2	51
Yes, family member only	49	6	34	11	34
No, neither/nor	60	3	30	7	326



#### IV. Appraisal of American Economic Aid.

"Can you tell me whether West Berlin now receives any economic aid from America? We don't mean here occasional gift programs. (Very much, much, or just a little aid?)

	Yes, very much aid	Yes, much aid	Yes, just a little aid	No aid	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	18%	41%	11%	2%	28%..100%	150
Women	15	36	4	3	42	265
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	13	38	5	3	41	266
Beyond elementary	22	39	8	2	29	149
<b>Age:</b>						
Up to 29 years	17	39	9	4	31	57
30 to 49 years	14	39	7	3	37	169
50 years and over	18	37	5	2	38	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>						
Up to 149 DM	23	31	7	1	38	85
150 to 299 DM	13	38	5	3	41	125
300 to 399 DM	14	42	2	2	40	86
400 to 499 DM	15	34	10	6	35	52
500 to 599 DM	20	56	7	-	17	30
600 DM and more	15	37	15	4	29	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>						
SPD	12	41	5	3	39	122
CDU/CSU	20	36	6	2	36	127
FDP	18	52	9	2	19	46
Other parties	-	25	25	-	50	4
No party	16	39	8	3	34	79
No answer	16	19	3	3	59	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>						
Professionals	21	38	12	4	25	24
Businessmen	16	41	12	3	28	32
White-collar workers	18	53	9	2	18	45
Skilled laborers	19	40	8	-	33	48
Semi-skilled laborers	27	38	-	-	35	26
Domestic Service	8	33	-	-	59	12
Housewives	11	38	3	8	40	88
Unemployed	10	37	12	-	41	49
Pensioners; ret.	19	33	1	1	46	85
Students	-	-	25	-	75	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>						
Employed	18	42	8	2	30	187
Unemployed	10	37	12	-	41	49
<b>Family Status:</b>						
Single	17	37	12	1	33	76
Married	15	43	6	3	33	241
Widowed	20	27	1	1	51	70
Divorced	11	28	7	4	50	28
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	16	39	6	3	36	369
Expellees, Refugees	15	35	9	-	41	46
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	25	35	7	-	33	40
Protestants	16	38	6	3	37	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>						
Yes, myself a/family member	27	37	10	-	26	51
Yes, Family member only	9	32	12	3	44	34
No, neither/nor	15	39	5	3	38	326

"And is there anything you have to criticize about the way the American economic aid to West Berlin is used? (Asked of all respondents after those unaware of American aid told- "Berlin receives economic aid from America.")

	Yes, ....	No, nothing to criticize	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>				
Men	14%	75%	11%,...100%	84
Women	9	73	18	184
<b>Education:</b>				
Elementary school	10	75	15	147
Beyond elementary	13	71	16	85
<b>Age:</b>				
Up to 29 years	14	79	7	42
30 to 49 years	10	72	18	85
50 years and over	10	73	17	105
<b>Income (Family):</b>				
Up to 149 DM	7	82	11	45
150 to 299 DM	14	68	18	71
300 to 399 DM	4	81	15	52
400 to 499 DM	21	62	17	29
500 to 599 DM	6	88	6	16
600 DM and more	15	69	16	13
<b>Party Preference:</b>				
SPD	9	82	9	66
CDU/CSU	11	79	10	76
FDP	-	90	10	21
Other parties	-	50	50	2
No party	22	56	22	45
No answer	5	54	41	22
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>				
Professionals	-	70	30	10
Businessmen	28	43	29	14
White-collar workers	13	81	6	31
Skilled laborers	8	88	4	25
Semi-skilled laborers	6	94	-	16
Domestic service	11	56	33	9
Housewives	9	69	22	45
Unemployed	21	69	10	29
Pensioners; ret.	6	75	19	48
Students	-	67	33	3
<b>Employment situation:</b>				
Employed	12	76	12	105
Unemployed	21	69	10	29
<b>Family status:</b>				
Single	11	76	13	47
Married	11	74	15	132
Widowed	13	69	18	38
Divorced	-	80	20	15
<b>Origin:</b>				
Natives	11	74	15	207
Expellees, Refugees	12	68	20	25
<b>Religion:</b>				
Catholics	4	92	4	23
Protestants	12	74	14	186
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>				
Yes, myself a/family member	9	82	9	23
Yes, family member only	6	69	25	16
No, neither/nor	12	72	16	190

"With which of the following view as to the use of American economic aid to West Berlin would you most agree?"

Horr Schulze: I'm of the opinion that the money should be used in such a way that unemployed persons could obtain employment as quickly as possible even if such employment is not permanent.

Horr Mueller: I'm of the opinion that the money should be invested in projects that, in the long run, would increase the number of permanent jobs.

	Horr Schulze	Horr Mueller	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	20%	79%	1%...100%	150
Women	27	71	2	265
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	27	71	2	266
Beyond elementary	19	80	1	149
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	18	82	-	57
30 to 49 years	21	77	2	169
50 years and over	30	68	2	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	28	68	4	83
150 to 299 DM	22	78	-	125
300 to 399 DM	32	66	2	86
400 to 499 DM	11	85	4	52
500 to 599 DM	20	80	-	30
600 DM and more	30	70	-	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	27	72	1	122
CDU/CSU	24	76	-	127
FDP	11	87	2	46
Other parties	50	50	-	4
No party	19	76	5	79
No answer	40	57	3	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	25	75	-	24
Businessmen	19	75	6	32
White-collar workers	13	87	-	45
Skilled laborers	15	85	-	48
Semi-skilled laborers	23	77	-	26
Domestic Service	25	67	8	12
Housewives	33	66	11	88
Unemployed	24	76	-	49
Pensioners, ret.	30	66	4	85
Students	-	100	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>				
Employed	18	80	2	187
Unemployed	24	76	-	49
<u>Family Status:</u>				
Single	22	78	-	76
Married	24	74	2	241
Widowed	27	70	3	70
Divorced	25	75	-	28
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	22	77	1	369
Expellees, Refugees	41	55	4	46
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	23	75	2	40
Protestants	24	74	2	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, myself a/family member	25	73	2	51
Yes, family member only	29	78	-	34
No, neither/ner	23	75	2	326

"Comparing American economic aid in amount with West German aid: is, as far as you know, West German aid greater, less or about the same as American aid? (Somewhat or much greater? Somewhat or much less?)"

	Greater	About the same	Less	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	15%	11%	55%	19%...100%	150
Women	8	14	47	31	265
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	10	13	47	30	266
Beyond elementary	11	12	55	22	149
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 29 years	12	12	62	14	57
30 to 49 years	13	11	49	27	169
50 years and over	8	14	47	31	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>					
Up to 149 DM	8	7	51	34	83
150 to 299 DM	7	17	50	26	125
300 to 399 DM	14	10	46	30	86
400 to 499 DM	19	10	48	23	52
500 to 599 DM	7	17	63	13	30
600 DM and more	15	18	56	11	27
<b>Party Preferences:</b>					
SPD	8	13	58	21	122
CDU/CSU	11	13	53	23	127
FDP	6	9	63	22	46
Other parties	25	-	50	25	4
No party	16	14	37	33	79
No answer	8	14	27	51	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>					
Professionals	12	21	50	17	24
Businessmen	9	13	59	19	32
White-collar workers	11	22	47	20	45
Skilled laborers	17	4	56	23	48
Semi-skilled laborers	16	4	65	15	26
Domestic Service	-	-	58	42	12
Housewives	8	14	45	33	88
Unemployed	12	2	51	35	49
Pensioners; ret.	7	20	41	32	85
Students	50	-	50	-	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>					
Employed	12	12	55	21	187
Unemployed	12	2	51	35	49
<b>Family Status:</b>					
Single	13	8	59	20	76
Married	10	14	53	23	241
Widowed	10	16	37	37	70
Divorced	14	7	25	54	28
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	10	13	50	27	369
Expellees, Refugees	13	11	46	30	46
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	12	17	38	33	40
Protestants	10	13	52	25	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>					
Yes, myself a/family member	18	12	41	29	51
Yes, family member only	23	13	46	18	34
No, neither/nor	8	14	51	27	326

"Do you believe that - apart from its extent - the American aid for West Berlin is more important in any respect than the West German aid?"

	Believe more important	No, not more important	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	46%	48%	6%...100%	150
Women	40	44	16	265
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	38	49	13	266
Beyond elementary	49	40	11	149
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	46	47	7	57
30 to 49 years	40	49	11	169
50 years and over	43	42	15	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	42	46	12	83
150 to 299 DM	37	46	17	125
300 to 399 DM	45	43	12	86
400 to 499 DM	44	48	8	52
500 to 599 DM	43	54	3	30
600 DM and more	41	52	7	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	40	52	8	122
CDU/CSU	41	48	11	127
FDP	61	35	4	46
Other parties	75	25	-	4
No party	39	45	16	79
No answer	30	38	32	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	59	33	8	24
Businessmen	34	53	13	32
White-collar workers	42	51	7	45
Skilled laborers	48	48	4	48
Semi-skilled laborers	27	65	8	26
Domestic Service	42	42	16	12
Housewives	47	42	11	88
Unemployed	41	49	10	49
Pensioners; ret.	34	41	25	85
Students	100	-	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>				
Employed	42	50	8	187
Unemployed	41	49	10	49
<u>Family Status:</u>				
Single	43	46	11	76
Married	45	47	8	241
Widowed	33	41	26	70
Divorced	36	46	18	28
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	42	46	12	369
Expellees, Refugees	39	48	13	46
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	30	60	10	40
Protestants	43	44	13	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, myself a/family member	45	49	6	51
Yes, family member only	41	56	3	34
No, neither/nor	42	44	14	326



"In respect to economic aid to West Berlin, has America done its share, in your opinion, more than its share, or less than its share?"

	Its share	More than its share	Less than its share	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	62%	30%	5%	3%...100%	150
Women	60	32	3	5	265
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	60	31	3	6	266
Beyond elementary	61	32	6	1	149
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	60	31	5	4	57
30 to 49 years	61	33	2	4	169
50 years and over	59	31	5	5	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	65	31	-	4	83
150 to 299 DM	56	34	3	7	125
300 to 399 DM	61	31	5	3	86
400 to 499 DM	61	27	10	2	52
500 to 599 DM	67	33	-	-	30
600 DM and more	56	33	11	-	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	62	35	1	2	122
CDU/CSU	58	35	4	3	127
FDP	65	33	2	-	46
Other parties	75	25	-	-	4
No party	60	24	10	6	79
No answer	51	27	3	19	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	58	38	-	4	24
Businessmen	72	25	3	-	32
White-collar workers	58	38	4	-	45
Skilled laborers	63	27	6	4	48
Semi-skilled laborers	69	27	-	4	26
Domestic service	67	25	-	8	12
Housewives	60	33	6	1	88
Unemployed	53	33	6	8	49
Pensioners; ret.	57	32	2	9	85
Students	50	50	-	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>					
Employed	64	30	3	3	187
Unemployed	53	33	6	8	49
<u>Family status:</u>					
Single	56	38	1	5	76
Married	63	29	6	2	241
Widowed	56	33	1	10	70
Divorced	54	39	-	7	28
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	60	31	4	5	369
Expellees, Refugees	61	35	2	2	46
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	47	43	5	5	40
Protestants	61	30	4	5	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, myself a/family mbr.	57	37	4	2	51
Yes, family mbr only	68	29	-	3	34
No, neither/nor	60	31	4	5	326

V. "Does American Aid Continue To Be Necessary?"

"Do you have the impression that American economic aid for West Berlin will be continued as up to now, will be decreased, or do you think that it will be entirely discontinued?"

	Will be cont'd as up to now	Will be decreased	Will be entirely discont'd	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	75%	8%	2%	15%..100%	150
Women	73	6	1	20	265
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	70	7	2	21	266
Beyond elementary	81	7	1	11	149
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	81	5	2	12	57
30 to 49 years	74	8	1	17	169
50 years and over	72	6	2	20	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	65	6	2	27	83
150 to 299 DM	77	5	2	16	125
300 to 399 DM	77	6	1	16	86
400 to 499 DM	69	12	-	19	52
500 to 599 DM	83	10	-	7	30
600 DM and more	85	-	-	15	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	79	7	2	12	122
CDU/CSU	74	6	2	18	127
FDP	93	7	-	-	46
Other parties	25	-	-	75	4
No party	65	9	1	25	79
No answer	57	8	-	35	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	84	8	-	8	24
Businessmen	78	9	-	13	32
White-collar workers	78	11	2	9	45
Skilled laborers	71	8	4	17	48
Semi-skilled laborers	69	12	-	19	26
Domestic service	59	8	-	33	12
Housewives	78	7	-	15	88
Unemployed	70	2	4	24	49
Pensioners; ret.	70	4	1	25	85
Students	100	-	-	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>					
Employed	74	10	2	14	187
Unemployed	70	2	4	24	49
<u>Family Status:</u>					
Single	72	7	3	18	76
Married	78	7	1	14	241
Widowed	67	3	1	29	70
Divorced	68	11	-	21	28
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	73	7	2	18	369
Expellees, Refugees	78	7	-	15	46
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	63	12	2	23	40
Protestants	75	6	2	17	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, myself a/family mbr.	76	8	2	14	51
Yes, family member only	70	12	2	18	328
No, neither nor	74	6	2	18	328

"How necessary is it, in your opinion, that America continues its economic aid to West Berlin?"

	Highly necessary	Very neces- sary	Neces- sary	Somewhat to not at all necessary	No opinion	No. of cases
<b><u>Sex:</u></b>						
Men	42%	33%	19%	3%	3%..100%	150
Women	32	33	27	3	5	265
<b><u>Education:</u></b>						
Elementary school	32	34	25	3	6	266
Beyond elementary	43	30	21	4	2	149
<b><u>Age:</u></b>						
Up to 29 years	19	37	35	5	4	57
30 to 49 years	41	31	20	3	5	169
50 years and over	36	33	23	3	5	189
<b><u>Income (Family):</u></b>						
Up to 149 DM	38	30	24	1	7	83
150 to 299 DM	41	26	24	4	5	125
300 to 399 DM	30	42	22	2	4	86
400 to 499 DM	34	27	29	6	4	52
500 to 599 DM	40	33	27	-	-	30
600 DM and more	30	44	22	-	4	27
<b><u>Party Preference:</u></b>						
SPD	31	34	29	3	3	122
CDU/CSU	37	35	24	1	3	127
FDP	52	31	15	-	2	46
Other parties	25	75	-	-	-	4
No party	38	28	20	5	9	79
No answer	24	27	30	11	8	37
<b><u>Occupation (Respondent):</u></b>						
Professionals	42	33	21	4	-	24
Businessmen	35	31	22	6	6	32
White-collar workers	38	29	29	4	-	45
Skilled laborers	31	36	25	4	4	48
Semi-skilled laborers	35	38	23	-	4	26
Domestic service	50	25	25	-	-	12
Housewives	36	30	29	2	3	88
Unemployed	39	33	22	2	4	49
Pensioners; ret.	32	35	19	4	10	85
Students	25	50	25	-	-	4
<b><u>Employment situation:</u></b>						
Employed	36	33	24	4	3	187
Unemployed	39	33	22	2	4	49
<b><u>Family status:</u></b>						
Single	33	37	23	3	4	76
Married	37	32	23	4	4	241
Widowed	31	36	20	3	10	70
Divorced	43	18	39	-	-	28
<b><u>Origins:</u></b>						
Natives	35	33	24	4	4	369
Expellees, Refugees	39	33	22	-	6	46
<b><u>Religion:</u></b>						
Catholics	37	30	25	-	8	40
Protestants	35	33	24	3	5	330
<b><u>Trade Union Membership:</u></b>						
Yes, myself a/family mbr.	45	33	18	4	-	51
Yes, family member only	41	21	35	-	3	38
No, neither/nor	34	33	24	3	6	326

"What is your opinion about the American economic aid for West Berlin: can it at the present time be decreased, should it remain at its present level, or are you of the opinion it should be increased?"

	Can be decreased	Should remain at present level	Should be increased	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	6%	34%	55%	5%...100%	150
Women	5	35	47	13	265
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	6	34	49	11	266
Beyond elementary	5	37	50	8	149
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 29 years	12	32	49	7	57
30 to 49 years	6	31	52	11	169
50 years and over	4	39	47	10	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>					
Up to 149 DM	5	27	54	14	83
150 to 299 DM	9	37	45	9	125
300 to 399 DM	2	36	55	7	86
400 to 499 DM	6	32	52	10	52
500 to 599 DM	-	43	54	3	30
600 DM and more	7	41	37	15	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	6	34	52	8	122
CDU/CSU	7	36	50	7	127
FDP	-	33	63	4	46
Other parties	-	50	50	-	4
No party	4	41	40	15	79
No answer	11	19	46	24	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>					
Professionals	-	25	67	8	24
Businessmen	13	34	41	12	32
White-collar workers	9	42	49	-	45
Skilled laborers	6	38	50	6	48
Semi-skilled laborers	-	42	50	8	26
Domestic Service	8	25	50	17	12
Housewives	6	31	52	11	88
Unemployed	2	31	55	12	49
Pensioners; ret.	5	39	42	14	85
Students	25	-	50	25	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>					
Employed	6	37	50	7	187
Unemployed	2	31	55	12	49
<b>Family Status:</b>					
Single	7	30	53	10	76
Married	6	35	52	7	241
Widowed	3	40	40	17	70
Divorced	7	32	43	18	28
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	6	35	49	10	369
Expellees, Refugees	4	31	54	11	46
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	10	25	45	20	40
Protestants	5	37	48	10	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>					
Yes, myself a/family member	2	35	61	2	51
Yes, family member only	6	32	53	9	34
No, neither/nor	6	34	48	12	326

"Are you of the opinion that West Germany today should take over in addition the American part of the economic aid for West Berlin, if America should discontinue its aid, or would West Germany not be in a position to do so?"

	Yes, could do so	No, could not	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	31%	63%	6%... 100%	150
Women	17	65	18	265
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	19	64	17	266
Beyond elementary	28	65	7	49
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	23	72	5	57
30 to 49 years	18	70	12	169
50 years and over	25	57	18	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	21	54	25	83
150 to 299 DM	20	68	12	125
300 to 399 DM	27	66	7	86
400 to 499 DM	21	66	13	52
500 to 599 DM	33	57	10	30
600 DM and more	18	78	4	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	25	64	11	122
CDU/CSU	17	70	13	127
FDP	20	76	4	46
Other parties	50	50	-	4
No party	28	56	16	79
No answer	16	52	32	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	34	58	8	24
Businessmen	15	69	16	32
White-collar workers	24	74	2	45
Skilled laborers	19	71	10	48
Semi-skilled laborers	23	69	8	26
Domestic Service	8	75	17	12
Housewives	15	73	12	88
Unemployed	25	63	12	49
Pensioners; ret.	27	47	26	85
Students	75	25	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>				
Employed	21	70	9	187
Unemployed	25	63	12	49
<u>Family Status:</u>				
Single	24	63	13	76
Married	20	70	10	241
Widowed	21	55	24	70
Divorced	32	43	25	28
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	21	66	13	369
Expellees, Refugees	26	57	17	46
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	18	65	17	40
Protestants	22	65	13	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, myself a/family member	20	76	4	51
Yes, family member only	18	70	12	34
No, neither/nor	22	62	16	326



"If America should not continue its support for West Berlin, do you believe that the West German Federal Government would then take over the American part in addition, or don't you believe so?" (Asked for respondents who believe West Germany could make up for loss of American aid.)

	Yes, would take over	No, would not	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	21%	10%	4%	69%...100%	150
Women	11	5	*	84	265
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	14	5	*	81	266
Beyond elementary	17	11	-	72	149
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	16	5	2	77	57
30 to 49 years	9	9	-	82	169
50 years and over	19	6	-	75	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	11	10	-	79	83
150 to 299 DM	14	6	-	80	125
300 to 399 DM	22	5	-	73	86
400 to 499 DM	11	10	-	79	52
500 to 599 DM	20	10	3	67	30
600 DM and more	11	7	-	82	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	18	7	-	75	122
CDU/CSU	9	6	1	84	127
FDP	9	11	-	80	46
Other parties	25	25	-	50	4
No party	23	5	-	72	779
No answer	11	5	-	84	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	12	21	-	67	24
Businessmen	16	-	-	84	32
White-collar workers	13	9	2	76	45
Skilled laborers	13	6	-	81	48
Semi-skilled laborers	12	11	-	77	26
Domestic Service	8	-	-	92	12
Housewives	13	2	-	85	88
Unemployed	12	12	-	76	49
Pensioners; ret.	20	7	-	73	85
Students	75	-	-	25	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>					
Employed	13	8	1	78	187
Unemployed	12	12	-	76	49
<u>Family Status:</u>					
Single	16	8	-	76	76
Married	13	7	*	80	241
Widowed	17	4	-	79	70
Divorced	18	14	-	68	28
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	14	7	*	79	369
Expellees, Refugees	17	9	-	74	46
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	10	7	-	83	40
Protestants	15	7	*	78	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, myself a/family member	12	8	-	80	51
Yes, family member only	15	3	-	82	34
No, neither/ner	15	7	*	78	326
* Less than one half of one per cent. 80 -					

"Is it your impression that the West German economic situation has improved or worsened in the past two or three years, or has it remained about the same?" (Somewhat improved or much improved? Somewhat worsened or much worsened?)

	Improved	Remained the same	Worsened	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	84%	10%	2%	4%...100%	150
Women	75	16	1	8	265
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	73	17	2	8	266
Beyond elementary	86	9	1	4	149
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 29 years	81	12	-	7	57
30 to 49 years	77	14	2	7	169
50 years and over	79	14	1	6	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>					
Up to 149 DM	65	24	1	10	83
150 to 299 DM	78	10	2	10	125
300 to 399 DM	82	14	2	2	86
400 to 499 DM	83	13	-	4	52
500 to 599 DM	87	7	3	3	30
600 DM and more	89	4	-	7	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	78	12	3	7	122
CDU/CSU	81	15	1	3	127
FDP	83	15	-	2	46
Other parties	100	-	-	-	4
No party	76	15	1	8	79
No answer	68	13	-	19	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>					
Professionals	92	4	4	-	24
Businessmen	78	13	-	9	32
White-collar workers	89	9	-	2	45
Skilled laborers	77	17	2	4	48
Semi-skilled laborers	65	19	4	12	26
Domestic Service	75	17	-	8	12
Housewives	83	15	1	1	88
Unemployed	76	10	4	10	49
Pensioners; ret.	71	17	-	12	85
Students	100	-	-	-	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>					
Employed	81	12	2	5	187
Unemployed	76	10	4	10	49
<b>Family Status:</b>					
Single	74	14	1	11	76
Married	83	13	1	3	241
Widowed	68	17	1	14	70
Divorced	78	7	4	11	28
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	77	14	2	7	369
Expellees, Refugees	85	9	-	6	46
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	75	15	-	10	40
Protestants	79	12	2	7	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>					
Yes, myself a/family mbr.	84	10	4	2	51
Yes, family member only	79	12	-	9	34
No, neither/nor	77	15	1	7	326

IF Much Improved or Somewhat Improved:

"Some people say that since West Germany's situation has improved the West German Federal Government should now be in a position to take care of the economic problem of West Berlin alone instead of drawing further on other countries' help. Do you agree with this opinion or do you consider it to be wrong?"

	Agree com- pletely	Agree par- tially	Con- sider wrong	No opin- ion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	17%	10%	55%	2%	16%...100%	150
Women	12	8	46	9	25	265
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	13	8	46	7	26	266
Beyond elementary	15	11	55	6	13	149
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	16	7	56	2	19	57
30 to 49 years	11	9	51	7	22	169
50 years and over	15	9	47	8	21	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>						
Up to 149 DM	12	4	41	8	35	83
150 to 299 DM	11	13	49	5	22	125
300 to 399 DM	13	8	55	6	18	86
400 to 499 DM	19	10	46	8	17	52
500 to 599 DM	17	7	60	3	13	30
600 DM and more	15	11	59	4	11	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	19	8	47	4	22	122
CDU/CSU	9	7	58	7	19	127
FDP	4	20	55	4	17	46
Other parties	25	25	50	-	-	4
No party	19	9	42	6	24	79
No answer	14	3	35	16	32	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	29	8	55	-	8	24
Businessmen	6	6	57	9	22	32
White-collar workers	9	11	67	2	11	45
Skilled laborers	13	10	54	-	23	48
Semi-skilled laborers	11	8	42	4	35	26
Domestic service	8	-	50	17	25	12
Housewives	14	9	50	10	17	88
Unemployed	16	12	43	4	25	49
Pensioners; ret.	14	7	39	11	29	85
Students	50	25	25	-	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>						
Employed	12	9	55	4	20	187
Unemployed	16	12	43	4	25	49
<u>Family status:</u>						
Single	13	11	45	5	26	76
Married	14	8	54	7	17	241
Widowed	11	9	40	7	33	70
Divorced	18	11	43	7	21	28
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	13	9	49	6	23	369
Expellees, Refugees	17	7	52	9	15	46
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	13	5	55	2	25	40
Protestants	13	9	50	8	20	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, myself a/family mbr.	16	12	57	-	15	51
Yes, family member only	18	9	41	12	20	34
No, neither/nor	13	8	49	7	23	326

## PART B - SOME GENERAL INDICES OF MORALE

I. Present Situation

"In general, do you consider your income to be adequate, somewhat too low, or inadequate?"

	Entirely adequate	Quite adequate	Somewhat too low	In- adequate	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	10%	18%	45%	27%...100%	150
Women	10	27	39	24	265
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	8	23	43	26	266
Beyond elementary	15	25	36	24	149
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	5	34	49	12	57
30 to 49 years	9	20	43	28	169
50 years and over	13	24	36	27	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	2	11	25	62	83
150 to 299 DM	7	19	47	27	125
300 to 399 DM	8	32	47	13	86
400 to 499 DM	15	25	54	6	52
500 to 599 DM	20	40	33	7	30
600 DM and more	26	30	29	15	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	6	23	48	23	122
CDU/CSU	18	24	40	18	127
FDP	9	24	30	37	46
Other parties	-	25	50	25	4
No party	8	20	38	34	79
No answer	11	30	35	24	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	33	25	29	13	24
Businessmen	19	34	25	22	32
White-collar workers	13	29	47	11	45
Skilled laborers	4	25	52	19	48
Semi-skilled laborers	4	23	58	15	26
Domestic service	8	17	58	17	12
Housewives	8	27	42	23	88
Unemployed	2	10	27	61	49
Pensioners; ret.	13	22	38	27	85
Students	-	-	50	50	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>					
Employed	13	27	44	16	187
Unemployed	2	10	27	61	49
<u>Family status:</u>					
Single	13	24	34	29	76
Married	8	24	45	23	241
Widowed	16	27	36	21	70
Divorced	11	7	39	43	28
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	11	23	40	26	369
Expellees, Refugees	7	28	43	22	46
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	17	22	23	38	40
Protestants	10	24	42	24	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, myself & family mbr. 16		19	53	12	51
Yes, family member only 6		26	50	18	34
No, neither/nor 10		23	38	29	326

"If you look back at your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same?"

	Better today	Worse today	Just as good	Just as bad	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	27%	30%	28%	14%	1%...100%	150
Women	30	24	28	16	2	265
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	26	29	27	18	-	266
Beyond elementary	34	21	31	11	3	149
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	38	16	42	4	-	57
30 to 49 years	31	23	30	15	1	169
50 years and over	24	32	23	19	2	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>						
Up to 149 DM	18	46	8	28	-	83
150 to 299 DM	28	27	27	16	2	125
300 to 399 DM	26	24	34	16	-	86
400 to 499 DM	38	19	37	6	-	52
500 to 599 DM	43	10	47	-	-	30
600 DM and more	41	7	41	7	4	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	25	30	26	19	-	122
CDU/CSU	34	23	32	9	2	127
FDP	28	22	37	13	-	46
Other parties	25	-	50	25	-	4
No party	22	30	20	25	3	79
No answer	40	22	27	8	3	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	59	4	29	8	-	24
Businessmen	28	34	25	13	-	32
White-collar workers	40	22	31	5	2	45
Skilled laborers	23	33	31	11	2	48
Semi-skilled laborers	35	19	38	8	-	26
Domestic Service	17	25	50	8	-	12
Housewives	31	20	31	16	2	88
Unemployed	16	37	14	31	2	49
Pensioners; ret.	26	28	25	21	-	85
Students	-	50	25	25	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>						
Employed	33	25	32	9	1	187
Unemployed	16	37	14	31	2	49
<u>Family Status:</u>						
Single	29	30	30	11	-	76
Married	28	25	31	14	2	241
Widowed	32	24	27	17	-	70
Divorced	32	25	11	32	-	28
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	28	26	29	16	1	369
Expellees, Refugees	41	24	24	9	2	46
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	25	23	35	15	2	40
Protestants	30	25	29	15	1	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, myself a/family member	33	33	28	6	-	51
Yes, family member only	17	21	44	18	-	34
No, neither/nor	29	25	27	17	2	326



"In your opinion, how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general: Is it better than a year ago, or worse or just the same? (Just as good, or just as bad?)"

	Better today	Worse today	Just as good	Just as bad	No Opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	24%	34%	27%	10%	5%...100%	150
Women	21	21	33	12	13	265
<b>Education</b>						
Elementary school	22	27	30	12	9	266
Beyond elementary	21	26	32	10	11	149
<b>Age:</b>						
Up to 29 years	25	19	35	12	9	57
30 to 49 years	17	32	31	12	8	169
50 years and over	26	23	29	10	12	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>						
Up to 149 DM	22	27	23	14	14	83
150 to 299 DM	20	20	34	15	11	125
300 to 399 DM	20	31	34	7	8	86
400 to 499 DM	21	31	34	12	2	52
500 to 599 DM	24	33	33	7	3	30
600 DM and more	29	30	22	4	15	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>						
SPD	24	32	31	8	5	122
CDU/CSU	24	19	38	9	10	127
FDP	22	41	22	11	4	46
Other parties	25	50	25	-	-	4
No party	13	23	28	20	16	79
No answer	27	19	22	13	19	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>						
Professionals	21	34	29	8	8	24
Businessmen	16	25	41	12	6	32
White-Collar workers	27	29	35	7	2	45
Skilled laborers	19	36	31	10	4	48
Semi-skilled laborers	15	39	31	15	-	26
Domestic Service	8	42	25	8	17	12
Housewives	24	18	30	14	14	88
Unemployed	20	31	25	14	10	49
Pensioners; ret.	27	19	28	9	17	85
Students	25	-	25	25	25	4
<b>Employment situations:</b>						
Employed	19	33	33	10	5	187
Unemployed	20	31	25	14	10	49
<b>Family Status:</b>						
Single	18	30	29	11	12	76
Married	21	28	31	13	7	241
Widowed	26	20	34	10	10	70
Divorced	29	14	25	7	25	28
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	22	27	31	11	9	369
Expellees, Refugees	22	20	30	13	15	46
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	27	20	33	10	10	40
Protestants	22	25	32	11	10	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>						
Yes, myself a/family member	16	43	33	4	4	51
Yes, family member only	30	32	23	9	6	34
No, neither/nor	22	23	31	13	11	326

## II. Future Expectations

"Are you of the opinion that the economic situation  
in West Berlin in general is developing favorably or  
unfavorably?"

	Favorably	Neither/ nor	Un- favorably	No Opinion	No. of cases
<b><u>Sex:</u></b>					
Men	58%	20%	17%	5%...100%	150
Women	53	23	11	13	265
<b><u>Education:</u></b>					
Elementary school	57	20	11	12	266
Beyond elementary	51	26	16	7	149
<b><u>Age:</u></b>					
Up to 29 years	72	14	9	5	57
30 to 49 years	48	24	17	11	169
50 years and over	56	23	11	10	189
<b><u>Income (Family):</u></b>					
Up to 149 DM	52	23	11	14	83
150 to 299 DM	53	25	12	10	125
300 to 399 DM	52	21	15	12	86
400 to 499 DM	64	19	13	4	52
500 to 599 DM	64	13	20	3	30
600 DM and more	55	30	4	11	27
<b><u>Party Preference:</u></b>					
SPD	54	20	15	11	122
CDU/CSU	60	20	12	8	127
FDP	52	32	7	9	46
Other parties	100	-	-	-	4
No party	48	24	18	10	79
No answer	54	22	5	19	37
<b><u>Occupation (Respondent):</u></b>					
Professionals	42	42	12	4	24
Businessmen	50	12	22	16	32
White-collar workers	58	27	15	-	45
Skilled laborers	44	31	12	13	48
Semi-skilled laborers	54	19	15	12	26
Domestic Service	41	17	17	25	12
Housewives	62	20	11	7	88
Unemployed	53	21	16	10	49
Pensioners; ret.	60	19	7	14	85
Students	100	-	-	-	4
<b><u>Employment situation:</u></b>					
Employed	49	26	15	10	187
Unemployed	53	21	16	10	49
<b><u>Family Status:</u></b>					
Single	49	26	8	17	76
Married	58	22	14	6	241
Widowed	53	20	9	18	70
Divorced	53	18	25	4	28
<b><u>Origin:</u></b>					
Natives	53	24	14	9	369
Expellees, Refugees	72	7	4	17	46
<b><u>Religion:</u></b>					
Catholics	63	15	12	10	40
Protestants	55	23	11	11	330
<b><u>Trade Union Membership:</u></b>					
Yes, myself a/family member	51	21	20	8	51
Yes, family member only	58	9	18	15	34
No, neither/nor	55	24	11	10	326

"If America should not continue its support for West Berlin, do you believe that the West German Federal Government would then take over the American part in addition, or don't you believe so?" (Asked for respondents who believe West Germany could make up for loss of American aid.)

	Yes, would take over	No, would not	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	21%	10%	4%	69%...100%	150
Women	11	5	*	84	265
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	14	5	*	81	266
Beyond elementary	17	11	-	72	149
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 29 years	16	5	2	77	57
30 to 49 years	9	9	-	82	169
50 years and over	19	6	-	75	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>					
Up to 149 DM	11	10	-	79	83
150 to 299 DM	14	6	-	80	125
300 to 399 DM	22	5	-	73	86
400 to 499 DM	11	10	-	79	52
500 to 599 DM	20	10	3	67	30
600 DM and more	11	7	-	82	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	18	7	-	75	122
CDU/CSU	9	6	1	84	127
FDP	9	11	-	80	46
Other parties	25	25	-	50	4
No party	23	5	-	72	779
No answer	11	5	-	84	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>					
Professionals	12	21	-	67	24
Businessmen	16	-	-	84	32
White-collar workers	13	9	2	76	45
Skilled laborers	13	6	-	81	48
Semi-skilled laborers	12	11	-	77	26
Domestic Service	8	-	-	92	12
Housewives	13	2	-	85	88
Unemployed	12	12	-	76	49
Pensioners; ret.	20	7	-	73	85
Students	75	-	-	25	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>					
Employed	13	8	1	78	187
Unemployed	12	12	-	76	49
<b>Family Status:</b>					
Single	16	8	-	76	76
Married	13	7	*	80	241
Widowed	17	4	-	79	70
Divorced	18	14	-	68	28
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	14	7	*	79	369
Expellees, Refugees	17	9	-	74	46
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	10	7	-	83	40
Protestants	15	7	*	78	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>					
Yes, myself a/family member	12	8	-	80	51
Yes, family member only	15	3	-	82	34
No, neither/ner	15	7	*	78	326
* Less than one half of one per cent. 80 -					

"Is it your impression that the West German economic situation has improved or worsened in the past two or three years, or has it remained about the same?" (Somewhat improved or much improved? Somewhat worsened or much worsened?)

	Improved	Remained the same	Worsened	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	84%	10%	2%	4%...100%	150
Women	75	16	1	8	265
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	73	17	2	8	266
Beyond elementary	86	9	1	4	149
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 29 years	81	12	-	7	57
30 to 49 years	77	14	2	7	169
50 years and over	79	14	1	6	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>					
Up to 149 DM	65	24	1	10	83
150 to 299 DM	78	10	2	10	125
300 to 399 DM	82	14	2	2	86
400 to 499 DM	83	13	-	4	52
500 to 599 DM	87	7	3	3	30
600 DM and more	89	4	-	7	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	78	12	3	7	122
CDU/CSU	81	15	1	3	127
FDP	83	15	-	2	46
Other parties	100	-	-	-	4
No party	76	15	1	8	79
No answer	68	13	-	19	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>					
Professionals	92	4	4	-	24
Businessmen	78	13	-	9	32
White-collar workers	89	9	-	2	45
Skilled laborers	77	17	2	4	48
Semi-skilled laborers	65	19	4	12	26
Domestic Service	75	17	-	8	12
Housewives	83	15	1	1	88
Unemployed	76	10	4	10	49
Pensioners; ret.	71	17	-	12	85
Students	100	-	-	-	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>					
Employed	81	12	2	5	187
Unemployed	76	10	4	10	49
<b>Family Status:</b>					
Single	74	14	1	11	76
Married	83	13	1	3	241
Widowed	68	17	1	14	70
Divorced	78	7	4	11	28
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	77	14	2	7	369
Expellees, Refugees	85	9	-	6	46
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	75	15	-	10	40
Protestants	79	12	2	7	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>					
Yes, myself a/family mbr.	84	10	4	2	51
Yes, family member only	79	12	-	9	34
No, neither/nor	77	15	1	7	326

IF Much Improved or Somewhat Improved:

"Some people say that since West Germany's situation has improved the West German Federal Government should now be in a position to take care of the economic problem of West Berlin alone instead of drawing further on other countries' help. Do you agree with this opinion or do you consider it to be wrong?"

	Agree com- pletely	Agree par- tially	Con- sider wrong	No opin- ion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	17%	10%	55%	2%	16%...100%	150
Women	12	8	46	9	25	265
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	13	8	46	7	26	266
Beyond elementary	15	11	55	6	13	149
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	16	7	56	2	19	57
30 to 49 years	11	9	51	7	22	169
50 years and over	15	9	47	8	21	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>						
Up to 149 DM	12	4	41	8	35	83
150 to 299 DM	11	13	49	5	22	125
300 to 399 DM	13	8	55	6	18	86
400 to 499 DM	19	10	46	8	17	52
500 to 599 DM	17	7	60	3	13	30
600 DM and more	15	11	59	4	11	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	19	8	47	4	22	122
CDU/CSU	9	7	58	7	19	127
FDP	4	20	55	4	17	46
Other parties	25	25	50	-	-	4
No party	19	9	42	6	24	79
No answer	14	3	35	16	32	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	29	8	55	-	8	24
Businessmen	6	6	57	9	22	32
White-collar workers	9	11	67	2	11	45
Skilled laborers	13	10	54	-	23	48
Semi-skilled laborers	11	8	42	4	35	26
Domestic service	8	-	50	17	25	12
Housewives	14	9	50	10	17	88
Unemployed	16	12	43	4	25	49
Pensioners; ret.	14	7	39	11	29	85
Students	50	25	25	-	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>						
Employed	12	9	55	4	20	187
Unemployed	16	12	43	4	25	49
<u>Family status:</u>						
Single	13	11	45	5	26	76
Married	14	8	54	7	17	241
Widowed	11	9	40	7	33	70
Divorced	18	11	43	7	21	28
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	13	9	49	6	23	369
Expellees, Refugees	17	7	52	9	15	46
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	13	5	55	2	25	40
Protestants	13	9	50	8	20	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, myself a/family mbr.	16	12	57	-	15	51
Yes, family member only	18	9	41	12	20	34
No, neither/nor	13	8	49	7	23	326



PART B - SOME GENERAL INDICES OF MORALE

I. Present Situation

"In general, do you consider your income to be adequate, somewhat too low, or inadequate?"

	Entirely adequate	Quite adequate	Somewhat too low	In- adequate	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	10%	18%	45%	27%...100%	150
Women	10	27	39	24	265
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	8	23	43	26	266
Beyond elementary	15	25	36	24	149
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	5	34	49	12	57
30 to 49 years	9	20	43	28	169
50 years and over	13	24	36	27	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	2	11	25	62	83
150 to 299 DM	7	19	47	27	125
300 to 399 DM	8	32	47	13	86
400 to 499 DM	15	25	54	6	52
500 to 599 DM	20	40	33	7	30
600 DM and more	26	30	29	15	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	6	23	48	23	122
CDU/CSU	18	24	40	18	127
FDP	9	24	30	37	46
Other parties	-	25	50	25	4
No party	8	20	38	34	79
No answer	11	30	35	24	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	33	25	29	13	24
Businessmen	19	34	25	22	32
White-collar workers	13	29	47	11	45
Skilled laborers	4	25	52	19	48
Semi-skilled laborers	4	23	58	15	26
Domestic service	8	17	58	17	12
Housewives	8	27	42	23	88
Unemployed	2	10	27	61	49
Pensioners; ret.	13	22	38	27	85
Students	-	-	50	50	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>					
Employed	13	27	44	16	187
Unemployed	2	10	27	61	49
<u>Family status:</u>					
Single	13	24	34	29	76
Married	8	24	45	23	241
Widowed	16	27	36	21	70
Divorced	11	7	39	43	28
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	11	23	40	26	369
Expellees, Refugees	7	28	43	22	46
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	17	22	23	38	40
Protestants	10	24	42	24	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, myself & family mbr.	16	19	53	12	51
Yes, family member only	6	26	50	18	34
No, neither/nor	10	23	38	29	326

"If you look back at your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same?"

	Better today	Worse today	Just as good	Just as bad	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	27%	30%	28%	14%	1%...100%	150
Women	30	24	28	16	2	265
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	26	29	27	18	-	266
Beyond elementary	34	21	31	11	3	149
<u>Age:</u>						
Up to 29 years	38	16	42	4	-	57
30 to 49 years	31	23	30	15	1	169
50 years and over	24	32	23	19	2	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>						
Up to 149 DM	18	46	8	28	-	83
150 to 299 DM	28	27	27	16	2	125
300 to 399 DM	26	24	34	16	-	86
400 to 499 DM	38	19	37	6	-	52
500 to 599 DM	43	10	47	-	-	30
600 DM and more	41	7	41	7	4	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	25	30	26	19	-	122
CDU/CSU	34	23	32	9	2	127
FDP	28	22	37	13	-	46
Other parties	25	-	50	25	-	4
No party	22	30	20	25	3	79
No answer	40	22	27	8	3	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>						
Professionals	59	4	29	8	-	24
Businessmen	28	34	25	13	-	32
White-collar workers	40	22	31	5	2	45
Skilled laborers	23	33	31	11	2	48
Semi-skilled laborers	35	19	38	8	-	26
Domestic Service	17	25	50	8	-	12
Housewives	31	20	31	16	2	88
Unemployed	16	37	14	31	2	49
Pensioners; ret.	26	28	25	21	-	85
Students	-	50	25	25	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>						
Employed	33	25	32	9	1	187
Unemployed	16	37	14	31	2	49
<u>Family Status:</u>						
Single	29	30	30	11	-	76
Married	28	25	31	14	2	241
Widowed	32	24	27	17	-	70
Divorced	32	25	11	32	-	28
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	28	26	29	16	1	369
Expellees, Refugees	41	24	24	9	2	46
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	25	23	35	15	2	40
Protestants	30	25	29	15	1	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>						
Yes, myself a/family member	33	33	28	6	-	51
Yes, family member only	17	21	44	18	-	34
No, neither/nor	29	25	27	17	2	326

"In your opinion, how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general: Is it better than a year ago, or worse or just the same? (Just as good, or just as bad?)"

	Better today	Worse today	Just as good	Just as bad	No Opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	24%	34%	27%	10%	5%...100%	150
Women	21	21	33	12	13	265
<b>Education</b>						
Elementary school	22	27	30	12	9	266
Beyond elementary	21	26	32	10	11	149
<b>Age:</b>						
Up to 29 years	25	19	35	12	9	57
30 to 49 years	17	32	31	12	8	169
50 years and over	26	23	29	10	12	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>						
Up to 149 DM	22	27	23	14	14	83
150 to 299 DM	20	20	34	15	11	125
300 to 399 DM	20	31	34	7	8	86
400 to 499 DM	21	31	34	12	2	52
500 to 599 DM	24	33	33	7	3	30
600 DM and more	29	30	22	4	15	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>						
SPD	24	32	31	8	5	122
CDU/CSU	24	19	38	9	10	127
FDP	22	41	22	11	4	46
Other parties	25	50	25	-	-	4
No party	13	23	28	20	16	79
No answer	27	19	22	13	19	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>						
Professionals	21	34	29	8	8	24
Businessmen	16	25	41	12	6	32
White-Collar workers	27	29	35	7	2	45
Skilled laborers	19	36	31	10	4	48
Semi-skilled laborers	15	39	31	15	-	26
Domestic Service	8	42	25	8	17	12
Housewives	24	18	30	14	14	88
Unemployed	20	31	25	14	10	49
Pensioners; ret.	27	19	28	9	17	85
Students	25	-	25	25	25	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>						
Employed	19	33	33	10	5	187
Unemployed	20	31	25	14	10	49
<b>Family Status:</b>						
Single	18	30	29	11	12	76
Married	21	28	31	13	7	241
Widowed	26	20	34	10	10	70
Divorced	29	14	25	7	25	28
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	22	27	31	11	9	369
Expellees, Refugees	22	20	30	13	15	46
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	27	20	33	10	10	40
Protestants	22	25	32	11	10	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>						
Yes, myself a/family member	16	43	33	4	4	51
Yes, family member only	30	32	23	9	6	34
No, neither/nor	22	23	31	13	11	326

## II. Future Expectations

"Are you of the opinion that the economic situation in West Berlin in general is developing favorably or unfavorably?"

	Favorably	Neither/ nor	Un- favorably	No Opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	58%	20%	17%	5%...100%	150
Women	53	23	11	13	265
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	57	20	11	12	266
Beyond elementary	51	26	16	7	149
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 29 years	72	14	9	5	57
30 to 49 years	48	24	17	11	169
50 years and over	56	23	11	10	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>					
Up to 149 DM	52	23	11	14	83
150 to 299 DM	53	25	12	10	125
300 to 399 DM	52	21	15	12	86
400 to 499 DM	64	19	13	4	52
500 to 599 DM	64	13	20	3	30
600 DM and more	55	30	4	11	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	54	20	15	11	122
CDU/CSU	60	20	12	8	127
FDP	52	32	7	9	46
Other parties	100	-	-	-	4
No party	48	24	18	10	79
No answer	54	22	5	19	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>					
Professionals	42	42	12	4	24
Businessmen	50	12	22	16	32
White-collar workers	58	27	15	-	45
Skilled laborers	44	31	12	13	48
Semi-skilled laborers	54	19	15	12	26
Domestic Service	41	17	17	25	12
Housewives	62	20	11	7	88
Unemployed	53	21	16	10	49
Pensioners; ret.	60	19	7	14	85
Students	100	-	-	-	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>					
Employed	49	26	15	10	187
Unemployed	53	21	16	10	49
<b>Family Status:</b>					
Single	49	26	8	17	76
Married	58	22	14	6	241
Widowed	53	20	9	18	70
Divorced	53	18	25	4	28
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	53	24	14	9	369
Expellees, Refugees	72	7	4	17	46
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	63	15	12	10	40
Protestants	55	23	11	11	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>					
Yes, myself a/family member	51	21	20	8	51
Yes, family member only	58	9	18	15	34
No, neither/nor	55	24	11	10	326

"How do you judge your final prospects for the next year: will your total income plus that of your family be about the same as this year, or will it be higher or lower? Naturally nobody knows this exactly, but what do you think?"

	About the same	Higher	Lower	Depends on	No Opinion	No. of cases
<b><u>Sex:</u></b>						
Men	56%	21%	9%	13%	1%..100%	150
Women	68	100	6	15	1	265
<b><u>Education:</u></b>						
Elementary school	63	12	7	16	2	266
Beyond elementary	63	19	7	11	-	149
<b><u>Age:</u></b>						
Up to 29 years	58	23	2	17	-	57
30 to 49 years	56	19	9	15	1	169
50 years and over	73	7	7	12	1	189
<b><u>Income (Family):</u></b>						
Up to 149 DM	63	12	5	19	1	83
150 to 299 DM	63	13	8	14	2	125
300 to 399 DM	67	10	8	15	-	86
400 to 499 DM	54	19	8	17	2	52
500 to 599 DM	60	24	13	3	-	30
600 DM and more	78	18	4	-	-	27
<b><u>Party Preference:</u></b>						
SPD	66	7	11	16	-	122
CDU/CSU	65	20	5	10	-	127
FDP	54	24	7	13	2	46
Other parties	75	-	-	25	-	4
No party	65	13	6	15	1	79
No answer	57	8	8	22	5	377
<b><u>Occupation (Respondent):</u></b>						
Professionals	75	21	4	-	-	24
Businessmen	37	38	3	22	-	32
White-collar workers	62	18	7	13	-	45
Skilled laborers	59	12	10	17	2	48
Semi-skilled laborers	54	15	15	12	4	26
Domestic service	67	17	8	8	-	12
Housewives	69	11	7	13	-	88
Unemployed	45	12	10	33	-	49
Pensioners; ret.	79	6	5	8	2	85
Students	100	-	-	-	-	4
<b><u>Employment situation:</u></b>						
Employed	58	20	8	13	1	187
Unemployed	45	12	10	33	-	49
<b><u>Family status:</u></b>						
Single	66	18	7	9	-	76
Married	61	16	8	15	-	241
Widowed	73	6	4	13	4	70
Divorced	50	14	11	25	-	28
<b><u>Origin:</u></b>						
Natives	65	13	7	14	1	369
Expellees, Refugees	50	22	11	15	2	46
<b><u>Religion:</u></b>						
Catholics	60	20	5	7	8	40
Protestants	64	13	8	15	-	330
<b><u>Trade Union Membership:</u></b>						
Yes, myself a/family members	66	10	10	14	-	51
Yes, family member only	65	9	6	17	3	34
No, neither/nor	63	15	7	14	1	326



"What are your expectations for the next five years: will your situation be about the same it is now, or do you believe you'll be better or worse off after five years than today?"

	As it is now	Better	Worse	Depends on ...	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	31%	44%	6%	19%	4...100%	150
Women	37	35	4	21	3	265
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	34	36	6	22	2	266
Beyond elementary	37	41	3	18	1	149
<b>Age:</b>						
Up to 29 years	11	75	-	14	-	57
30 to 49 years	31	44	4	18	3	169
50 years and over	46	22	7	23	2	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>						
Up to 149 DM	35	30	6	27	2	83
150 to 299 DM	36	36	5	20	3	125
300 to 399 DM	35	37	5	21	2	86
400 to 499 DM	27	54	4	15	-	52
500 to 599 DM	30	53	-	17	-	30
600 DM and more	44	30	11	15	-	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>						
SPD	35	38	7	18	2	122
CDU/CSU	36	46	3	14	1	127
FDP	33	39	2	26	-	46
Other parties	50	50	-	-	-	4
No party	33	28	8	22	3	79
No answer	27	30	3	35	5	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>						
Professionals	50	38	8	4	-	24
Businessmen	31	38	3	28	-	32
White-collar workers	29	56	2	13	-	45
Skilled laborers	40	31	10	19	-	48
Semi-skilled laborers	31	58	-	11	-	26
Domestic Service	17	75	-	8	-	12
Housewives	31	36	5	25	3	88
Unemployed	27	37	4	28	4	49
Pensioners; ret.	49	21	6	20	4	85
Students	-	75	-	25	-	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>						
Employed	34	46	5	15	-	187
Unemployed	27	37	4	28	4	49
<b>Family Status:</b>						
Single	34	45	7	14	-	76
Married	34	39	5	21	1	241
Widowed	42	26	4	24	4	70
Divorced	32	43	-	18	7	28
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	35	38	4	21	2	369
Expellees, Refugees	35	39	11	15	-	46
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	35	32	8	20	5	40
Protestants	35	40	5	19	1	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>						
Yes, myself a/family mbr.	43	31	8	18	-	51
Yes, family member only	26	38	3	30	3	34
No, neither/nor	35	39	5	19	2	326

## III. Stamina

"Please imagine the following: West Berlin's difficulties and troubles existing since the end of the war would go on without much change for about 20 years. Do you think the people of West Berlin would stand this situation such a long time or would they not?"

	Yes, they would	No, they wouldn't	Quali- fied Answer	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	72%	25%	3%	-%...100%	150
Women	72	22	4	2	265
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	72	24	3	1	266
Beyond elementary	72	22	5	1	149
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 29 years	77	21	2	-	57
30 to 49 years	72	24	2	2	169
50 years and over	70	23	6	1	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	69	23	6	2	83
150 to 299 DM	77	19	2	2	125
300 to 399 DM	64	33	3	-	86
400 to 499 DM	71	25	4	-	52
500 to 599 DM	83	17	-	-	30
600 DM and more	71	22	7	-	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	72	26	2	-	122
CDU/CSU	76	20	2	2	127
FDP	74	24	2	-	46
Other parties	100	-	-	-	4
No party	66	25	8	1	79
No answer	68	24	5	3	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>					
Professionals	92	4	-	4	24
Businessmen	66	25	9	-	32
White-collar workers	78	22	-	-	45
Skilled laborers	65	31	4	-	48
Semi-skilled laborers	81	19	-	-	26
Domestic Service	58	42	-	-	12
Housewives	68	29	3	-	88
Unemployed	80	16	2	2	49
Pensioners; ret.	68	24	6	2	85
Students	100	-	-	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>					
Employed	73	23	3	1	187
Unemployed	80	16	2	2	49
<u>Family Status:</u>					
Single	75	17	7	1	76
Married	72	26	2	-	241
Widowed	72	20	4	4	70
Divorced	68	25	7	-	28
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	71	24	4	1	369
Expellees, Refugees	81	15	4	-	46
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	75	18	5	2	40
Protestants	71	25	3	1	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>					
Yes, myself a/family member	74	22	4	-	51
Yes, family member only	73	21	6	-	34
No, neither/nor	72	24	3	1	326

"Would you leave Berlin for good if you had the opportunity?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	32%	67%	1%...100%	150
Women	21	78	1	265
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	22	77	1	266
Beyond elementary	30	69	1	149
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 29 years	28	72	-	57
30 to 49 years	31	68	1	169
50 years and over	19	80	1	189
<u>Income (Family):</u>				
Up to 149 DM	22	77	1	83
150 to 299 DM	23	76	1	125
300 to 399 DM	29	70	1	86
400 to 499 DM	23	77	-	52
500 to 599 DM	30	70	-	30
600 DM and more	41	59	-	27
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	23	77	-	122
CDU/CSU	26	72	2	127
FDP	35	65	-	46
Other parties	50	50	-	4
No party	23	76	1	79
No answer	19	81	-	37
<u>Occupation (Respondent):</u>				
Professionals	17	83	-	24
Businessmen	22	78	-	32
White-collar workers	33	65	2	45
Skilled laborers	29	71	-	48
Semi-skilled laborers	31	60	-	26
Domestic Service	17	83	-	12
Housewives	28	71	1	88
Unemployed	26	74	-	49
Pensioners; ret.	15	84	1	85
Students	50	50	-	4
<u>Employment situation:</u>				
Employed	27	72	1	187
Unemployed	26	74	-	49
<u>Family Status:</u>				
Single	22	78	-	76
Married	28	71	1	241
Widowed	18	82	-	70
Divorced	25	75	-	28
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	25	74	1	369
Expellees, Refugees	24	76	-	46
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	25	75	-	40
Protestants	26	73	1	330
<u>Trade Union Membership:</u>				
Yes, myself &/family member	29	71	-	51
Yes, a family member only	29	71	-	34
No, neither/nor	24	75	1	326

"If you or the head of the family were offered work and housing in West Germany, would you then leave West Berlin?"  
(Asked of those who answered "no" to initial question.)

	Yes	No	Quali- fied answer	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	9%	49%	9%	-%	33%...100%	150
Women	15	61	3	-	21	265
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	12	61	5	-	22	266
Beyond elementary	15	50	5	-	30	149
<b>Age:</b>						
Up to 29 years	19	44	9	-	28	57
30 to 49 years	11	52	6	-	31	169
50 years and over	12	66	3	-	19	189
<b>Income (Family):</b>						
Up to 149 DM	18	60	-	-	22	83
150 to 299 DM	12	59	6	-	23	125
300 to 399 DM	16	47	8	-	29	86
400 to 499 DM	6	65	6	-	23	52
500 to 599 DM	10	53	7	-	30	30
600 DM and more	4	51	4	-	41	27
<b>Party Preference:</b>						
SPD	15	57	5	-	23	122
CDU/CSU	13	57	4	-	26	127
FDP	9	43	13	-	35	46
Other parties	-	25	25	-	50	4
No party	14	59	4	-	23	79
No answer	11	70	-	-	19	37
<b>Occupation (Respondent):</b>						
Professionals	-	62	21	-	17	24
Businessmen	19	50	9	-	22	32
White-collar workers	18	49	-	-	33	45
Skilled laborers	4	57	10	-	29	48
Semi-skilled laborers	8	57	4	-	31	26
Domestic Service	-	83	-	-	17	12
Housewives	18	50	3	-	29	88
Unemployed	18	53	2	-	27	49
Pensioners; ret.	11	72	2	-	15	85
Students	-	25	25	-	50	4
<b>Employment situation:</b>						
Employed	10	56	7	-	27	187
Unemployed	18	53	2	-	27	49
<b>Family Status:</b>						
Single	10	61	7	-	22	76
Married	13	53	6	-	28	241
Widowed	11	69	1	-	19	70
Divorced	18	57	-	-	25	28
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	13	57	5	-	25	369
Expellees, Refugees	15	57	4	-	24	46
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	10	58	7	-	25	40
Protestants	14	56	4	-	26	330
<b>Trade Union Membership:</b>						
Yes, myself a/family member	6	59	6	-	29	51
Yes, a family member only	21	41	9	-	29	34
No, neither/nor	13	58	5	-	24	326



# THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN COMMERCIAL FIRMS IN WEST GERMANY

REPORT NO. 10  
SERIES NO. 1  
JUNE 1951

EVALUATION STAFF  
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS  
OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER TO GERMANY

UNCLASSIFIED



## INTRODUCTION

Among the various influences that go to mold West German attitudes toward the United States, American commercial motion pictures are probably in the forefront in extensiveness and volume. It is therefore of importance to the USIA program in Germany to assay the extent and consequences of this large-scale, dramatic projection of American life and customs. To this end the Evaluation Staff, Office of Public Affairs, initiated a detailed survey in late Spring of 1953, the analysis of which is now completed and herein presented. The findings are based upon a 2,000-case, representative probability sampling of West Germans 15 years of age and over. Interviewing was conducted by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

## MAJOR INDICATIONS

- I. AMERICAN COMMERCIAL FILMS ARE ON THE WHOLE WELL-RECEIVED AND FAVORABLY APPRAISED BOTH AS TO THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO GERMAN LIFE AND THE IMPRESSIONS THEY GIVE GERMANS OF AMERICAN LIFE. Thus although U.S. commercial motion pictures are not designed as propaganda vehicles - nor so regarded by their West German audience - but are selected for export abroad largely on the basis of box-office appeal, their impact on the people who see them is predominantly favorable. The results, on the indices used in the present study, do not in the net support the view that Hollywood productions handicap U.S. efforts to win understanding abroad of the American point of view and way of life.

Specifically:

American films are rated more favorably than other foreign films seen by the West German film audience.

Prevailing opinions among viewers of American movies are that American films in general exert a good rather than harmful influence on German life, help Germans to understand the U.S., and increase American prestige.

American films produce among their German audience both predominantly favorable impressions of American life and predominant belief that these impressions are true to fact.

Presented with a series of strongly worded criticisms of U.S. commercial pictures, German film-goers predominantly reject them as untrue.

- II. DESPITE OVERWEIGHINGLY FAVORABLE REACTIONS, HOWEVER, WEST GERMANS ARE NOT WITHOUT CRITICISMS OF HOLLYWOOD FILMS. Chiefly, these revolve around crime and Western films which allegedly glorify force and brutality.

Such films are seen as setting such a bad example for German youth that for this particular population segment the net effect of American films is predominantly judged to be unfavorable.

From such films most West Germans are given the impression that the U.S. is rife with crime and gangsterism - an impression which many believe to be exaggerated, but which a considerable proportion appear inclined to accept as an accurate representation of American life.

- III. REINFORCEMENT OF ALREADY HELD BELIEFS ABOUT AMERICA - PRIMARILY FAVORABLE IN CHARACTER - APPEARS TO BE THE PRIMARY PROPAGANDA INFLUENCE IN WEST GERMANY OF AMERICAN COMMERCIAL FILMS. This is the indication that emerges from comparison of American film impressions with belief or disbelief as to their accuracy.

The same analysis suggests that what might be termed the conversion potential of American movies, i.e. movie impressions exerting an influence away from present belief, is both limited in extent in West Germany and not clearly profitable in the net.

## I. GENERAL OPINIONS ABOUT AMERICAN FILMS

The role of American motion pictures in influencing West German views and attitudes toward the United States conceivably extends beyond the immediate German audience of American films. Thus, reactions not only of German adults who have seen American films but of those who have never seen them were explored wherever pertinent.

## OVER HALF OF THE WEST GERMAN PUBLIC HAVE SEEN AMERICAN FILMS ...

The judgments of the West German people on American films are based on fairly widespread personal experience with them. As many as four out of every ten West German adults state they have seen "several" American movies. Indeed among West Germans who may be considered regular moviegoers - those attending film theaters once a month or more - about three-quarters have seen several American pictures, as have over half (56%) of all Germans who ever go to the movies.

British films have the next largest audience among foreign films with French, Italian and Swedish films following in that order.

The following tables give 1) frequency of general movie-going among the German public, and 2) proportions seeing various foreign films.\*

"Do you go to the movies occasionally? About how often do you go to the movies?"

	West Germany
2 - 3 times a week	2%
Once a week	13
2 - 3 times a month	14
About once a month	14
6 - 11 times a year	8
3 - 5 times a year	10
Once or twice a year	10
Less than once a year	17
Never (I've never been to the movies)	12
	<u>100%</u>

\* Further statistical calculations indicate the reliability of these figures for frequency of movie attendance. According to official West German sources, the average daily movie attendance was 1,780,000 during 1953. When the above table is calculated in terms of the daily contribution of each frequency group to the West German movie audience and then projected against the total West German population 15 years of age and above, the figure attained from the sampling is 1,710,000 daily movie visitors.

"How often do you go to the movies?"

Once a Month or More Often	3 Times a Year or More	Once or Twice a Year	All Movie- Goers	Proportion of Total Public
-------------------------------------	------------------------------	----------------------------	------------------------	----------------------------------

"Which foreign films have you already seen? (Have you seen several British films, or only one or two?"

Several films	51%	25%	6%	39%	27%
Only one or two	25	31	20	26	19
None as yet	<u>24</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>25</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	71%

American films

Several films	73%	43%	12%	56%	40%
Only one or two	15	25	24	20	14
None as yet	<u>12</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>17</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	71%

French films

Several films	33%	21%	7%	27%	19%
Only one or two	32	26	16	28	20
None as yet	<u>35</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>32</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	71%

Italian films

Several films	31%	13%	2%	22%	16%
Only one or two	34	28	18	31	21
None as yet	<u>35</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>34</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	71%

Swedish films

Several films	12%	5%	1%	9%	6%
Only one or two	29	17	8	23	16
None as yet	<u>59</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>49</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	71%

## NEXT TO GERMAN FILMS AMERICAN MOST PREFERRED ...

As might have been expected from considerations of national pride, if from nothing else, most West German movie-goers (78%) say that the kind of film that they "like most to see" is their own native brand. But German films aside, the film product that ranks highest in German preference is the American. British, Italian, and French films follow without marked differences.

"By and large, which films do you like most to see?  
And which take second place, which third and fourth  
place, and which is in last place?" (CARD)

	<u>German</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>British</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Rating</u>
First place	78%	7%	2%	5%	2%	6%..100%
Second place	5	27	16	11	15	23
Third place	4	18	20	12	13	33
Fourth place	2	10	15	14	12	47
Fifth (last) place	2	11	10	14	12	51

## AMERICAN FILMS MAINTAIN LEVEL AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE SEEN OTHER FOREIGN FILMS ...

The higher rating given American films than other foreign films by German movie-goers is not simply a result of the fact that more of them have seen American than other foreign pictures. On the contrary, among people best able to judge the respective merits of the films - those in the motion picture audience who have seen British, French, and Italian pictures as well as American - the Hollywood product continues to maintain its lead over all other films and even gains slightly with respect to German films.

	<u>German</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>British</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Rating</u>
First place	63%	13%	3%	11%	6%	4%..100%
Second place	12	27	18	14	23	6
Third place	11	21	22	19	16	11
Fourth place	4	15	26	20	18	17
Fifth (last) place	4	15	19	23	23	16

## THOSE WHO HAVE SEEN SEVERAL AMERICAN MOVIES RATE THEM HIGHER THAN OTHERS ...

Moreover, familiarity with American films is correlated with increase in their relative standing. People who have seen several American motion pictures rate them higher than do the movie audience as a whole, and rate other foreign films lower.

	<u>German</u>	<u>American</u>	<u>British</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Rating</u>
First place	73%	11%	3%	7%	3%	3%..100%
Second place	12	34	17	12	16	9
Third place	7	23	24	13	16	17
Fourth place	2	11	21	17	16	33
Fifth (last) place	3	12	12	19	16	38

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## II. INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN FILMS AS APPRAISED BY GERMANS ... WHO HAVE SEEN THEM

NET INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN FILMS IS JUDGED GOOD BY GERMANS WHO HAVE SEEN THEM ...

On balance, the American films are said to have a favorable rather than unfavorable influence on German audiences, according to people who have seen one or more American movies. In fact, the more U.S. productions West Germans have seen, the more frequently they state the influence is good rather than the contrary.

"And do American films, in your opinion, have chiefly a favorable or chiefly an unfavorable influence on the German population?"

	Seen Several American Films	Seen One or Two American Films	TOTAL@
Chiefly favorable	45%	29%	41% (22%)
Chiefly unfavorable	20	20	20 (11)
Undecided	35	51	39 (21)
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u> (54%)

BUT MANY HOLD AMERICAN FILMS HAVE SOME UNFAVORABLE INFLUENCES ...

The fact that a preponderance believe that American films have a chiefly favorable influence on the German population does not, of course, preclude reference to unfavorable effects. Such unfavorable influences are cited by the order of a third of the German audience of American films and an additional fraction state such influences exist but cannot specify them. Those who have seen several American movies can, not unexpectedly, cite the most examples of what they have in mind.

"Could you tell me any unfavorable influences which American films have on West German movie-goers?  
(What influences are these?)"

	Seen Several American Films	Seen One or Two American Films	TOTAL@
Yes, can name	38%	28%	35% (19%)
Yes, but cannot name any	12	15	13 (7)
No, have no unfavorable influences	38	33	37 (20)
Undecided	12	24	15 (8)
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u> (54%)

Alleged harmful effects of Western and gangster films especially on the young is by far the most frequent example cited. Other black marks against American motion pictures are mentioned by only small fractions, as is evident in the illustrative comments listed below.

@ Figures in parentheses are based on the total West German population, thus giving in indication of the extensivity of these views throughout West Germany.



"What unfavorable influences are these?"

Those Who  
Have Seen  
American  
Films

Through Westerns and thrillers bad examples are set:

23% (12%)

- "Those crime films, quite a few people are put up to something that way, especially younger people may be incited to commit follies."
- "Because of the (crass) way in which the story is presented in the Wild West films young people are moved to commit criminal acts."
- "You can often read in the papers that young people are demoralized through gangster films, that they put criminal schemes into their minds, so that they turn into burglars."
- "I'm thinking of the thriller, I'm sure some people will feel they have to act up to those screen heroes."
- "The Wild West films have a brutalizing effect on the younger generation."
- "I'm sure that the fact that the stories so often deal with bandits and gangsters has an unfavorable influence on people."
- "That the kids want to imitate all that shooting that's going on on the screen right away."
- "Those Texas films are to blame for burglaries that have been committed by young people, it's happened repeatedly here."

Through American films superficiality is encouraged:

5 (3)

- "People come to have a rather superficial outlook on things through these sickly sentimental romances."
- "Because beauty is idolized, teen-age girls become superficial and vain."
- "Scant clothes and a superficial mind, these are the characteristics of the average individual of today, he does not know deeper values."
- "Some films are rather trashy, it would be better if a lot of people wouldn't see them."
- "The bold way in which things are presented in American films, I mean it in a negative sense."

Through American films unrealistic aspirations are created:

3 (2)

- "Through these films illusions are produced in young people's minds, they are taken in by what they see, and they want to have these things for themselves."
- "In the films too much luxury is shown, that just makes people hanker after all those good things."
- "That grand display makes people develop inferiority complexes right away."
- "Through the films the pretensions of young people over here are raised."
- "The films have an unfavorable influence on young people, it may suddenly occur to them that they want to dress more smartly, a desire that can't be realized, they may be induced to make money by some crooked means, they try to imitate their screen favorites down to the smallest detail."

(Cont'd on next page)

Those Who  
Have Seen  
American  
Films

Through exaggeration, false conceptions of the American way of life are produced:

2% ( 1%)

"The way things are presented is exaggerated, it creates false conceptions of the life over there."

"These films could mislead Germans into assuming that in the States everything is as wonderful as it's shown in the films, spectators get a wrong idea of America."

"Wild West and adventure films aren't true to life, all that's exaggerated, it's all just a rip-roaring story, and they all end in the same way - just as those trashy novels you can buy for 20 Pfennigs."

Other influence:

2 ( 1 )

"I think that the average movie-goer doesn't want to hear jazz music, it only has a corrupting influence, there's nothing to it, anyway."

"Generally the Germans were presented in a very unfavorable light, I'm thinking of the film about Rommel."

"If in the films prejudices against the Germans are expressed and not the truth about them, in aggressive propaganda films, I mean."

35% (19%)

# FREQUENT ATTENDERS AT AMERICAN MOVIES MOST ABLE TO NAME FAVORABLE INFLUENCES ...

Just as they are most able to advance specific bad influences of American films, those who have seen most American films are also most able to name specific favorable influences - suggesting that the phenomenon arises from greater fluency or information rather than from favorable or adverse orientations toward American films.

"And could you tell me any favorable influences which American films have on German movie-goers? What influences are these?"

	Seen Several American Films	Seen One or Two American Films	TOTAL
Yes, can name	30%	17%	26% (15%)
Yes, but cannot name any	28	22	27 (14)
No, have no favorable influences	21	21	21 (11)
Undecided	21	40	26 (14)
	100%	100%	100% (54%)

## STIMULUS FOR BETTER LIVING AND INCREASED INFORMATION AND UNDERSTANDING SEEN AS CHIEF FAVORABLE INFLUENCES OF AMERICAN FILMS ...

Stimulating Germans to better ways of living and providing information and understanding about America are the favorable influences of American films chiefly mentioned by their West German viewers.

"What favorable influences are these?"

Those Who  
Have Seen  
American  
Films

### American movies teach and stimulate Germans to better ways of living:

9% (4%)

"They promote and depict a more generous attitude, people become more broadminded towards life and its problems."

"Those who have a life before them, i.e. our youth, are taught generosity and quick action."

"As far as taste is concerned, they have an educational and favorable effect."

"Women get new ideas about fashions and cosmetics and about general hygiene, they can also learn how to keep their figures, we can very well see that the women over there do not eat as much as we do, and the make-up looks more natural, too."

"Sex appeal for German women, a sportsmanly touch for German men."

"Our youth is shown a better life worth being attained, they encourage our men to pitch in in the household sometimes."

"They encourage us to do a good job in order to become more prosperous."

(Cont'd on next page)

Those Who  
Have Seen  
American  
Films

7% ( 4%)

American movies provide information and understanding about America:

- "Those films which reflect the American mentality are valuable to us Germans as they help us understand the Americans, we get an idea of what is going on in other countries."
- "A means to become acquainted with the country and its inhabitants and to find out that they get plenty of work done over there."
- "We see things new and beautiful - a means of broadening our knowledge."
- "That they show pictures of the country, thereby teaching the Germans what the country looks like."
- "Landscape pictures - a viewer can get a geographic view and thus broaden his horizon."

American films are relaxing and cheer one up:

5 ( 2 )

- "They demonstrate to the Germans that quite a few things can be handled with the attitude of "take it easy" and "keep smiling" and need not be dealt with too gravely."
- "These films help me relax because they are so gay."
- "They cheer you up."
- "They make you forget all your troubles and worries, they lead you into a dreamland."
- "Their sense of humor is appreciated."

American movies are staged well:

4 ( 2 )

- "The stage-setting, that's something we always appreciate, the excellent performance in historical films."
- "The actors' capability as well as the staging."
- "The luxurious equipment used in musicals satisfies and impresses the audience."
- "Good actors, good performance and good techniques."

American movies promote freedom and tolerance:

1 ( 1 )

- "You recognize the bell of freedom chiming in American films, a model for us."
- "The free life, their way of thinking, the entire outlook on life and towards your neighbor is more open-hearted, more tolerant and not so narrow-minded as ours, that deeply impresses the viewer."
- "By opening a new world, a new way of thinking, not narrowed by the European devotion to national interests, the international-mindedness of the Americans which helps us overcome national-socialist tendencies."

American films promote peace and understanding among nations:

1 ( \* )

- "They will perhaps be helpful in reaching an understanding between all nations."
- "Realistic war films speak for peace."

Other reasons:

1 ( \* )

- "Agricultural films show efficient working methods and excellent working systems."
- "I imagine they are just human beings like we are, it's all very natural."
- "If they show the working methods, the speed, the way of life, the buildings and ships, that's a stimulus, many of us may have the desire to visit America, to emigrate and to build up a new life over there."

28% (13%)

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WESTERN AND GANGSTER FILMS CONSIDERED HARMFUL TO GERMAN YOUTH ...

The one important blackmark against American films made by Germans who have seen them is the possible bad effect of Western and gangster films on young people. In judging the net effect of Hollywood's productions on German young people, the verdict "unfavorable" outweighs "favorable" by two to one. This is a direct reversal of the judgment on the pro and con influence of American films on cinema-goers as a whole which, as will be recalled, is two to one for a favorable influence.

"Do you think that on the whole the influence of American films on our young people is chiefly favorable or chiefly unfavorable?"

	Seen Several American Films	Seen One or Two American Films	TOTAL
Chiefly favorable	27%	22%	26% (14%)
Chiefly unfavorable	51	51	51 (27)
Undecided	22	27	23 (13)
	100%	100%	100% (54%)

When it comes to citing examples of harmful effect of American motion pictures on West German youth over two thirds come up with adverse influences, and an additional small fraction believe they exist but cannot name them.

"And how about the influence of American films on our young people? Can you name me any unfavorable influences American films have on young people? (What unfavorable influences are these?)"

	Seen Several American Films	Seen One or Two American Films	TOTAL
Yes, can name	69%	66%	69% (37%)
Yes, but cannot name any	6	9	7 (4)
No, have no unfavorable influences	19	14	17 (9)
Undecided	6	11	7 (4)
	100%	100%	100% (54%)

The bulk of the comments is an expansion of the theme already reported: Western and gangster films with their emphasis on gun play and force encourage children to ape what they see, with possible serious consequences.

"What unfavorable influences are these?"

Those Who  
Have Seen  
American  
Films

Western and crime films glorify force and thus set bad examples for the young:

61% (33%)

"The cowboy films don't have a very good influence because the revolver is always the deciding factor."

"Because in those Westerns there is no respect for human lives, conflicts are settled by force only."

"Young people make trigger-happy heroes and gangster-bosses their ideals."

"The young get a taste for knives and guns."

"Wild West, murder all the time and it's glorified although

(Cont'd on next page)



Those Who  
Have Seen  
American  
Films

- it's wrong to do so."  
"They get a taste for crimes and these films show them how to go about it."  
"Those Westerns brutalize our young people, I'm of the opinion that these films help to incite young people to commit criminal actions."

Love scenes in American films demoralize our young people:

6% ( 3%)

- "Young people get demoralized by these overdone love-scenes."  
"These love-scenes are no good for young people because they incite them to do things they shouldn't do."  
"These films incite many a youngster to fool around with the opposite sex far too early."  
"Films are too bold and incite the young to be loose."  
"Many scenes in these films are not fit for the young, love-scenes."

The exaggerated way of representing life in America puts wrong ideas into young people's minds:

3 ( 1 )

- "I won't allow a child to see any American film before I've seen it myself, they make them long for an easy life and the young don't see that all that isn't true to life."  
"Make the young believe that life really is the way the films show it, that you can make money by the bushel."  
"The whole staging has a strong effect on young people, they're all very keen on seeing these films and try to imitate everything."

70% (37%)

- @ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONLY MINORITY ABLE TO SPECIFY BENEFICIAL EFFECT OF AMERICAN FILMS ON GERMAN YOUTH ...

As many as a majority of West Germans who have viewed American films judge some favorable influences on youth from such movies, but only about half are able to come up with illustrations of what they have in mind.

"And what favorable influences do American films have on young people?"

	Seen Several American Films	Seen One or Two American Films	TOTAL
Yes, can name	31%	19%	28%(15%)
Yes, but cannot name any	28	29	29 (15 )
No, have no favorable influences	27	30	27 (15 )
Undecided	14	22	26 (19 )
	100%	100%	100%(54%)

"What favorable influences are these?"

Those Who Have Seen American Films

American documentations, fairy tales and cartoons are good for children:

8% ( 5%)

"The documentary and Walt Disney films are good for children."

"Children enjoy the Disney films, they are o.k."

"The Americans also present good fairy tales and cartoon films."

"There are instructive films, too, documentaries for instance."

"The Walt Disney films."

"The documentaries exercise a favorable influence, they open another world."

American films provide our youth with examples of better way of living:

7 ( 4 )

"They show how freely and naturally youngsters live in American colleges and similar institutions."

"The children over there grow up freely and naturally, even life in school is easy, our kids may take example from that."

"They see that American teenagers live in a much more carefree manner than the Germans."

"They show young people that youngsters in the States mix more freely than in Germany where the upper classes still keep away from lower classes."

"They learn how to keep one's presence of mind and how to handle difficult situations."

(Cont'd on next page)

Those Who  
Have Seen  
American  
Films

Young people get to know America and its people:

6% ( 3%)

- "They get an idea about the rest of the world, their horizons are broadened."
- "The films give you an insight into American customs and manners."
- "They help to make young people familiar with the American way of life."
- "Documentary and historical films are instructive, they show the country and the way its people live."
- "The American films show young people all about the different natural scenery of America."

American films are of educational value (general):

5 ( 3 )

- "Good films have an educational value and help to improve one's knowledge."
- "They are very instructive, they sometimes show us an American film in school."
- "Historical films are very instructive."
- "They explain historical events thus improving the young people's knowledge."
- "From instructive films, for instance such about technical matters, the young can learn something."

Other reasons:

3 ( 1 )

- "That in detective films good elements always get the upper hand."
- "A craving for adventures is aroused, we like that."

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{1}{30\%} \left( \frac{*}{16\%} \right) @$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

DESPITE CRITICISMS, PREVAILING VIEW IS THAT FILMS INCREASE U.S. PRESTIGE IN GERMANY ...

But while there is quite general agreement that American films are not good for German children, the importance of these criticisms should not be exaggerated. The strictures, as has been seen, are confined almost entirely to certain types of films, the Westerns and thrillers - a criticism that finds much echo also in the United States. Undoubtedly the German film audience would also have made the same point about certain German films had they been queried on the matter, as is suggested by the fact that the theaters in West Germany designate films as permissible or not permissible for their younger patrons.

Thus, despite the flurry over Westerns and gangster films, Germans who have seen American motion pictures are twice as likely to say that U.S. films increase as lower American prestige in Germany.

"Generally speaking, do you have the impression that American films tend to increase or to lower American prestige in Germany?"

	Seen Several American Films	Seen One or Two American Films	TOTAL
Increase prestige	38%	24%	34% (18%)
Lower prestige	16	13	15 ( )
No influence	32	36	34 (18)
Undecided	14	27	17 (10)
	100%	100%	100% (54%)

AND AMERICAN FILMS MAKE IT EASIER TO UNDERSTAND AMERICANS ...

The opinion predominates also, among Germans who have viewed American films, that such films are an aid to understanding Americans.

"And do you think that American films, in general, help us Germans to understand the Americans as they really are, or do you believe that this is only made more difficult by American films?"

	Seen Several American Films	Seen One or Two American Films	TOTAL
Help understanding	39%	30%	37% (20%)
Make it more difficult	22	19	21 (11)
Have no influence	25	28	26 (14)
Undecided	14	23	16 (9)
	100%	100%	100% (54%)

## HOW AMERICAN FILMS HELP GERMANS TO UNDERSTAND AMERICANS ...

Variations on the theme that American films present a true and informative picture of American life make up the bulk of the responses to the query how American films help Germans to understand Americans.

"In what respect?" (Asked of all respondents who answered "help understanding" to initial question.)

Those Who  
Have Seen  
American  
Films

People become familiar with every-day living in America:

21% (11%)

"You get an insight into every-day life and into the workday of the average American."

"They give us a pretty good idea of the life the average American leads, of which we wouldn't learn a thing otherwise, we see how they hold a festival, social events, sports, how people go about these things over there."

"They give people an insight into life as it really is, the life of an average family is depicted, you see an American household and other spheres of daily life, and things aren't glossed over."

"Among other things you get to know what sort of life a simple American worker leads."

"Through these films you get familiar with and come to understand the American way of life, as people over there earn more money than we do, their living style is different from ours."

"You can see what American cities look like, how a household is managed, what people do and how they behave."

People learn to appreciate American characteristics:

7 (4)

"You get an insight into their mentality, you see how they grapple with a problem in a film, for instance, what their idea of a sense of humor is, what original new ideas they have."

"You come to understand that Americans aren't so superficial as people generally believe."

"Yes, you realize that the Americans are more generous and more casual, they are freer and more enthusiastic about things."

"The ways of the Americans are so very different, they are much more generous, more daring, you get to know them through the films."

"It's the ease with which they settle some problem, take, for instance, the relationship between employees and boss, as it's shown in films."

Certain films (types of films) have especially furthered people's understanding:

2 (1)

"The Best Years of Our Lives' did a very good job in showing things as they really are in life, the same's true for 'Father of the Bride' and 'All About Eve'."

"Human nature as it shows itself in films such as 'The Best Years of Our Lives' helps us to understand the American mentality better."

"In that people learn about the life people lead and about their culture, especially in documentary films."

"In the cowboy films they demonstrate how things were in the past."

American films show freedom and democracy in the States:

1 (\*)

"In their films they show us the simple, free and democratic life people lead in America, in that way democratic principles are instilled in people."

(Cont'd on next page)



Those Who  
Have Seen  
American  
Films

"A nation is shown to us that lives in freedom and the people who make up this nation have faults just as we have, a German film could never demonstrate such things."  
"That the Americans lead a freer life than other people."

No opinion / No answer:

7% (4%)  
38% (20%)

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

#### VIEWS OF MINORITY WHO FEEL AMERICAN FILMS HANDICAP UNDERSTANDING ...

The minority who believe that American films make it more difficult for Germans to understand Americans most often questions the accuracy of the film presentations - generally in terms which indicate friendliness toward America which they feel is being misrepresented by Hollywood.

"Why do you think so?" (Asked of respondents who answered "make understanding more difficult" to initial question.)

American films produce a false notion of the Americans:

9% (5%)

"I don't think the Americans act in real life the way they do in films, they are better."

"It's not true that the Americans go about shooting all the time."

"Because I simply can't believe that they lead such a rip-roaring life over there as it is shown in films."

"There's a discrepancy between what's shown in the films and what you hear over the radio or read in the papers."

"In most films the Americans aren't shown as they actually are, they present certain 'types', and you feel as if these persons would put make-up on their souls, too."

American films are exaggerated and fantastic:

6 (3)

"I wouldn't say that American films show us things as they really are but exaggerate them."

"It's very unlikely that the films represent real life, they exaggerate things."

"They offer too few films that touch the human side in movie-goers, most of the films tell fantastic events."

"American films are exaggerated manufactured dreams, they are phony, not true to life."

"In the films a dream world is shown, they don't depict real life as the French films do, for instance."

(Cont'd on next page)

Themes of American films are unsuitable for showing Americans as they really are:

5% ( 3%)

"Because all these films deal with specific problems which, as a rule, have no bearing on life in America, therefore it's hardly possible to get an insight into the country through films."

"Because neither the gangster films nor those lavish revue films reflect the life of the average American citizen."

"For the selection of films is to blame, films about social problems and important current issues are seldom shown, mostly it's only sensations they present."

"Because the films don't show things the way they are in reality, everything they show is much too extreme, they either depict the life of millionaires or of gangsters, but never the life the average citizen leads."

"Well, that the criminal angle is stressed so strongly in these films, thus they convey a completely false impression, I don't believe that most Americans are gangsters, though you could come to think so judging from the films."

All films are generally untrue (including the American):

1 ( \* )

"Films always only produce illusions with people."

"We won't get a more thorough understanding of the Americans through films, you cannot take films as a standard for appraising a country."

"Because films generally, that means American films are included, present things in a somewhat brighter light than they are in reality."

Other comments:

1 ( \* )

"Because the nature of these films shows that the American mentality will never be compatible with ours, their outlook upon life is quite different from the ideas we have on this subject."

No opinion / No answer:

$$\frac{1}{23\%} \left( \frac{1}{12\%} \right) @$$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

### III. INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN FILMS AS EVALUATED BY WEST GERMANS WHO HAVE NOT SEEN ANY

SOMewhat SIMILAR JUDGMENTS BY MOVIE-GOERS WHO HAVE NOT SEEN AMERICAN FILMS ...

West German movie-goers who had not seen any American films were also asked the more significant of the preceding questions to get some idea of the reputation American films might have in these quarters. No opinion on the queries is considerable as would be expected. But among the respondents who have opinions, the judgments expressed are rather similar to those that have gone before with the exception that the proportion who judge American movies to have a favorable influence on the German population equals rather than exceeds the proportion who judge the contrary.

"And do American films, in your opinion, have a chiefly favorable or a chiefly unfavorable influence on the German population?"

	Film Audience Seen No American Movies	
Favorable	16%	( 3%)
Unfavorable	16	( 3 )
No opinion	68	(11 )
	<u>100%</u>	<u>(17%)</u>

"Do you think that on the whole the influence of American films on our young people is chiefly favorable or chiefly unfavorable?"

Chiefly favorable	11%	( 2%)
Chiefly unfavorable	34	( 6 )
Undecided	55	( 9 )
	<u>100%</u>	<u>(17%)</u>

"Generally speaking, do you have the impression that American films tend to increase or to lower American prestige in Germany?"

Tend to increase prestige	18%	( 3%)
Tend to lower prestige	10	( 2 )
No influence	24	( 4 )
Undecided	48	( 8 )
	<u>100%</u>	<u>(17%)</u>

"And do you think that American films, in general, help us Germans to understand the Americans as they really are, or do you believe that this is only made more difficult by American films?"

Help understanding	17%	( 3%)
Make it more difficult	9	( 2 )
Have no influence	21	( 3 )
Undecided	53	( 9 )
	<u>100%</u>	<u>(17%)</u>

NON-MOVIE-GOERS HAVE HEARD LITTLE ABOUT AMERICAN FILMS AND HAVE LITTLE TO SAY ...

In addition to these queries, West Germans who never attend the movies (29%) were probed regarding what they might have heard about American films. Only a handful have heard anything at all, and very few are prepared to express any judgments about them on the basis of hearsay. The questions and findings follow.

"Can you tell me whether people have often described films to you which you hadn't seen? Does that often happen?"

	People Who Never Attend The Movies*
Yes, often	5%
Yes, not too often	10
No, I can't remember	<u>14</u>
	29%

"Have people at some time or other described American films to you which you hadn't seen?"

Yes	4%
No, I can't remember	<u>11</u>
	15%

"And have American films been criticized chiefly favorably or chiefly unfavorably?"

Chiefly favorable criticism	4%
Chiefly unfavorable criticism	3
Undecided	<u>22</u>
	29%

\* Percentages based only on the total sample are presented above. Since people who never or scarcely ever go to the movies constitute such a small segment of the sample, showing figures adding to 100 per cent would distort their importance.

#### IV. WEST GERMAN IMPRESSIONS OF THE U.S. AS DERIVED FROM AMERICAN FILMS

##### ANOTHER APPROACH TO IMPRESSIONS LEFT BY AMERICAN FILMS ...

Another approach to measuring the impact of American films on their West German audience was to inquire as to the favorable or unfavorable impressions the films give of selected aspects of American life and manners, and whether the presentations are deemed true to reality or not. In making this inquiry it was taken for granted that American commercial films are selected for export not primarily because they elucidate the American way of life or propagandize about it, but for the same reasons they are produced and exhibited in the U.S., that is, for their entertainment or dramatic value and their box-office appeal. But though Hollywood films are not designed as vehicles of information and propaganda, they cannot avoid leaving favorable or unfavorable impressions of American life and it is therefore useful to inquire into the dimensions and significance of these influences.

In order to explore this matter, the German audience of American films was asked to describe the impressions gained from them in eleven areas as follows, listed in the order of the inquiry: 1) Role of Women in America; 2) American Men; 3) Upbringing and Behavior of American Children; 4) American Outlook on Life; 5) Family and Married Life in America; 6) American Standard of Living; 7) American Interest in Religious Affairs; 8) Treatment of Negroes in America; 9) Crime and Gangsterism in America; 10) American Police; and 11) American Businessmen and Business Life.

The recorded impressions were subsequently classified according to whether they appeared favorable or unfavorable from the point of view of American prestige in Germany,\* and whether they were believed by the respondent to be true or not to the actual situation in the U.S.

It is to be kept in mind that some people undoubtedly ascribed impressions to the films which they gained from other sources. On the whole, however, indications are that most respondents are referring to American films, and are selective in their acceptance or rejection of the accuracy of the various presentations. Added evidence in this regard is that the "no opinion" replies are frequent in areas in which West Germans usually have opinions - an example is the Negro problem - but which only infrequently comes up in Hollywood films.

\* This classification is not to be understood as of micrometer precision, but favorable or unfavorable directions are sufficiently beyond dispute in the main to permit the kind of rough conclusions that are drawn. Comments neutral in tone, equivocal, or mixed in positive and negative aspects were treated as "indeterminate" in the analysis.



## NET BALANCE OF IMPRESSIONS GAINED FROM FILMS IS FAVORABLE ...

Indicated by the tabulations below is that West Germans who see American commercial movies receive predominantly favorable impressions about various features of the American way of life. On the average favorable impressions outweigh unfavorable by a margin approaching two to one (35% to 20%).

## IMPRESSIONS ABOUT SIGNIFICANT AREAS OF AMERICAN LIFE RECEIVED FROM AMERICAN FILMS

Area:	Net Gain or Less	Favor- able Im- pression	Unfavor- able Im- pression	Indeter- minate Impression	No Impression
American Standard of Living	+ 74	76%	2%	7%	15%...100%
American Police	+ 39	46	7	5	42
American Outlook on Life	+ 35	43	8	10	39
American Men	+ 26	44	18	11	27
Upbringing and Behavior of American Children	+ 20	32	12	7	49
Role of Women in America	+ 16	39	23	18	20
American Businessmen and Business Life	+ 14	31	17	14	38
American Interest in Religious Affairs	+ 6	24	18	9	49
Family and Married Life in America	0	28	28	12	32
Treatment of Negroes in America	- 6	25	31	3	41
Crime and Gangsterism in America	- 55	1	56	12	31
<u>AVERAGE:</u>	<u>+ 15</u>	<u>35%</u>	<u>20%</u>	<u>10%</u>	<u>35%</u>

Though favorable reactions clearly preponderate on the average, it will be noted that in three specific areas out of the eleven investigated adverse reactions equal or exceed favorable impressions. The portrayal of American marriage and family life appears as likely to evoke negative as positive responses. Film treatment of the Negro appears to leave a slight preponderance of negative reactions. And finally, and most strikingly, crime and gangsterism in America as portrayed by American commercial movies appears to evoke an almost exceptionless negative reaction.

Though this last finding squares with the consistently adverse view of American crime movies, the figure in the present connection may be partly an artifact in that since, publicly at least, all are against sin, people would be hard put to have any good things to say about crime. That there are at least some gains for American prestige in American crime movies is suggested by scrutiny of the comments on impressions of American police. This area, the reader will perhaps have noted, scores rather remarkably high in net favorable impact. Examination of the comments suggest that many Germans have gotten a high impression from what in all probability must be crime movies, of the efficiency, organization and equipment of American policemen. Less satisfying in this connection are the occasionally voiced comments that American police must be good to cope with such large-scale gangsterism.

## REINFORCEMENT RATHER THAN CONVERSION INDICATED TO BE PRIMARY NATURE OF FILM IMPACT ...

As has been indicated, German viewers of American commercial films were not only scored as to favorable or unfavorable impressions of various areas of American life, but also questioned as to whether they felt their impression in each case accorded or did not accord with American realities. This combination of information provides the means of delving further into the nature of American film impact by permitting a demarcation of four effects. The first might be termed positive reinforcement, wherein impressions are both favorable and believed to accord with reality. The second might be termed negative reinforcement, wherein impressions are unfavorable and believed to accord with reality. The third might be termed positive conversion potential, wherein the impressions are favorable but not at the moment believed to correctly represent American reality. And finally, the fourth might be termed negative conversion potential, wherein the impressions are unfavorable but are not at the moment believed to accord with American reality.

When such a breakdown is made for the 11 areas investigated the results are as tabulated on the page following. The indication is clear, it will be observed, that the primary propaganda effect of American commercial movies on their West German viewers is by way of reinforcement; that is to say strengthening of beliefs - primarily favorable in direction - which respondents already hold. Possible conversion influences of American movies appear from the present data to be both limited in extent and in the net not clearly profitable in direction.

## PRESENTATION OF SPECIFIC IMPRESSIONS ...

The specific comments upon which the analyses in this section have been based follow the table on the next page, and indicate for each of the 11 areas investigated the kinds of impressions West Germans have obtained from American movies, the favorable and unfavorable directions in these impressions, and the extent to which the favorable or unfavorable impressions are judged to accord with American realities.

REINFORCEMENTCONVERSION POTENTIALArea:

	Favorable & believe (positive reinforcement)	Unfavorable & believe (negative reinforcement)	Net gain in reinforcement effect	Favorable & don't believe (positive conversion potential)	Unfavorable & don't believe (negative conversion potential)	Net gain in conversion potential
American Standard of Living	63%	1%	+ 62	13%	1%	+ 12
American Police	39	5	+ 34	7	2	+ 5
American Outlook on Life	41	7	+ 34	2	1	+ 1
Upbringing and Behavior of American Children	29	9	+ 20	3	3	6
American Men	28	8	+ 20	16	10	+ 6
Role of Women in America	29	11	+ 18	10	12	- 2
American Businessmen and Business Life	28	14	+ 14	3	3	0
American Interest in Religious Affairs	20	13	+ 7	4	5	- 1
Family and Married Life in America	21	20	+ 1	7	8	- 1
Treatment of Negroes in America	13	25	- 12	12	6	+ 6
Crime and Gangsterism in America	*	30	- 30	*	26	- 26

\* Less than one half of one per cent, in both cases 0.49%.

AMERICAN FILMS' PRESENTATION OF HIGH AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING IS  
GENERALLY CREDITED AS ACCURATE ...

An aspect of American life which the films have done much to underscore is the high standard of living in the United States. Almost without exception, West Germans gain the impression from American motion pictures that the American people live well. More importantly, this picture is not only generally accepted as true to life but regarded very favorably. Only a small handful express skepticism or hostile envy about American living standards as presented in Hollywood productions.

"And what about the standard of living in America, what impression does one get in this respect through American films? Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>High standard of living, even the little man can afford comfort:</u>	34%	10%	1%	45%
"Even the small people in America enjoy comfort."				
"That even those, we in Germany would call 'der kleine Mann' enjoy a high living standard in America."				
"That the workers over there are better off, that means they live in a way more free from care."				
"Even the poor go in for sports and amuse themselves."				
"Married couples over there go very often to the theater and to the movies, they can afford it."				
"Everybody has his own car, every household is provided with a refrigerator, etc."				
"That the Americans are well off."				
"The Americans have a high standard of living."				
<u>The standard of living in America is higher than in Germany:</u>	32	1	1	34
"The standard of living in the States is much higher than over here, the Americans can live a more comfortable life."				
"They are better off than we are."				
"Their standard of living is higher than ours."				
"The living standard is much higher over there than here in Germany."				
"It is a hundred per cent higher than our living standard."				
"Their standard of living is two hundred per cent higher than ours."				
<u>High wages, low living costs, higher purchasing power of the American dollar:</u>	8	1	*	9
"The Americans live with greater freedom from worries, their wages are higher, living costs are lower than in Germany."				
"Wages are higher, goods cheaper than here."				
"That the Americans live three times as good as the Germans, they work hard, but they earn much, too, they spend their money freely, thus consumption is stimulated."				
"They get more for their money than we do."				
"Jobs are well paid."				
"They don't get anything for nothing over there, but they make their way within a short time."				

(Cont'd on next page)

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- deci	TOTAL
	2%	*%	-%	2%
<u>Other favorable answers:</u>				
"Capable people in the States have a better chance to work their way up."				
"They can move around freely, people aren't so crowded over there as they are here in Germany."				
"The Americans are ahead of us, everything is more modern and better."				

UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

<u>Americans live too luxuriously:</u>	1	1	*	2
"The Americans live in too grand a style."				
"They are rich but they don't think much of economizing."				
"They live too luxuriously."				
<u>Other unfavorable answers:</u>	1	*	*	1
"There are no middle-class people in the States, only millionaires and poor people."				
"The social security system in the States isn't so thoroughly organized as ours."				
"The American homes aren't very cozy."				

INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

<u>There are poor and rich people in America (no difference from our social structure):</u>	3	1	*	4
"It's just the same as in Germany, there are rich and poor people in America."				
"Not only wealthy people live in the States but poor people, too."				
"The living standard is the same as in Germany."				
"If both, husband and wife, didn't work they wouldn't be any better off than we are."				
<u>Only Americans living in good circumstances are shown in films:</u>	*	3	-	3
"The films show only people in good social conditions, they never present poor circumstances."				
"It seems that the American people is made up of rich people only, nobody seems to be hard up over there."				

No opinion/No answer:

15  
125%<sup>ⓐ</sup>

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.
- ⓐ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## AMERICAN POLICE SCORE HIGH ...

A very favorable picture of American law enforcement agencies is apparently received from American commercial films. Six in 10 of West Germans who have seen US pictures say they get the impression that police in America are efficient, modern, trustworthy and helpful and polite. Moreover, nearly all accept this impression as true to life. In contrast, few mention an impression of American police as corrupt or ineffectual.

These returns make it evident that the adverse reactions which are without exception recorded toward American crime and gangsterism do not include American police. In fact a few comments below (which have been classified as favorable in terms of the police) make explicit the view that the police must be efficient to compete on equal terms with such a strong criminal element.

"What impression does one get through American films of the police in America? Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

## FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>The police are very efficient:</u>	27%	4%	1%	32%
"The police are very efficient."				
"The police over there are very good, where there are too many criminals, you'll also find efficient police forces."				
"The police are very good."				
"The police are efficient and courageous."				
"They're certainly efficient."				
"They're always shown to advantage, always in readiness."				
<u>The police are helpful and polite:</u>	8	*	*	8
"The police treat people very politely, here it's exactly the opposite."				
"The police seem to be very polite."				
"Good impression, they are helpful, friendly."				
"They help the poor and sick."				
"They have an easier way of handling people than our police have."				
"Helpers in case of accident."				
<u>The police have modern equipment, are well trained:</u>	7	*	*	7
"Modern equipment, they have all technical facilities, they are efficient, too."				
"They seem to be well equipped because there are so many gangsters."				
"They are excellently trained."				
<u>The police are well-organized:</u>	6	*	1	7
"That the police are very well organized and function efficiently."				
"In the long run they're always successful, I think the whole thing is very well organized."				
"The police system is very good."				

(Cont'd on next page)

	... Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>The police are reliable, have a sense of duty:</u>	4%	*%	*%	4%
"They are devoted to their work."				
"They work reliably."				
"They have a strong sense of duty."				
"The police work very well and reliably."				

<u>Other favorable answers:</u>	1	*	*	1
"The system is more democratic than over here."				

## UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

<u>The police are corrupt or unreliable:</u>	3	1	*	4
"A great many of them are corrupt."				
"In most of the cases they look the other way."				
"Perhaps a bit corrupt."				
"They don't take their duties so seriously."				

<u>The police are not efficient:</u>	2	1	*	3
"They are not up to standard."				
"They don't cope so well with the criminals as our police do."				
"Mostly the gangsters get the better of them."				

<u>Other unfavorable answers:</u>	2	*	*	2
"It seems to be an over-organized apparatus."				

## INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

<u>The police have the same functions in every country:</u>	1	*	-	1
"That they aren't any better than our police."				
"They do their duty in exactly the same way as our police do over here."				
"I believe they aren't different from our police here."				

<u>Other answers:</u>	2	*	-	2
-----------------------	---	---	---	---

No opinion/No answer:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

42  
113%

## CHEERFUL EASY-GOINGNESS STANDS OUT IN AMERICAN OUTLOOK ON LIFE ...

A cheerful, easy-going quality characterizes the American outlook on life in American films according to the largest single group of respondents. Broadmindedness and tolerance are also evident according to an appreciable proportion. Both these groups of impressions are with few exceptions believed to accord with American reality.

Unfavorable impressions, gained by relatively few, chiefly emphasize the stereotyped criticism of materialism and money-grubbing.

"What impression does one get through American films of the American outlook on life? Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

## FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>They are cheerful and easy-going:</u>	20%	2%	*%	22%
"They don't let everyday's problems worry them so much, they don't brood about things as the Germans do."				
"They don't worry about how to cross a bridge before they get to it."				
"The Americans don't let things worry them the way we do, they are easy-going."				
"They don't worry so much about things."				
"They don't let life weigh them down, they have more gusto."				
"They are more cheerful, they know how to get something out of life."				
"They look at the positive sides of life."				
<u>They are broadminded and tolerant:</u>	13	*	*	13
"They are more broadminded in their outlook upon life."				
"They are broadminded, for them no social differences exist."				
"They are more broadminded than we are in every respect."				
"They are tolerant, people respect other people's opinions, their faith, a person is shown respect whatever his background may be, and then Americans express their opinions much more freely than people over here do."				
"They are generous and democratic in their outlook, there's freedom of opinion over there."				
"They are more liberal in their outlook upon life."				
<u>They are realistic:</u>	4	*	-	4
"Their feet are firmly planted on the soil of reality."				
"They see problems in their actual size."				
"That they are realistic and know what they are after."				
"They have a realistic conception of life."				

(Cont'd on next page)

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
	3%	*%	-%	3%

Their philosophy of life is sound:

"Their conception of life is sound."  
 "Very sound, not so narrowminded as over here."  
 "The American outlook on life is ideal."  
 "Their outlook is much simpler and more uncomplicated than ours over here."

They are practical:

"They are practical-minded."  
 "Things are simpler and more practical over there as compared to conditions here."  
 "They have a knack for practical things."

Other favorable answers:

"The Americans are far-sighted."  
 "They are very sportsmanly."  
 "They are responsible."  
 "They are very hospitable."  
 "They are always happy and content."

## UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

They are money-chasers:

"They've a rather materialistic philosophy of life."  
 "All the Americans are concerned about is to make their pile, they use every possible means for this end."  
 "That hunting after the dollar is a very important consideration with them, spiritual and ethical values thus are rather overshadowed."  
 "For them there's only one thing that matters: money."  
 "For most of them the dollar plays the most important role in their lives."

They are conceited, superficial, temperamental:

"Their ideas on life in general are rather superficial."  
 "They are shallow."  
 "They are always pressed for time, with them it's only their job and sports, they can't spare any time for meditation."  
 "They are very temperamental."  
 "They feel they are superior to other people."

Other unfavorable answers:

"They aren't as cultured as we are."  
 "In many cases they are unscrupulous."  
 "People aren't interested in keeping a job for a long time."

## INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

They take things lightly:

"They take everything more lightly than we do."  
 "They take things lightly, there is no seriousness in them."  
 "Life isn't a serious business over there, people are happy-go-lucky, they don't worry."  
 "They make very light of the problems of life."  
 "They lead a gay life."

(Cont'd on next page)

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Their conception of life is different from ours:</u>	1%	*%	*%	1%

"I guess their outlook on life is quite different from ours."

"They have a different conception of life."

<u>Their conception of life is similar to ours:</u>	1	-	*	1
---	---	---	---	---

"It's the same as with us."

"They have a serious conception of life that corresponds to the German philosophy of life, generally, they look at things pretty much the same way we do."

"It's similar to the German outlook on life."

"They are no less serious about life than we are."

<u>Other answers:</u>	2	*	-	2
-----------------------	---	---	---	---

"Their sense of humor is different from ours."

"The instinct of preservation is what guides them, just as it does others."

"They always rush."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{39}{108\%}$ @

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



MOVIE PRESENTATION OF AMERICAN MEN CREATE PREDOMINANTLY FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS WHICH ARE LARGELY ACCEPTED AS CORRECT ...

American films produce favorable impressions of American men, in the eyes of West Germans who have seen American commercial films. The impression most often mentioned is of American men as dashing heroes, but close behind comes American men as unaffected, lighthearted and polite. West Germans accept the second picture but are, rather reasonably, not so sure of the first. Other favorable impressions, with which most of those who mention them agree, are that American men are industrious and business-like, and are good family men.

The most frequent negative impression appears to be the most common positive impression in other semantic guise: American men are reckless and rowdy. Respondents divide over whether or not this picture is a true one.

"What impression does one get through American films of American men in general? Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>They are dashing, spirited, athletic, heroic:</u>	9%	9%	2%	20%
"The men are dashing."				
"They are daring, they are not frightened by anything."				
"They are spirited and enterprising."				
"They are all heroes."				
"The American man shown in Westerns is always a hero."				
"That they are very athletic."				
<u>They are unaffected, lighthearted, sociable, gentlemanly:</u>	12	2	1	15
"Very unaffected."				
"They don't give themselves airs."				
"Frank, merry, light-hearted, easy."				
"They are not stiff, but have a more casual manner."				
"They are very urbane, sociable."				
"The average American is good company."				
"Very obliging and polite, they are very gentlemanly."				
"That they are extremely considerate."				
<u>They are industrious and business-like:</u>	8	2	-	10
"They are devoted to their work."				
"Industrious."				
"That they strive hard to get along whatever their job may be, if he knows his job the sky is the limit."				
"A good impression, open-minded, industrious."				
"They are efficient businessmen."				
"Willing to take a chance with regard to business, very far-seeing."				

(Cont'd on next page)

Do- Don't Un-  
lieve believe decided TOTAL

They are good family men:

7% 1% \*% 8%

- "That they look well after their families."  
 "Good family men who push baby carriages and help with the dish-washing."  
 "They treat their wives well and are very devoted to them."  
 "The husbands help the wives with the household chores."  
 "Good husbands."

They are of good character:

5 1 \* 6

- "Of good character."  
 "They are always decent and respectable."  
 "Good fellows of a better character than the women."  
 "That they are decent fellows."

They are of good appearance:

3 1 1 5

- "The American men are all good looking and well groomed."  
 "They are better dressed."  
 "They are well dressed."  
 "That they make a good impression."

Other favorable answers:

2 1 \* 3

- "He is politically not so inhibited."  
 "The high technical standard helps him to get more out of life."  
 "He is more human now than before the war, I mean to say he hasn't that strong national pride anymore."

## UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

They are reckless, pleasure-seeking, rowdy:

7 9 1 17

- "Gamblers."  
 "Over-recklessness."  
 "Trigger-happy characters."  
 "Pleasure hunters."  
 "They are so rowdy."  
 "Among themselves they have rude manners and are sometimes inconsiderate."

They are henpecked, lazy:

3 2 \* 5

- "They allow themselves to be henpecked."  
 "Henpecked husbands."  
 "The husbands haven't so much say in their homes as here in Germany."  
 "Shirk work."  
 "That they are lazy and slow."

They are money-seekers, materialists:

2 1 - 3

- "Their only interest is to make money."  
 "The poor guy has always to chase after money."  
 "They are great materialists."

Other unfavorable answers:

1 1 \* 2

- "That there are many criminals over there."  
 "They have kind of a shaving-brush on their heads - I think they're silly."  
 "They are highly conceited."

(Cont'd on next page)

## INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>They are no different from our men:</u>	2%	*%	*%	2%
"Generally the same as here."				
"They are just like the Germans."				
"They have to work just the same as we."				

<u>Other answers:</u>	2	2	*	4
"You couldn't imagine such men existing here."				
"Different from our men."				
"That they ask and expect more from life than we do."				
"That their interest in technics prevails."				

No opinion/No answer:

27  
127%

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.
- @ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WEST GERMANS GET PREDOMINANTLY FAVORABLE PICTURE OF AMERICAN CHILDREN FROM AMERICAN FILMS AND ACCEPT THE REALITY OF THAT PICTURE ...

A freer method of bringing up children, the importance given proper child training, the independence, the self-reliance and alertness of American children - these are the impressions most respondents get from American films, and believe represent the American reality.

"What impression does one get through American films of the upbringing and the behavior of American children? Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

#### FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>More unfettered upbringing than in Germany:</u>	18%	1%	*%	19%
"Not so many restrictions are imposed on children, parent don't control them to such an extent."				
"They are reared in a spirit of greater freedom, and still, children are much more attached to parents later on."				
"They don't believe in corporal punishment and still, the kids are well-behaved."				
"They are much freer and have a greater ease of manner than our youngsters."				
"They are granted a lot of freedom, they have a good life."				
"They are less inhibited, they behave in a more natural manner."				
<u>American children are well-bred:</u>	12	1	1	14
"They are raised just as carefully as ours are."				
"They are well-behaved, parents are very concerned about their children's upbringing, there's no difference from conditions over here."				
"They behave very decently, they are very obedient."				
"Their upbringing is exemplary."				
"They seem to be well-bred."				
"That they are well-bred."				
<u>American children are more independent and self-reliant:</u>	6	*	*	6
"That they are taught to be independent."				
"More attention is given to raise children to be independent and individualistic."				
"The kids are sure of themselves and independent."				
"They are more self-reliant than German kids."				
"They seem quite capable of taking care of themselves."				
<u>American children are more alert and better trained:</u>	3	*	-	3
"The kids are very alert."				
"They are more alert and more talented."				
"They are intelligent."				
"They get more technical training in school."				

(Cont'd on next page)

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>American children are more companionable and cooperative:</u>	2%	*%	*%	2%
"Relations between parents and children are more companionable."				
"One child helps out the other, they pool their resources to carry out some project, they don't treat each other in a callous way."				

<u>Other favorable answers:</u>	2	*	*	2
"I had the impression that they are lively and charming."				
"They all appear to be clean and well-groomed."				
"They don't feel any hatred against the Germans."				

## UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

<u>American children are undisciplined and bad-mannered:</u>	6	1	1	8
"That they are given greater freedom, and that's certainly not a good thing."				
"They often are undisciplined and loose."				
"They are ill-mannered and impertinent."				
"Sometimes they are pretty bold and cheeky."				
"They are too bold."				
"A little more discipline would do no harm, that's a fact."				

<u>American children are spoiled:</u>	5	1	1	7
"Children are badly spoiled, they never get a sound thrashing."				
"It's not good the way they dote their children."				
"They just spoil them."				
"They are terribly spoiled."				
"You get the impression that Americans simply dote on their youngsters."				

<u>American children grow up too fast:</u>	4	1	*	5
"They grow up too fast."				
"They grow up terribly fast, they marry when they are very young."				
"They aren't real children any more."				
"They are rather premature."				

<u>Other unfavorable answers:</u>	1	*	*	1
"They really are to be pitied, the Yanks haven't so much heart and such deep feelings as we have, the children suffer because of this."				

## INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

<u>Other answers:</u>	2	*	1	3
"In the field of education more room is left to playing."				
"They all have nurse-maids."				
"I have seen American youngsters only rarely up till now."				

No opinion/No answer:

49  
119%

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.  
 @ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



# AMERICAN WOMEN SEEN MORE FAVORABLY THAN UNFAVORABLY FROM AMERICAN FILMS ...

West German viewers of American films gather predominantly favorable impressions of American women, though not quite to the same extent as American men. The bulk of those who record themselves as favorably impressed by the films' depictions of American women believe this corresponds with the facts. The unfavorably impressed split in their judgments of accuracy, with a slightly larger proportion holding the unfavorable representation to be untrue.

"What impression does one get through American films of the role women play in America? Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

## FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Has fewer household difficulties, gets more out of life:</u>	15%	4%	1%	20%
"These time-saving devices are a great help to her, she doesn't have to be the slave of her household."				
"That they all are better off than our women, they don't have so much work to do and get more fun out of life."				
"That they are better off than women in Germany, there's more they can afford."				
"They get more out of life than German women."				
"That she hasn't to face such a difficult life."				
"Household chores are easier than here, they can afford more than our women."				
<u>Has more rights, independence and influence:</u>	13	2	1	16
"She has the right of co-determination in many fields."				
"Have more rights in America."				
"That the American woman has great influence on public life."				
"They act more independently."				
"I've the impression that she is more independent than here."				
"She is self-confident, has great influence on family and public life."				
<u>Makes a good appearance:</u>	8	2	1	11
"In spite of her work she is always neat and tidy and good-looking."				
"Neat and tidy."				
"That they are better dressed."				
"She makes a very fashionable figure."				
"Always nice-looking."				

(Cont'd on next page)

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
	5%	2%	*%	7%
<u>Held in high esteem:</u>				
"That American women are held in higher esteem than German women."				
"They charm everybody and men adore them."				
"That women in America are more respected and held in higher esteem."				
"Women are more appreciated in America."				
"Women play the leading role, men admire them."				
<u>Natural, sport-loving:</u>	4	1	*	5
"They are unaffected and don't attach so much importance to themselves as the German women."				
"She has a very natural air."				
"Likes sports."				
"The average American woman is interested in sports."				
<u>Capable in the work-a-day world:</u>	4	1	*	5
"They are superior to German women with regard to business, they are better trained and have more accomplishments."				
"She is very industrious in her job."				
"That women, if ever possible, have a job and earn money."				
"They are very often career women."				
<u>Socially companionable and distinguished:</u>	2	1	*	3
"She is an excellent social companion."				
"The American women are good company."				
"She has a distinguished and casual manner."				
"She plays the role of a grand lady."				
"That women over there play the role of grand ladies."				
<u>Comradely and helpful:</u>	2	1	-	3
"Men have a feeling of comradeship with them and together they share the ups and downs of life."				
"Good comrades."				
"There's a better understanding between men and women than here."				
"Women settle all disputes and show themselves helpful wherever they can."				
"That they are very obliging."				
<u>General good impression:</u>	1	1	*	2
"She makes a good impression."				
"A good impression."				
"Just grand."				
<u>Other favorable impressions:</u>	*	*	-	*
"She takes part in political life."				
"If she has troubles you won't read it in her face."				
"Women in America know how to educate their children in complete freedom, they don't even need to spank them."				

(Cont'd on next page)

## UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Poor housewife, no family interest:</u>	7%	2%	1%	10%
"She hasn't any of the qualities of a good housewife."				
"She isn't a good housewife, she doesn't lead a regular family life, to be wife and mother doesn't come first with her."				
"She is generally not nearly such a good housewife as the German woman."				
"Type of a modern woman, not interested in household and family."				
"She doesn't care so much for her family."				
<u>Overly made-up and dressed:</u>	4	4	1	9
"It seems to me as if they don't think of anything but their make-up."				
"Over-dressed."				
"That women don't work, they're preened up and painted."				
"Too much make-up."				
<u>Has overstepped her proper role:</u>	5	2	-	7
"A much too big part she plays."				
"She gives herself airs."				
"They play a big role, they are sort of goddesses, over there."				
"She wears the pants."				
"That she has more say than the man."				
<u>Greedy and luxury-loving:</u>	4	3	*	7
"Greedy for money."				
"She asks for a lot of spending money."				
"That American women are over-fond of luxuries and comforts."				
"Very luxury-loving."				
<u>Morally loose:</u>	2	3	1	6
"They are rather loose."				
"They are not too particular about being faithful."				
"She is very immoral."				
"She leads a rather free life, doesn't come up to our idea of a nice woman - they are shown sitting in bars, flimsily dressed but you don't see her working or minding the kids."				
<u>Too pleasure-seeking:</u>	2	1	-	3
"Over-fond of amusement."				
"American women attach more importance to amusement than to their household chores."				
"That they are pleasure-seeking."				
<u>Superficial:</u>	2	1	*	3
"That American women lack profundity."				
"Superficial."				
"All the same pattern, so-called picture-post-card beauties."				

(Cont'd on next page)

Be- Don't Un-  
lieve believe decided TOTAL

	1%	3%	*%	4%
<u>Other unfavorable answers:</u>				
"They play a more subordinate role than women do over here."				
"Women aren't shown such respect as in our country."				
"I don't have a high opinion of screen actresses."				
"Women over there seem to be pretty unnatural, rather decadent."				
"Women are highly over-rated."				

#### INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

<u>The same as German women:</u>	2	*	*	2
"They aren't really different from German women."				
"That women earn their living or run their household in rather the same way as we do."				
"In reality they are much the same as our women."				
"There is not much difference between American and German women."				

<u>Other answers:</u>	1	*	*	1
"American women have more pride than German women."				
"That American women are rather masculine."				
"They are different from their German opposite numbers."				
"They are different from the women in Germany."				
"They behave differently."				

No opinion/No answer:

20  
144%<sup>Ⓢ</sup>

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.  
 Ⓢ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

FAVORABLE IMPRESSION OF AMERICAN BUSINESS OUTWEIGHS UNFAVORABLE ...

The weight of West German reaction to the Hollywood presentation of U.S. businessmen and business is favorable, with most of the people so impressed subscribing to the belief that this version is correct. Creditably impressive to them is the picture of the efficiency, industriousness, and money-making abilities of the American businessman.

But a considerable proportion receive a contrary impression which is likewise largely accepted as true. They are impressed - unfavorably - by the representation of the American businessman as a money-grabber, to the point, as some see it, of complete unscrupulousness.

An examination of the comments indicates that much of the unfavorable impression stems from the same stimuli as the favorable impression, but is filtered through different individuals, who react according to existing preconceptions. For example, the favorable comments "they know how to go about things... they make a lot of money ... if they get a chance they take it" are translated in the unfavorable columns as, "they are very smart and ruthless ... they are greedy for profits ... they don't stop at anything."

"What impression does one get through American films of American businessmen and business life? Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be-	Don't	Un-	
	lieve	believe	decided	TOTAL
<u>American businessmen are efficient, industrious and successful:</u>	29%	2%	1%	32%
"They are very efficient, persevering and tenacious in their work."				
"They know their job."				
"Very efficient."				
"Very industrious."				
"That they are very clever in business."				
"They know how to go about things."				
"They make a lot of money."				
<u>American businessmen have better opportunities:</u>	3	1	*	4
"They have a better chance to get on than we have."				
"Very favorable position compared to conditions here."				
"That it's much easier for them than for our businessmen because they haven't suffered losses through the war."				
<u>American business flourishes:</u>	4	*	*	4
"Business life is very lively and is a leading factor over there."				
"That's getting on fine, business life is more lively than over here."				
"There's great activity, more work than ever."				
"There's a great boom."				
<u>American businessmen are progressive and modern:</u>	3	*	*	3
"Progressive, political."				
"Shops are bigger, with modern equipment, not such a large staff, but self-service system."				



	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>American businessmen are decent, fair, polite:</u>	3%	*%	*%	3%
"They are decent businessmen."				
"Polite and obliging, better than over here."				
"Business people are friendly, that they are very smart."				

<u>American businessmen are generous:</u>	2	*	-	2
"They are generous."				
"They are more generous in money matters,"				

## UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

<u>American businessmen think of nothing but money-making:</u>	12	1	*	13
"Money comes first with them."				
"They have nothing in mind but money."				
"That they know but one thing: to make money."				
"To make money is their one ideal."				
"They are greedy for profits."				

<u>American businessmen are unscrupulous:</u>	9	2	1	12
"They employ any means in order to make money,"				
"They are very smart, ruthless."				
"They are mostly shown as inconsiderate businessmen."				
"They aren't so particular about the methods they use to promote their interests."				
"They don't stop at anything."				

<u>Wealth plays too large a role:</u>	3	1	-	4
"There are too many rich people."				
"You come to think that the bank account is all-important."				
"Might is considered right."				

<u>Other unfavorable answers:</u>	2	1	*	3
"Not too good an impression."				
"Not at all favorable."				
"Exploiters."				

## INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

<u>Miscellaneous indeterminate answers:</u>	6	1	*	7
"Different from what it's here."				
"It's about the same as in Germany."				
"It's harder to get on than it's here."				
"American businessmen are most willing to take risks."				

No opinion/No answer:

38  
125%<sup>a</sup>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## WEST GERMANS DIVIDED AS TO STATUS OF RELIGION IN AMERICAN FILMS ...

West Germans divide as to the status of religious affairs in America as indicated via American films. The largest single group finds that the films present Americans as a religious people and accept that picture. But appreciable proportions see religious indifference or false devoutness in American films and also accept that picture. However, the relatively large extent of no opinion and indeterminate comments, as well as the nature of some of the comments themselves, suggests that the role of religious affairs in American commercial films is not very striking one way or the other.

"What impression does one get through American films of the interest Americans take in religious affairs? Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

## FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Deep interest in religion:</u>	18%	2%	2%	22%
"It seems they are deeply interested in these things, they care more than I would have expected."				
"Religious beliefs are more deeply rooted with them than with us."				
"In their upbringing religion plays a larger part than it does with us."				
"They are devout."				
"They are loyal believers."				
<u>Greater religious tolerance:</u>	2	-	*	2
"The films prove they have a sound outlook on these matters, they are sure of themselves and broad-minded."				
"They are more tolerant in religious matters."				
"They have no prejudices in religious matters."				
"They are more free-thinking, they don't let the churches get such a hold of them."				

## UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

<u>Little or no interest in religion:</u>	10	2	1	13
"Judging from the films, Americans have no interest in religious matters."				
"It seems they aren't very devout as there don't seem to be any films about religious themes as we've got them over here."				
"You don't get the impression that Americans are devout."				
"They are rather indifferent toward religious affairs."				
"They don't care particularly about religion."				
<u>Americans only make a show of being devout:</u>	2	1	*	3
"Mostly they are church-goers, but I doubt whether they really are pious."				
"They go to church, but they aren't true believers."				
"Deep down they aren't really devout."				

(Cont'd on next page)

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
	1%	*%	-%	1%

Other unfavorable answers:

"Nothing is done to promote religious life."  
 "They overdo it in some respects."

## INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

Americans adhere to many sects:

5	*	*	5
---	---	---	---

"There are a lot of sects."

"That they are divided into many groups, there are many religious sects."

"The churches exert a very great influence, religious sects play an important role in American life, Americans take them very seriously."

Religious tendencies are not stressed in films:

1	1	1	3
---	---	---	---

"You can't form an opinion on this from films."

"Religious matters aren't dealt with in films."

"You don't see much of this aspect of life in films."

Religion plays the same role it does in Germany:

2	-	*	2
---	---	---	---

"It's just the same as with us."

"It isn't any different from religious life in Germany."

Other answers:

1	*	-	1
---	---	---	---

"They have a certain respect for religious matters, but they don't play an important role in their life."

"They can more easily be influenced in religious matters."

"There are wide variations."

No opinion/No answer:

49
101% <sup>@</sup>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## WEST GERMANS DIVIDED ON PICTURE OF AMERICAN MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE ...

Almost even division is found in the impressions of American marriage and family life that West Germans receive from American films. Moreover, those who get a favorable impression and those who receive a negative one are both agreed that the picture is true. An examination of the answers indicates a definite split among West Germans as to what is considered desirable in marriage and family life. Thus, what one group approves as freedom and companionship, the other group condemns as loosely-knit and superficial family ties. It is probable that this split between modern and traditional ideas in Germany, rather than any fault of Hollywood, contributes to the unusually large proportion of negative responses.

Chief favorable impressions, generally accepted, are the general one that Americans lead happy and harmonious family lives, and the more specific one that husbands and wives are comradely and companionable with one another. The major negative impressions are loose and superficial family ties, frequent divorces and unsatisfactory domestic life.

"What impressions does one get through American films of family and married life in America?

Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America or don't you think so?"

## FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS .

	Be- lieve	Don't Believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Happy and harmonious marriage life:</u>	10%	3%	1%	14%
"It looks to me as if American marriages are happy and successful."				
"On the whole, Americans lead a happy domestic and married life."				
"That it's always harmonious and agreeable for both partners."				
"That there is always sunshine in the home."				
"The average citizen leads a happy family and married life."				
"A pleasant domestic life."				
<u>Comradeship and mutual understanding:</u>	11	2	1	14
"It's based on comradeship."				
"They are more level-headed than people over here, there's an easy companionship between spouses."				
"Judging from films, I've got a good impression of American family and married life, husband and wife are companions."				
"Spouses have more confidence in each other."				
"If a quarrel arises, both parties talk things over and settle things right away."				
<u>Families live in pleasant circumstances:</u>	2	*	*	2
"It's better because they are better off."				
"Their financial situation is more favorable and that's why marriages are happier, as a rule."				
"If there is prosperity, a happy family is guaranteed."				
"When people have a small house of their own, they are more likely to be happy and content."				

(Cont'd on next page)

Be- Don't Un-  
lieve believe decided TOTAL

Love and companionship with their children: 2% -% \*% 2%

"They love their youngsters."

"They are very fond of children."

"Parents and children are good companions, parents aren't persons to be respected, I mean in the sense of being feared."

"Parents and children are like friends."

Easier and more natural mode of living: 1 \* - 1

"Domestic life is more easy and more lively."

"They have a greater ease of manner in daily contacts."

"As a rule, they lead a simple and natural life."

Other favorable answers: 2 \* \* 2

"Women have great freedom of action."

"Women have a lot more rights than they have over here."

"When a married couple wants to go out, they call in a university student who acts as a sitter for the the kids."

#### UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

Loose and superficial ties: 9 3 1 13

"It's come to be rather superficial, ties are loose."

"Relations are very casual, family life does not mean so much to people over there as to the Germans."

"It's superficial."

"There isn't such a close union between spouses as there is in Germany."

"From our point of view it's not a married life at all that people lead over there. It's sort of a loose friendship that exists."

Frequent divorces: 9 2 \* 11

"There are many divorces and cases of adultery."

"That they take married life easy and that they get a divorce at the drop of a hat."

"That marriage in America doesn't last long."

"There are many divorces and quarrels."

"That people over there marry much oftener than people over here do."

Less satisfying domestic life: 8 1 1 10

"It's not so harmonious as it is here in Germany."

"Domestic life isn't so pleasant as it is over here."

"Married couples live together side by side in a rather indifferent way, they are mostly concerned about making a lot of money, and family life is affected by that."

Other unfavorable answers: 2 \* \* 2

"Not a good one, even in this sphere individual freedom is the most important thing."

"In an American marriage love is of minor importance, maybe because the women are more egoistical."

"I've got a terribly bad impression, these people are all immoral."

(Cont'd on next page)



## INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Freer and less conventional:</u>	4%	1%	*%	5%
"They are freer, ties aren't so close."				
"Things aren't so profound as they are over here."				
"They are unconventional."				
<u>Things are just as they are over here:</u>	4	*	*	4
"It's just as it is here."				
"Conditions aren't different from those existing over here, there are happy marriages and marriages that turn out to be failures."				
"There is no difference between conditions in America and over here that differs, they live much in the same way we do."				
<u>Other answers:</u>	2	1	*	3
"American men are obliged to provide the means so that their wives can live more comfortably than women over here do."				
"Conditions in Germany are different."				
"Women's organizations make it difficult for people to get a divorce."				
"I've not yet seen a film which dealt with some serious problem."				

No opinion/No answer:

32  
115%<sup>©</sup>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WEST GERMANS DIVIDE ON AMERICAN FILMS' PRESENTATIONS OF STATUS OF NEGROES  
IN AMERICA BUT ARE SKEPTICAL ABOUT FAVORABLE PRESENTATION ...

Reaction is divided when it comes to the portrayal of the Negro in American films. On the positive side, West Germans state that American films give the impression Negroes in America have equal rights already or that most white people do their best to see that the Negro is well treated. On the negative side, however, many say the films give them the impression of the Negro as a second-class citizen. And those who mention a favorable impression are split between doubt and belief as to whether such squares with the facts, but most who receive an unfavorable impression of the Negro's status feel that it squares with reality.

"What impression does one get through American films of the treatment of Negroes in America?  
Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't Believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Negroes well-treated - achieving equality:</u>	-9%	5%	2%	16%
"As things stand now, Negroes are well-treated."				
"They get a square deal."				
"People treat them with respect."				
"People try hard to bring about equality of rights."				
"An equality of rights for all citizens has nearly been achieved."				
"Discrimination against black people isn't so marked any longer as it used to be."				
<u>Negroes have equal rights:</u>	4	5	1	10
"A favorable impression, they have equal rights."				
"They are citizens with full rights."				
"In American films they want to stress that there's equality of rights."				
"According to the films, they have equal rights."				
<u>Other favorable answers:</u>	1	-	-	1
"In some films black and white people join in games, there's real companionship."				
"They are people just like anybody else."				

UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

<u>Negroes ill-treated - second-class citizens:</u>	25	3	2	30
"They aren't well-treated."				
"People treat Negroes with contempt."				
"They are regarded as an inferior people."				
"Negroes aren't respected, they are just good enough to serve as cannon fodder, they should give them a chance."				
"That they are treated as second-class citizens."				

(Cont'd on next page)

	Be- lieve	Don't Believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
	1%	*%	-%	1%

Other unfavorable answers:

"This isn't all right yet, the issues hasn't  
been settled yet, the Negroes won't win."  
"They are cruder than other Americans are."

## INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

Treatment varies:

1	*	-	1
---	---	---	---

"That differs, sometimes they have equal  
rights, sometimes they don't."

"No unfavorable impression, on the whole,  
they are doing all right, in the South  
things look bad for them, in the North  
it's better, though it still could be better."

Other answers:

*	1	-	1
---	---	---	---

"No definitive impression, things are still  
in the making."

"No unfavorable impression."

No opinion / No answer:

41  
101%<sup>@</sup>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IMPRESSION FROM AMERICAN FILMS IS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS RIFE WITH ORGANIZED CRIME AND GANGSTERISM ...

The impression West Germans receive from the films of the role of the criminal elements in American life is distinctly not a favorable one. In fact, more often than not their comments suggest that the films - presumably those dealing specifically with gangsters and crime - leave the impression that the United States is a country in which organized crime led by very clever gangsters is rife. And half of the people who receive this impression believe it to be a correct representation of the facts.

However, in assessing the effect of these impressions it should also be remembered that American crime films have also apparently given West Germans a high opinion of police and law enforcement agencies in the U.S.

"And what impression does one get through American films of the criminal and gangster element in America? Considering all American films you've seen, do you believe that this is really so in America, or don't you think so?"

#### FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't Believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Miscellaneous favorable answers:</u>	*%	2%	*%	2%
"The public supports all efforts aimed at fighting and subduing the criminal and gangster element."				
"They go all out fighting the gangster elements."				
"The police come to be an ever more formidable opponent of the criminal world, it's because of the way the ordinary citizen feels about it."				
"The gangsters have had their heyday, things are different now."				
"That the delinquency rate has fallen off considerably."				

#### UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS

	19%	13%	3%	35%
<u>Criminality is widespread in the States:</u>				
"There are very many criminals and gangsters in the States."				
"The criminal element is very powerful."				
"It's frightful, it's come to be quite powerful."				
"I think that the criminal and gangster element is quite strong over there."				
"Judging from the films, conditions over there must be chaotic."				
"It plays a very great role, it's really a sorry state of affairs."				

(Cont'd on next page)

	Be- lieve	Don't Believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Criminality is magnified:</u>	2%	11%	1%	14%
"They sort of glorify the gangsters in films."				
"It makes you feel as if there were only gangsters in this world."				
"Hoodlumism is magnified."				
"Dear me, they only make things look so awful."				
"It's hardly credible that things are that way."				
<u>I got a very bad impression:</u>	6	4	1	11
"I've got a bad impression and no mistake about it."				
"A terribly bad impression."				
"An absolutely awful impression."				
"A very bad, an awful impression."				
"It's rather terrible."				
<u>Criminality is so cunning and well-organized:</u>	4	1	1	6
"That they work with the utmost cunning and that they are well-organized."				
"The underworld seems to be pretty well-organized."				
"That the gangsters and criminals are pretty good at organizing things."				
"The gangsters work with the utmost modern techniques."				
"That the gangsters use all conceivable tricks to pull off a job."				
<u>Criminality is more marked in America than in Germany:</u>	4	1	*	5
"That in this respect conditions are worse than they are here."				
"More crimes are committed than in this country."				
"There are many more criminals in the States than there are here, they are more vicious."				
<u>Other unfavorable impressions:</u>	3	3	2	8
"The casual way in which crimes are dealt with makes you believe that they are everyday occurrences."				
"That there is a lot of corruption and that the police and the bandits make common cause."				
"They don't bother much about morals, it seems people pay the greatest attention to armed robbery and murder."				

(Cont'd on next page)



## INDETERMINATE IMPRESSIONS

	Be- lieve	Don't Believe	Un- decided	TOTAL
<u>Things are about the way they are in Germany:</u>	2%	*%	*%	2%
"It's just as it is over here in Germany, conditions are rather bad over here, too."				
"If you draw a comparison, you'll find that things are just about the same."				
"You see a lot about it, but in German films there are a lot of stories about criminals, too."				
<u>Other indeterminate impressions:</u>	1	*	*	1
"It's a vast country, having our country Germany in mind, I guess we apply too narrow standards."				
"The U.S. is a large country, so I take it that there are also many criminals."				
<u>No opinion:</u>				29 113% <sup>Q</sup>

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

Q Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## V. REACTIONS TO OCCASIONALLY HEARD CHARGES AGAINST AMERICAN FILMS

At the conclusion of the present study every respondent - whether or not he had seen any American films - was given an opportunity to pass judgment on a list of statements embodying the kind of criticisms of American motion pictures which if predominantly subscribed to might raise cause for concern as to the reputation of U.S. films, and the U.S. in general among West Germans.

In interpreting the results of such an inquiry it is important to understand that the method is somewhat suggestive and is hence likely to err on the side of exaggerating the extent of criticisms rather than yielding a minimum estimate. For this reason any notable absence of criticism on particular points warrants firm conclusions; but any notable presence of criticism, while useful for guidance, should not be considered to be entirely equivalent to a less suggestive type of evaluation.

### ONLY ONE CRITICISM ELICITS PREDOMINANT CONCURRENCE ...

Study of returns tabulated on the page following reveals, first, that people who have never seen American films are generally disinclined to take a stand on any of the criticisms offered, bearing out the point earlier made that American motion pictures are apparently not subjects of general talk or gossip in West Germany. Secondly, the only criticism among those posed that a preponderance of German film-goers appear to subscribe to, relates to alleged adverse effects on German youth of American crime and Wild West movies - a point already documented earlier in another mode of inquiry.

The third and possibly most important indication that emerges from the tabulations is that despite the suggestiveness of the present approach, majorities of West Germans who have seen American films reject such serious allegations as "American films are cheap and in bad taste," "American films are immoral and vulgar," "American films are full of irresponsible propaganda."

From the point of view of the present study majority rejection of this last statement above is of particular interest since it tends to suggest either that West Germans do not generally interpret American movies as propaganda vehicles, or at least do not object (to the extent of labelling "irresponsible") to whatever propaganda they may feel the films contain. Such orientations make it more likely, of course, that West Germans who see American movies will accept without resistance the preponderantly favorable impressions that this study has revealed them to receive.

"You sometimes hear unfavorable remarks about the American films that are shown here. We have put down some of them and would like to know with which remarks you would fully agree, with which largely, and with which you would agree only to a small extent or not at all?"

(Remarks appear in order presented on a card.)

	Agree Fully	Agree Largely	Agree Only to a Small Extent	Don't Agree At All	No opinion
"American films are superficial, they lack seriousness and deeper values."					
Have seen American films	15%	22%	29%	25%	9%..100%
Have not seen American films	9	12	14	10	55
Non-movie-goers	4	6	6	6	73
"American films aim at thrilling and stirring up people at any cost."					
Have seen American films	21	24	26	19	10 ..100%
Have not seen American films	11	12	16	11	50
Non-movie-goers	6	6	7	6	73
"American films exaggerate the prosperity in America and present a completely false picture of conditions over there."					
Have seen American films	10	14	25	31	20 ..100%
Have not seen American films	7	7	12	15	59
Non-movie-goers	2	3	7	7	81
"American films are cheap and in bad taste."					
Have seen American films	6	14	34	37	9 ..100%
Have not seen American films	6	9	16	16	53
Non-movie-goers	3	6	8	7	76
"American films are immoral and vulgar."					
Have seen American films	2	4	16	63	15 ..100%
Have not seen American films	2	4	9	24	61
Non-movie-goers	2	2	4	13	79
"American films are full of irresponsible propaganda."					
Have seen American films	2	4	11	62	21 ..100%
Have not seen American films	2	4	5	21	68
Non-movie-goers	1	2	3	13	81
"Negroes are always depicted as second-class citizens in American films."					
Have seen American films	16	15	15	26	28 ..100%
Have not seen American films	7	8	7	8	70
Non-movie-goers	2	3	5	6	84
"American films demoralize our youth through callous scenes of crime and of the Wild West."					
Have seen American films	35	26	19	12	8 ..100%
Have not seen American films	25	18	13	6	38
Non-movie-goers	13	11	8	5	63

## A P P E N D I X

The time available for analysis in the present report was not sufficient to permit consideration of population group breakdowns of the data. Such group comparisons will remain for future studies. Exceptions have been made, however, for two breakdowns of general guidance value - group composition of the German film audience and group comparisons on viewing of American films.

## "How often do you go to the movies?"

	Once A Month or More Often	3 Times A Year or More	Once or Twice A Year/or Less Have Never Been There	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	43%	19%	38%...100%	814
Women	44	17	39	1095
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	40	17	43	1511
Middle and/or high school w/o Abitur (Diploma)	57	22	21	380
Abitur/University	63	20	17	90
<u>Age:</u>				
15 - 19 years	82	10		113
20 - 24 "	72	18	10	156
25 - 29 "	60	20	20	197
30 - 39 "	46	24	30	311
40 - 49 "	38	17	45	489
50 - 59 "	34	22	44	328
60 years and over	18	9	73	253
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 299 DM	34	16	50	873
300 - 399 DM	47	20	33	489
400 DM and more	59	20	21	414
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	51	18	31	307
CDU/CSU	42	18	40	412
FDP	47	24	29	180
Other parties	37	20	43	115
No party	39	21	40	520
Don't know	44	13	43	367
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>				
Professionals	53	20	27	174
Businessmen	36	25	39	132
White-collar workers	64	23	13	160
Skilled laborers	53	20	27	242
Semi-skilled laborers	51	17	32	138
Domestic Service	57	20	23	186
Farmers	23	13	64	132
Housewives	41	18	41	657
Unemployed	31	25	44	48
Students	63	30	7	27
Not empl.: pensioners; retired	24	8	68	199
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics, regular church-goers	34	21	45	600
Catholics, irregular church-goers	54	18	28	282
Protestants, regular church-goers	39	14	47	272
Protestants, irregular church-goers	50	18	32	679
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	43	19	38	1554
Expellees, Refugees	46	15	39	357
<u>Trade Union Members:</u>				
Yes	54	21	25	307
Yes, member of family	49	16	35	321
No	39	18	43	1283
<u>City Size:</u>				
Under 2,000 (village & rural)	20	15	57	554
2,000 - 24,999 (towns)	44	19	37	590
25,000 and over (cities)	54	20	26	767

"Which foreign films have you already seen? Have you seen several American films, or only one or two?"

	Seen Several American Films	Only One or Two	None as Yet	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	63%	18%	19%..100%	575
Women	52	20	28	782
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	53	20	27	1003
Above elementary	66	18	16	356
<u>Age:</u>				
15 - 19 years	59	20	21	109
20 - 24 "	66	13	21	145
25 - 29 "	68	16	16	173
30 - 39 "	61	19	20	289
40 - 49 "	54	20	26	281
50 - 59 "	47	23	30	214
60 years and over	38	22	40	109
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 299 DM	51	20	29	523
300 - 399 DM	56	20	24	365
400 DM and more	67	15	18	400
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	58	21	21	301
CDU/CSU	55	19	26	305
FDP	59	25	16	63
Other parties	56	12	32	82
No party	60	17	23	362
Don't know	52	21	27	240
<u>Occupation (respondent):</u>				
Professionals	71	16	13	55
Businessman	57	22	21	91
White-collar workers	66	21	13	146
Skilled laborers	69	13	18	194
Semi-skilled laborers	60	18	22	105
Domestic Service	46	15	39	72
Farmers	42	29	29	59
Housewives	52	21	27	463
Unemployed	71	10	19	31
Students	71	18	11	27
Not empl.: pensioners; retired	41	19	40	90
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics, regular	53	20	27	389
Catholics, irregular	67	16	17	224
Protestants, regular	49	23	28	171
Protestants, irregular	58	18	24	521
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	56	19	25	1099
Expellees, Refugees	60	19	21	260
<u>Trade Union Members:</u>				
Yes	58	21	21	253
Yes, member of family	53	21	26	245
No	57	18	25	861
<u>City Size:</u>				
Under 2,000 (village & rural)	44	22	34	288
2,000 - 24,999 (towns)	56	20	24	429
25,000 and over (cities)	62	18	20	642



TRENDS IN WEST GERMAN APPRAISAL  
OF THE UNITED STATES FORCES IN GERMANY

Report No. 198  
Series No. 2  
June 15, 1954

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY -

## C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
I. Trend In West German Appraisals Of Relations Between U.S. Armed Forces And The Civil Population .....	1
II. Evaluation Of Combat Qualities .....	35
III. General Evaluation Of The Forces' Presence In West Germany .....	61
IV. Reactions To The Presence Of American Families In West Germany .....	84
V. Requisitioning .....	98

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

Annually for the past three years the Evaluation Staff, Office of Public Affairs, HICOG, has, in consultation with the U.S. Armed Forces' authorities in Germany, surveyed West German reactions and attitudes toward the U.S. Forces stationed in Germany.\* Although in each of the three surveys new queries have been added, and former ones modified or dropped depending on past survey experience or the changing situation, the key questions have been repeated for three years. Thus it is now possible to chart dependably the trend of German thinking on the broad issues of relations between the U.S. troops and the citizens of the German Federal Republic.

The present study is based on two samples. The first is a probability sample of approximately 1600 cases representing the population of West Germany, including the U.S. Zone (which contains the larger share of American Armed Forces in Germany) as well as the British and French Zones. In addition a special sample of 462 cases - also of the probability type - was drawn from the Rheinland-Pfalz area in the French Zone where large American Air Force installations have been established during the past year or two. Throughout the following report results are presented for West Germany as a whole, with a breakdown of U.S. Zone figures; and for the Rheinland-Pfalz area in addition.

Findings for previous years, as reported, are also based on probability samples representative of the West German population: the first done in December 1951 consisted of 1200 cases, the second (January 1953) of 1600 cases.

Interviewing in all the surveys was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German interviewing organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

**Note:** It was decided not to differentiate in the inquiries between ground troops and airmen but to use throughout the German word "Soldaten" as a generic term for all military personnel. The decision to avoid the differentiated and more complicated approach was based primarily on findings of a previous study in which it was established that the majority of West Germans did not distinguish between American ground forces and airmen. (See, "West German Evaluation of the U.S. Air Force in Germany," Report No. 154, Sept. 15, 1952.)

\* Reference is made to "The German Appraisal Of The Allied Forces In West Germany - With Recommendations For Improved Citizen-Soldier Relations," Report No. 119, Jan. 28, 1952, and "The American Soldier As Appraised By The West German People - A Continuing Study Of Civilian-Troop Relations," Report No. 174, March 11, 1953, both issued by the Reactions Analysis Staff - now designated the Evaluation Staff - Office of Public Affairs, HICOG.

## H I G H L I G H T S O F T H E R E P O R T

In one sentence the story of the three-year study is this:  
AN UPWARD FAVORABLE TREND OCCURS IN EVERY ASPECT OF GERMAN-U.S. TROOP  
RELATIONS FOR WHICH COMPARATIVE FINDINGS ARE AVAILABLE, AS WELL AS  
IN GERMAN ESTEEM FOR THE COMBAT QUALITIES OF THE AMERICAN FORCES  
STATIONED IN GERMANY.

This does not mean that West Germans have no criticisms to offer in  
respect to the American troops stationed in Germany.

In view of their experiences and traditions the German people  
can be expected to be rather exacting in their appraisal of  
matters military. Accordingly they do not hesitate to point  
out areas of dissent vis-a-vis American soldiers. But as  
a careful reading of the report will disclose, their criti-  
cisms resemble those that family members make one against  
the other rather than the kind that residents of a recently  
conquered and occupied country could be expected to advance.

In the absence of similar surveys, past or present, of native  
reactions in other countries to other foreign troops, it can  
only be suggested that the amity now apparently existing between  
the West German people and American military personnel stationed  
in Germany is an outstanding historical development.

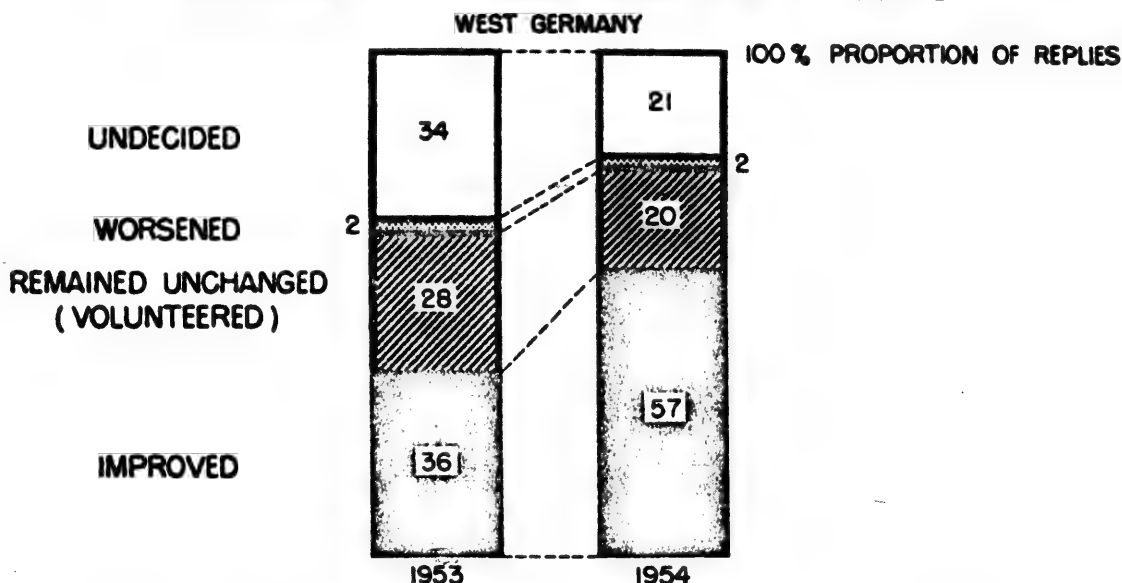
THIS AMITY APPEARS TO OWE MUCH TO THE RECIPROCAL PROGRAM ... of the  
U.S. Armed Forces in conjunction with HICOG Public Affairs officials  
and German civic leaders.

But in assigning credit, it is important not to minimize the  
part played by the individual soldier. To many Germans having  
any actual contact with the American point of view, it is the  
individual G.I or airman they see and judge. The results of  
these surveys - now carried on for the third year - clearly  
suggest that the role of the enlisted men of the Armed Forces  
as ambassadors of international good-will and understanding  
is generally an effective one.

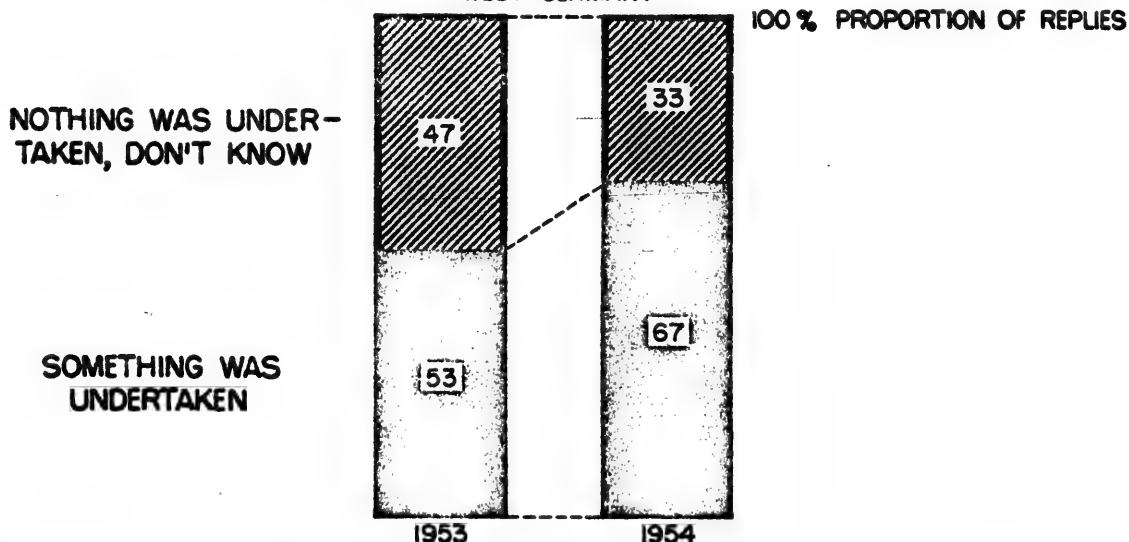
## THE TRENDS CHARTED ...

Since upward trends in West German reactions to American  
soldiers is the basic story in the present report, charts  
suffice to give a convenient overall summary. (Unless other-  
wise noted the charts refer to West German findings. In  
certain instances, U.S. Zone figures are depicted either be-  
cause the findings are more pertinent as applied to the U.S.  
Zone or because there is a three-year trend for the U.S. Zone  
and only a two-year trend for West Germany as a whole.)

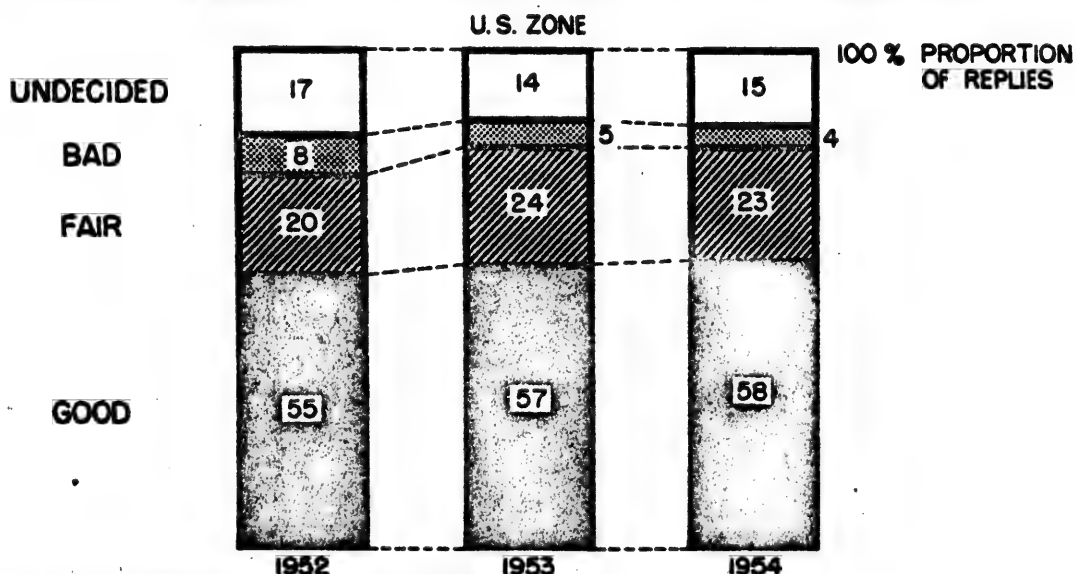
MARKED UPWARD TREND IN VIEW  
THAT GERMAN - U.S. TROOP RELATIONS ARE BETTER



AWARENESS OF  
GERMAN-AMERICAN CHRISTMAS INTERCHANGE HAS INCREASED



CONDUCT OF U.S. TROOPS CONTINUES TO GET MAJORITY APPROVAL,  
WHILE NUMBER JUDGING BEHAVIOR "BAD" IS DIMINISHING

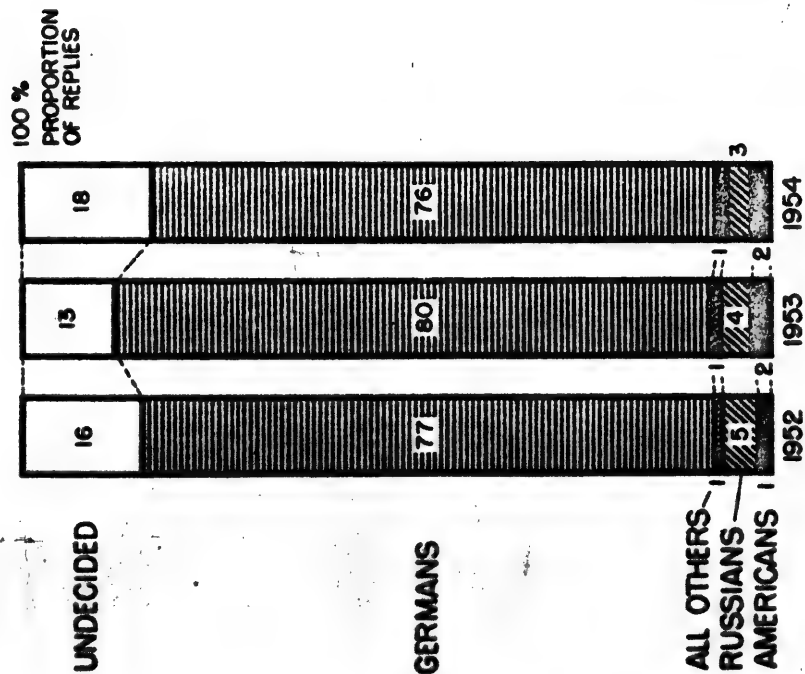




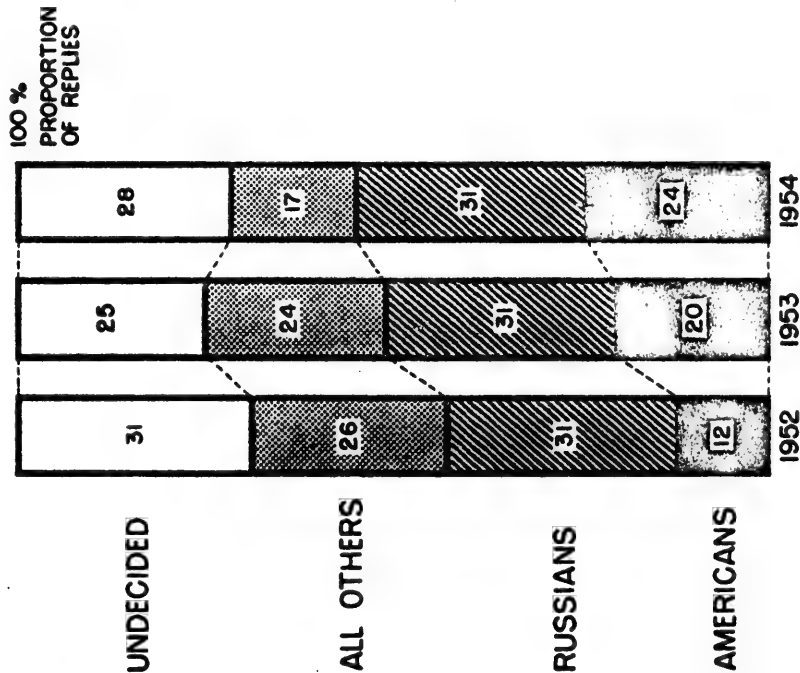
# AMERICAN SOLDIERS JUDGED ON FIGHTING ABILITIES ARE GAINING ON RUSSIANS, BUT GERMANS STILL CONSIDERED FAR AHEAD OF BOTH

WEST GERMANY

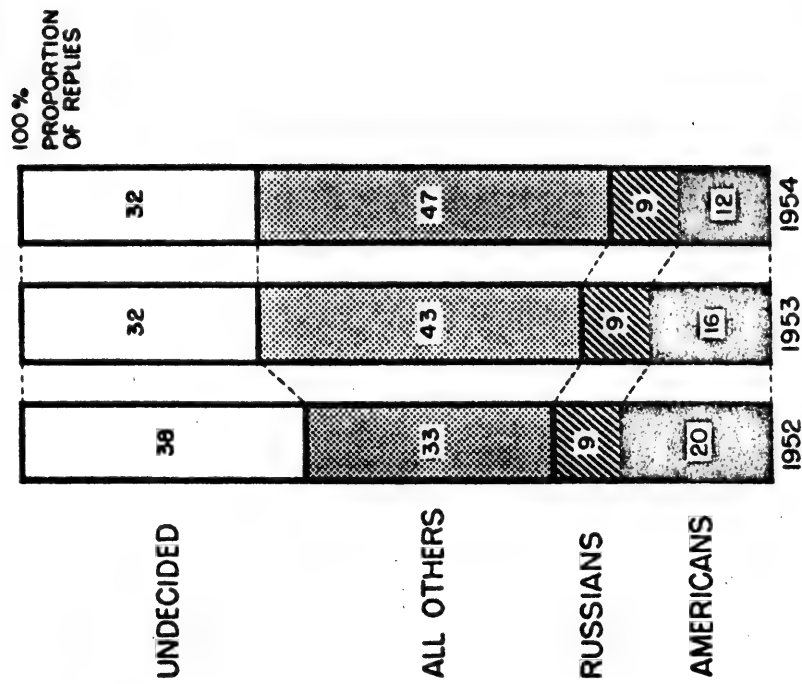
FIRST PLACE:



SECOND PLACE:

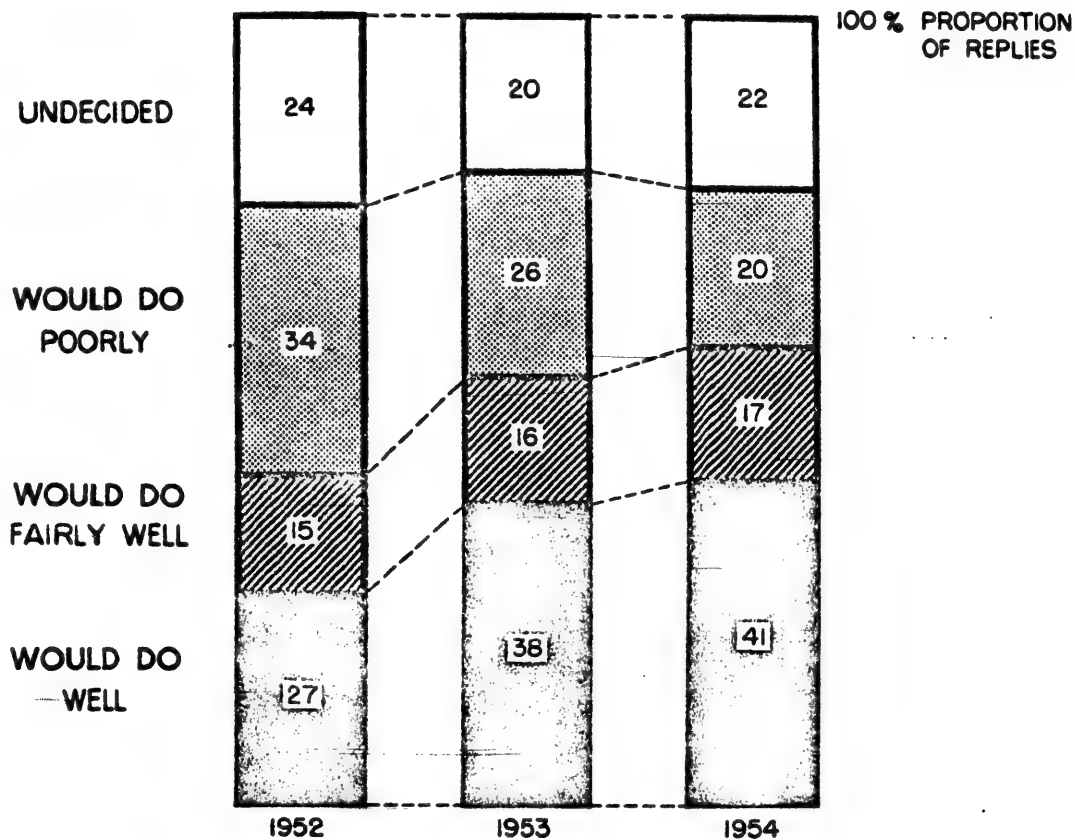


LAST PLACE:



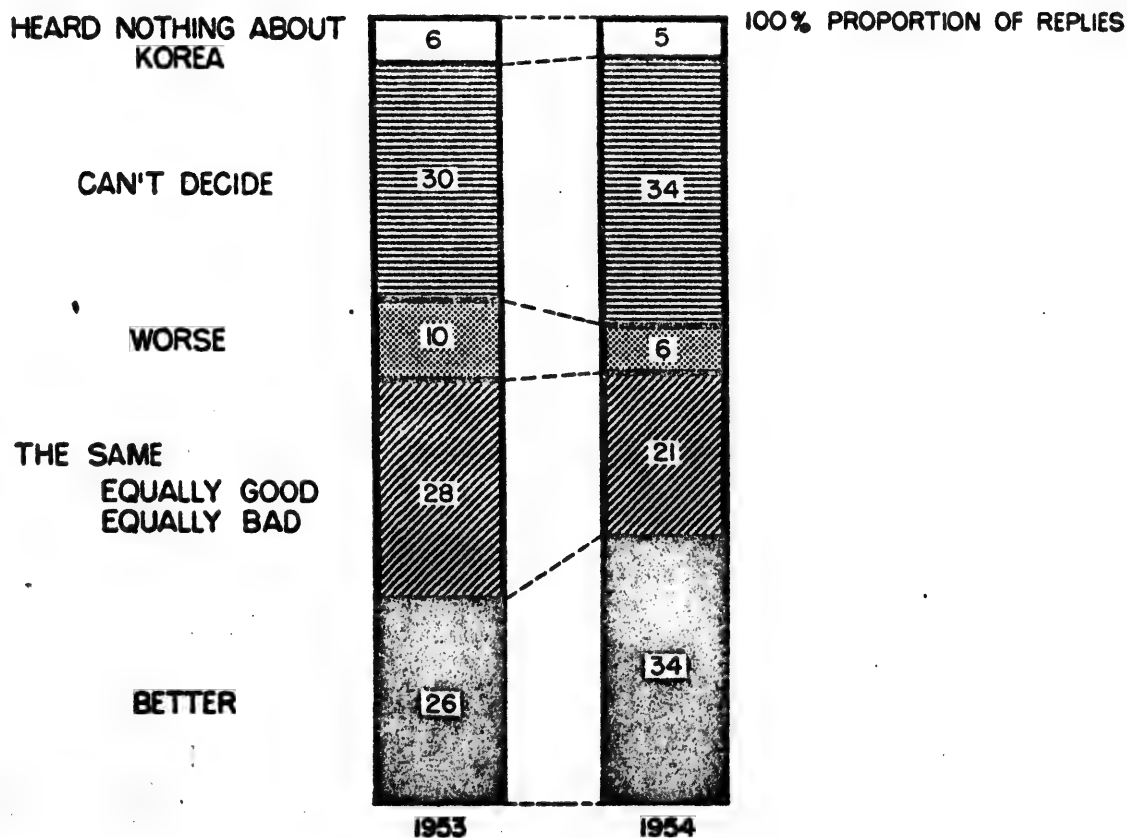
# CONFIDENCE IN U.S. TROOPS' RESPONSE TO RUSSIAN AGGRESSION IMPROVING

U.S. ZONE



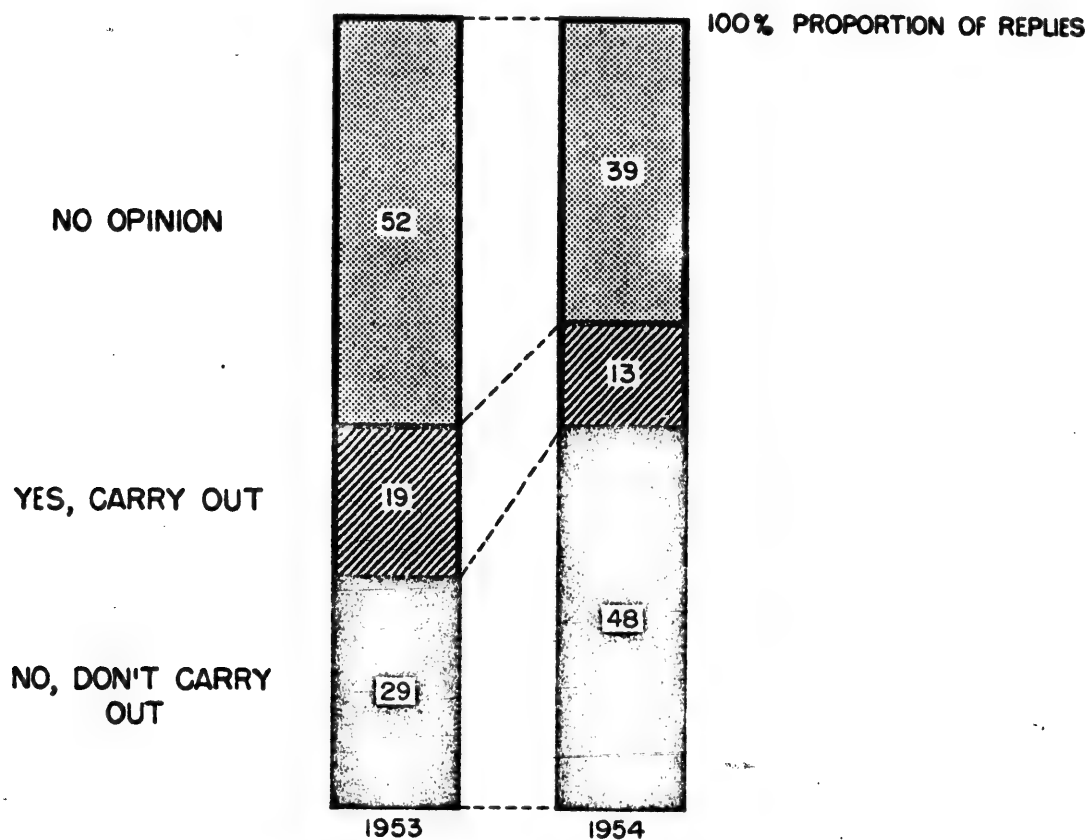
## KOREAN RECORD HAS ADDED TO REPUTATION OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS' COMBAT QUALITIES

WEST GERMANY



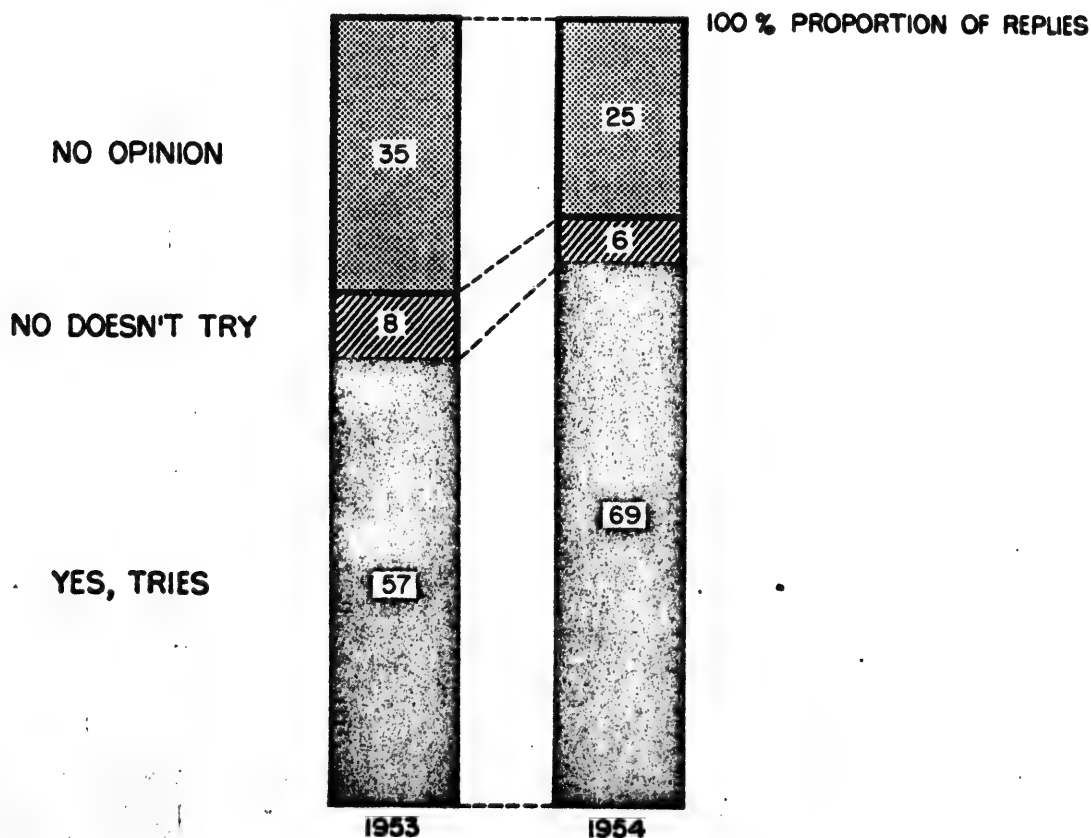
AS REGARDS REQUISITIONING PRACTICES, MANY MORE NOW THAN FORMERLY BELIEVE U.S. ARMED FORCES NO LONGER REQUISITION

WEST GERMANY



AND THE BULK OF THE POPULATION THINKS THE ARMY DOES EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO FACILITATE DEREQUISITIONING

WEST GERMANY



# I. Trend In West German Appraisals Of Relations Between U.S. Armed Forces And The Civil Population

## THE FAVORABLE TREND REGARDING CIVILIAN-TROOP RELATIONS IS SHARPLY UPWARD ...

About six out of every ten West German citizens this year state that relations with the American Armed Forces have recently become better. In comparison, around four in ten a year ago noted an improvement. Thus it is possible to give greater accent to the statement in last year's report that "efforts on the part of the U.S. Armed Forces and the High Commissioner's office to improve soldier-civilian relations in West Germany have been effective." \*

Also of interest in this respect is that the favorable opinion holds equally firm in the two areas in West Germany where there is a concentration of American Armed Forces: the U.S. Zone where troops have been stationed since the end of the war, and the section of the Palatinate region in the French Zone of the Federal Republic where contingents of the U.S. Air Force are now stationed. The following table gives trend figures for West Germany as a whole and the U.S. Zone, as well as this year's results for the Palatinate (Rheinland-Pfalz) area in which there are U.S. Forces.\*\*

"Do you have the impression that relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the past few years?"

	West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland-Pfalz
	1953	1954	1953	1954	1954
	(1593)	(1596)	(550)	(611)	(462)
Improved	36%	57%	44%	58%	61%
Worsened	2	2	2	1	2
Remained unchanged (volunteered)	28	20	26	23	22
No opinion	34	21	28	18	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

## IMPROVEMENTS CONTINUE TO BE NOTED MAINLY AT GRASS-ROOTS LEVEL ...

Illustrations of improved civilian-troop relations follow a pattern very similar to that found in the 1953 survey. Now as last year emphasis is placed on better mutual understanding resulting from informal, casual contacts between Germans and Americans rather than from specific programs and activities designed to improve relations. The comments obtained this year together with trend comparisons follow.

"In what respect have they improved?" (Asked of those noting an improvement in relations.)

	West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland-Pfalz
	'53	'54	'53	'54	1954
<u>More mutual cordiality, understanding and friendliness:</u>	13%	15%	15%	17%	21%
More mutual respect after having become acquainted with each other; on the whole, they are very friendly and obliging towards German civilians; one gets closer to another by getting used to each other;					

(Cont'd on next page)

\* See, "The American Soldier As Appraised By the German People," p.1, Report # 174, Evaluation Staff, Office of Public Affairs (March 3, 1953)

\*\* This is the first time, as stated in the introduction of the report, that a special sample was designed for that part of the Rheinland-Pfalz where there are U.S. contingents. Therefore no trends are available for that region.

West	U.S.	Rheinland-
Germany	Zone	Pfalz
'53 '54	'53 '54	1954

German civilians and Americans are on easier terms now; there isn't such a wide gap between soldiers and civilian population any more; in the beginning both sides showed reserve, now, if you meet an American in a restaurant, you feel he's just like everybody else; in the beginning we were uneasy and distrustful, now we understand them better; you see that they are people just as we are, we've got closer to one another; when meeting, both sides display an amiable manner now; the Amis have become more sociable; they behave more like guests now; the Americans are civilized people just like we are, and they've adjusted themselves easily to their new surroundings; there is fellowship between Americans and Germans now, many Germans are employed by the Amis and the soldiers have come to be friendlier towards us than they were in the past; perhaps they make greater efforts to adapt themselves to the Germans, they are different from what we first thought them to be; they are more approachable now, and they are more interested in getting acquainted with Germans; in conversations with Amis you can talk things over with them now without the whole thing ending in a quarrel; both parties have more respect for each other now; etc.

Friendly personal contacts through joint entertainment, invitations, etc.:

5% 9% 6% 8% 11%

That they have closer contacts with German civilians; they meet each other in restaurants and bars for chats; because they make greater efforts to come into contacts with the local population; during the Christmas season there was a lot of activities; because they are invited more frequently by German families; in former times the Americans were very reserved, today they promote social activities with German civilians; many German families have invited American soldiers to their homes; in their mutual personal contacts, American soldiers are guests in German homes; German and American families visit each other; during the Christmas season the Amis arranged parties for children and aged people; now you get together with American soldiers in restaurants and bars, you get to know each other more intimately, they've become more approachable; etc.

They no longer feel as conquerors - hatred has subsided - German equality of rights:

4 9 4 9 7

Their behavior towards the German civilian population is very decent, they don't show off as victors any more; there is no longer that difference between conqueror and conquered as it was in the beginning, they don't act like conquerors towards us; the feelings of hatred which they harbored for us in the beginning have given way to understanding and esteem for us; they don't rub it in any longer that they're an occupation power, they regard us as people with equal rights; the American soldiers go out without weapons now, unaccompanied, they are much more unconstrained, they seem to have lost their distrust; formerly we considered the soldiers our enemies, now they are our protectors;

(Cont'd on next page)



West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
'53 '54	'53 '54	1954

they've changed quite a bit, they don't call us "German swine" any more as they did when they got here and thought we were to blame for the war; first the Americans hated us for the persecution of the Jews, but all that has changed, after they got to know us Germans better; etc.

Their behavior has improved - fewer incidents:

5% 7% 8% 9% 9%

Formerly the soldiers were more aggressive, now they try to make friends, they like to chat with people, you are not molested by soldiers any more; their behavior has considerably improved; no incidents occur any more, at least only few; as drivers they now demonstrate more discipline and are more careful than they used to be; once the driver of an ambulance stopped a cyclist, hit him over the head, and then went on in his car, such things don't happen any more today, there is nothing to be criticized about their behavior in street traffic, I have the impression that they are considerate in street traffic; now they behave better than in the beginning, if you come down to it, they are really nice guys, but in the beginning quite a lot occurred; first they behaved like louts, but nowadays the Americans behave better on orders from higher authority; their behavior toward the population is decent, only the disturbances at night should cease; etc.

Mutual cooperation and assistance, politically and economically:

3 7 4 6 10

They collected a lot of money for Germany, and that does them credit, though they did things during the war which they shouldn't have done, such as air raids; they built play-grounds and sports-grounds for children; the soldiers have done us many a good turn, I'm thinking of the children's airlift and the aid they've given to the oldsters, these efforts certainly contribute toward improving relations; our standard of living has risen because of American aid, they have repeatedly launched relief programs; when the Americans advanced through Germany they gave chocolates to the kids and they didn't take things away from people; they conduct collections for orphans, they send food parcels, CARE-parcels; the Americans are kind and helpful towards the poor and the sick, and that leaves a favorable impression on people, to be sure; whenever a catastrophe occurs, they are right there and lend a hand; they've sent goods over here, and the food stuffs we've got from them were a great help to us, thus we've got ahead more quickly and therefore we certainly have no reason for complaint; we stride ahead with the aid of the United States, if that country hadn't helped us, our economic progress wouldn't have been so fast; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland Pfalz
'53	'54	'53	'54	1954

The attitude of the Americans has become more friendly because they need us as their Allies (against the East):

1%	3%	2%	3%	*
----	----	----	----	---

The Americans consider us to be most useful to them as Allies, it's because they know they can rely on us; we both know that we may need each other some day; the Americans realize that the Germans are their partners; because they pursue a specific aim, they want to set up a European army; because we, too, fight Communism; etc.

Marriages between Americans and Germans:

1	2	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---

Because many marriages between Americans and German girls have been concluded; many girls married American soldiers, the soldiers are popular; etc.

It's generally said that relations have improved:

3	3	3	3	1
---	---	---	---	---

I glean this from the papers and the radio; it's just what people generally say, I don't know much about it myself; in this town there are no American soldiers, but you often hear people say that relations have improved; in this vicinity we hardly ever meet any Americans, you only have a feeling that things have improved; etc.

Other reasons:

3	2	4	2	1
---	---	---	---	---

Friendly relations have been established between our country and America; because by now the American soldiers speak German more fluently, thus we can understand each other better; in that many homes have been derequisitioned; there are many Americans of German descent and that contributes toward a friendly understanding between Germans and Americans; as the soldiers may wear civies now, they meet German civilians more frequently, and because of the fact that they have to pay for a taxi ride now with German marks, the population doesn't feel so put out any more; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{2}{40\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{59\%}$	$\frac{1}{48\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{60\%}$ **	$\frac{4}{65\%}$ **
---------------------	------------------	---------------------	---------------------	---------------------

\* Less than one half of one per cent.  
\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## CHRISTMAS INTERCHANGE IS MORE WIDELY KNOWN THIS YEAR THAN LAST ...

The cooperative German-American Christmas program, possibly the most concentrated effort to build mutual good-will, has also become more extensively known this year. Whereas about half, (53 per cent) of the West German public, declared they knew about it in 1953, now two thirds are aware (67%). As in the preceding year, more U.S. Zone residents than West Germans generally say they have heard or read about the Christmas interchange. Probably, however, more revealing of the impact this kind of effort has on the civilian population is the finding that eight in ten of the people in the Rheinland-Pfalz area (where the newly arrived Americans took the opportunity to introduce the Christmas exchange) know about it.

This year as last people who are aware of the joint effort generally regard it as making a real contribution to improving German-American relations.

"Have you perhaps heard or read of anything that was undertaken by the American Army and by the German population during the Christmas season to improve friendly relations between the soldiers and the civilian population?"

	West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland-Pfalz
	1953	1954	1953	1954	1954
Yes, something was undertaken	53%	67%	63%	72%	86%
Nothing was undertaken, don't know	<u>47</u> 100%	<u>33</u> 100%	<u>37</u> 100%	<u>28</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%

"As far as you know, did these efforts really contribute to improving relations between the American soldiers and the civilian population, or did the efforts have no real influence on them?"

Really contributed	34%	49%	37%	50%	60%
No real influence	8	6	11	9	10
Undecided	<u>11</u> 53%	<u>12</u> 67%	<u>15</u> 63%	<u>13</u> 72%	<u>16</u> 86%

## DETAILED INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROGRAM ALSO GAINED ...

Details of what the Christmas program consisted of have kept pace with the wider awareness of its occurrence. In other words, it can be said that the program enjoyed a real gain in impact this year in contrast to last year. Not only did more people hear of it, but more know what was done. Again, as last year, the tendency is to mention activities of the troops more often than to cite the German contribution to the program. It will be noted in the comments listed below that West Germans now place much more emphasis on parcels, gifts and so on to the needy and other such groups than occurred last year.

"What was undertaken?" (Asked of all respondents who answered "Yes, something was undertaken" to initial question.)

West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland Pfalz
'53	'54	'53	'54	1954

Christmas parties and distribution of gifts to German children:

37%	39%	43%	42%	62%
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Disguised as Santa Claus the Americans came to the German children in helicopters; American soldiers made a lot of toys by hand for the German children; Christmas parties for the children of their German employees; they made collections among themselves to provide a nice Christmas for German children; Christmas gifts for children of the border villages; American women invited children; they always collect for poor children at Christmas time; they've given presents to children, the radio said so, they like children, that's true; Christmas parties arranged by soldiers and parcels from America for poor children and orphanages; they gave a lot for the children and arranged parties; Christmas presents for the children of Kassel, gifts for orphanages; the American soldiers made collections in their barracks to be able to give presents to German children; presenting Christmas gifts to children, occasionally they provide for individual children, one poor child in Trier has got a complete new outfit; the Americans took over sponsorships for orphans and orphanages; well, they presented gifts to the kiddies, if it wasn't for America we would be done for; they picked up children from Grumbach and took them to Baumholder to be given Christmas presents, one boy is sometimes invited to visit an American family living there; they looked after children of POW's; my cousin, who is an orphan, got a lot of presents, all the children did in fact; the kiddies got shoes, it was at a Christmas party; our children are presented with Christmas gifts every year, there's also a concert given by Americans for German orphans; a lottery on behalf of needy children; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland Pfalz
	'53	'54	'53	'54	1954
<u>Joint Christmas celebrations (mutual invitations):</u>	22%	26%	26%	30%	16%

Germans and Americans celebrated Christmas together; Christmas celebrations, American soldiers were invited into German families; Germans and American soldiers got together to celebrate Christmas the German way; I couldn't give you the exact figure but I believe that about 100,000 American soldiers were invited by German families for Christmas; invitations extended by Germans for the Christmas holidays, spending holidays together; American soldiers were invited into German families, Americans displaying friendly feelings toward their hosts; the Germans in return invited American soldiers into their families to give them the opportunity of celebrating a German Christmas; invitations by clubs and private families, I had my house full up otherwise I certainly would have invited a soldier; etc.

<u>Donations to old, underprivileged and sick people and to war-victims: @</u>	-	14	-	10	15
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Presented gifts to war-victims; a lottery on behalf of the German Red Cross; that enormous number of gifts for underprivileged people; they give a lot to poor people, just from their own free will; German pensioners and invalids were given presents, I got a parcel myself; they made donations to charitable homes, invalids' and old people's homes; American officers helped a man who had his leg amputated and who was making music in the streets by playing for him on their own instruments and making a lot of money for him in this way; donation of drugs to Germans; soldiers give Christmas parties, collected a lot of money, gave people chocolate, etc.; I'm an invalid and got peas, sugar, meat, raisins, etc.; a collection on behalf of an old mother to enable her to visit her sick daughter in America; financial support to old people and, I believe, they were also given clothing; soldiers donated CARE-parcels to our underprivileged people; Christmas parties for poor families; etc.

<u>Christmas parties and presents (general): @</u>	-	10	-	14	17
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The Amis distributed Christmas parcels, even here, I believe; I got a Christmas present from the Americans; aid through financial and material support; they presented gifts to villages in the Coburg district, presents for border villages; that the "Workers' Relief" (Arbeiterwohlfahrt) got parcels for distribution; the Americans made a lot of donations, they are not stingy, the Amis, they are generous; I got a parcel, so did many other people; Christmas parties given by army units near Frankfurt, presenting of gifts; they came by helicopter and presented gifts; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



	West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland Pfalz
	'53	'54	'53	'54	1954
<u>Donations to refugees, expellees, released POWs etc.: ②</u>	-	3%	-	2%	2%
Money was donated to refugees; parcels for refugees; they gave Christmas parties and presented gifts to refugee children; refugees from the East Zone were also taken care of by the Americans; relief for released POWs; donations for POWs returned from Russia; etc.					
<u>Aid for Germans in the East Zone and in Berlin:</u>	2	1	2	1	2
Christmas parcels for Berlin; the Americans gave money to people from the East Zone for Christmas; they gave butter to people in East Berlin and issued gift coupons to visitors from the East Zone; presents were given by the Americans to visitors from the East Zone (food parcels); butter was given to Berliners; Christmas donations, CARE parcels for Berlin; a gift of 20 DM for visitors from the East Zone; etc.					
<u>Other answers:</u>	-	1	-	*	2
Toy manufacturers in Nuremberg made a donation of some tons of toys to American orphanages; they helped in the avalanche catastrophe; all the occupation powers took steps, except Russia; American offices gave Christmas bonus to their German employees; some soldiers serving prison sentences for war crimes were released for Christmas; they took action that the POWs were released; etc.					
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	-	$\frac{1}{95\%}$ **	-	$\frac{*}{99\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{117\%}$ **

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

② In the 1953 study these three categories were combined into one under the heading "Donations to refugees, old, underprivileged and sick people," and were cited by 5 per cent in West Germany as a whole, 6 per cent in the U.S. Zone, in contrast to a total mention of 27 per cent and 26 per cent respectively, for the three categories this year. Because of this difference, totals for the 1953 figures are not presented in the above table.

# ABOUT HALF ARE AWARE OF OTHER EFFORTS TO FOSTER BETTER GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS ...

Other welfare activities carried on by the United States Armed Forces in West Germany designed to further good civilian-troop relations are not individually nearly so well-known as the Christmas interchange. However, about half of the people can name one or more such activity - with the aid programs for the needy and underprivileged being most frequently cited. GYA, though mentioned as would be expected more often by U.S. Zone residents than by other Germans, appears to receive relatively little recognition considering that it is one of the oldest of the programs and has been well publicized. A probable explanation is that GYA is carried on through German youth organizations and that the source of benefits received is not always known.

"Have you heard or read of any other efforts or activities undertaken by the American Forces to help certain groups in Germany? (What?)"\*

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Children's airlift (Kinderlift)	7%	3%	8%
Food to escapee camps	26	23	21
Program to aid underprivileged	18	16	17
GYA (aid to youth groups, clubs, etc.)	12	19	10
Other efforts and activities	16	18	16
No	51	53	54
	130%**	132%**	126%**

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- \* No trend comparisons are available since the above question differs from last year's inquiry which read: "Do you perhaps know of any efforts or activities of the American Army which are meant to bring about a better understanding between the American soldiers and the German population? (What are they?)" To this rather cumbersome and somewhat ambiguous query, 84% in West Germany as a whole, and 78% in the U.S. Zone, gave a negative reply.

DO MANY SEE RELATIONS BETWEEN U.S. TROOPS AND GERMAN PEOPLE ADVERSELY  
AFFECTED BY CREATION OF GERMAN CONTINGENTS ...

An added indication that the generally good civilian-troop relations existing at present rest on a substantial basis in West German eyes is that only a relatively small minority anticipates a deterioration once there are German soldiers on German soil again. The preponderant opinion is that there will either be no change at all - which in light of their present estimate of relations can be considered a favorable expectation - or that relations between the U.S. soldiers and the German people will become even better when German contingents are trained and equipped. Whether or not the German public's anticipations on this score are unduly optimistic remains for the future. But in view of German traditions, their esteem for the paramount qualities of the German soldiers (see p. 41ff) and the memories of defeat and occupation, the finding that relatively so few expect any trouble appears to be quite remarkable.

"In case West Germany should have soldiers of its own again soon - do you believe that the relations between the German population and the American soldiers will then be better or worse than they are now?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
Better	23%	23%	19%
Unchanged	34	32	30
Worse	15	16	20
No opinion	28	29	31
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

COMRADESHIP AND INCREASED GERMAN SELF-RESPECT WOULD FURTHER GOOD RELATIONS ...

Those anticipating improved German-American relations as a result of the establishment of trained German contingents most frequently cite three reasons: the comradeship between the troops of the two countries would filter down to the public; the two would have joint training, interests and aims; and the Germans would have more self-respect then and accordingly not feel as sensitive as heretofore.

"For what reasons do you assume relations will then be better?" (Asked of all those who answered "Better" to previous question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>because there will then be ties of comradeship between the American and the German soldiers and the same would hereby apply to the German population:</u>	8%	8%	7%

The soldiers would get closer contact with the American soldiers, it could result in friendship which would certainly please the German population; I hope that the soldiers of both sides will meet frequently that a better understanding will thus be achieved; it will bring about more comradeship because there will be more contact, also on official business; I believe that there will be more comradeship; the older men will perhaps have prejudices, but there will still be better understanding; through their German comrades the soldiers will still have more contact with German families which will lead to friendships; according to the promises they have

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfalz
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made it is to be hoped that everything will be dealt with in a friendly manner; because the feeling of comradeship will replace the atmosphere of victors versus defeated; because all soldiers are alike and always understand each other; through the comradeship of both nations in which the family members of the German soldiers would be included; etc.

Because the American and the German Forces would then be allies and share joint training, interests and aims:

6%	5%	5%
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It depends on whether the soldiers would be in the same army with the Americans; if they are together in the same barracks they will learn to know each other and there will be better understanding; military personnel will be trained jointly and they will get acquainted there; German and American soldiers will defend the same principles; by cooperation, the German soldier will have to be instructed in the use of modern weapons first, the joint interests will bring about good relations; because we have decided to stick to the Americans and to take a joint stand against aggression from the East; because they face a common danger and have to stand together; there would be a better understanding because we would be allies then; they both have the same aim, defeat of Communism; because then they will have the same uniform; because they need our soldiers, the ties will then be stronger; etc.

Because the Germans would then believe in freedom and equal rights:

5	5	3
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Because the Germans and the Americans would then feel that they fight for the same cause with equal rights and the Germans would not feel suppressed any more; then the Germans will have equal rights and will not feel neglected any more; if they feel the others understand them they will be more compliant to their wishes; because then we would have an equal position and the differences that still exist would be eliminated; because then the Germans would not feel so suppressed and neglected any more; because we would have more self-respect in that case; once Germany has soldiers of its own, the occupation character is not so evident any longer; etc.

because the German people would feel more secure:

1	2	1
---	---	---

Then the German population will see the two groups of soldiers from the same angle and will feel protected by both of them; because it would further improve our security, this is my greatest concern; because we will be strong again; because the Americans will know in that case that the German soldiers will help them in an emergency and the German soldiers will feel the same way about the Americans; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfalz
<u>Because America would then have more respect for the Germans:</u>	1%	1%	2%
Because the Americans will have more respect for us and will certainly be more friendly with us because they would count on military assistance in that case; they will respect us even more when they realize that the German soldiers are worth something, they cannot do without us; because military forces would gain a more respected position for us with regard to the Americans; in America the Chancellor has done a great deal to rehabilitate German soldiers which will have an effect on the prestige of the individual soldiers; etc.			
<u>Because all or at least a number of the American soldiers could return home:</u>	1	*	
Because some of the American troop units could return to America; if we have an army of our own, they will be more likely to take off soon because we will have military forces ourselves; the Amis will then go home soon and will be glad and in the best way of spirits; etc.			
<u>Other reasons:</u>	1	2	1
Occupation costs would stop and the funds could be used for our soldiers in our country; because the Germans would then have better judgment and understanding as to how soldiers behave; the Americans have rendered assistance and there will be greater sympathy; Americans and Germans will always get along fine; because the German youth is more carefully brought up; this will be decided by the treatment given to our soldiers by the Americans; etc.			
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{24}\%$ **	$\frac{1}{24}\%$ **	$\frac{2}{21}\%$ **

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



REASONS VARY FOR ANTICIPATING DETERIORATION OF GOOD RELATIONS WHEN GERMAN TROOPS FORMED ...

The natural favoritism Germans would show their own troops, the mutual jealousies and misunderstandings bound to arise, and general frictions between troops of the two countries make up the list of particulars cited by those who expect American-German relations to worsen once West German troops are set-up. No single argument, however, is mentioned by more than a few.

"For what reasons do you assume relations will then be worse?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Worse" to initial question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>The German population will show preference for German soldiers thus lowering the American soldiers:</u>	4%	3%	3%
The Germans will feel more strongly drawn to the German soldiers than to the Americans; if raising a new army can't be prevented, we'll give preference to German soldiers, that's only natural; the Germans would think more highly of our soldiers than of the Americans, there is no doubt about that; that German soldiers will be more highly esteemed goes without saying, American soldiers will then be left in the cold over here; when dashing German soldiers show up people will laugh at the lax American soldiers; whenever an American soldier behaves improperly people will praise the German soldiers to the skies, they'll say: our boys would never do such a thing; they'll certainly favor the German soldiers; etc.			
<u>There will be arrogance, jealousy, misunderstandings and national pride on both sides (general answers):</u>	3	3	5
When the Germans have an army of their own again they'll put on airs and show an arrogant attitude towards the Americans; German national pride will reawaken, it might be hurt by the presence of American soldiers and thus relations would worsen; the Americans might be jealous of our soldiers; American and German soldiers would enter into competition, and the Americans would be the losers; it would be difficult for American and German soldiers to understand each other since their upbringing is different, through these difficulties relations with the people would be clouded; I don't think that American and German soldiers will get along all right, the American soldiers' life isn't so hard, they can behave more freely; etc.			
<u>There will be friction between the soldiers (general answers without special reasons):</u>	2	3	5
There will be antagonism between German and American soldiers; disputes among the soldiers might arise; it will be difficult for the soldiers to get along; American and German soldiers can't stand each other; they can't get along together, they'll fight each other; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
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The Americans probably won't give the German soldiers a square deal:

2%	2%	4%
----	----	----

Because they don't want our soldiers to have a say in matters; the different modes of treatment - the German soldiers will get much lower pay than the Americans; there will be no comradeship, the Americans will behave like occupiers and the Germans are expected to follow their commands meekly; the Americans will try to push the German soldiers to the wall; etc.

The American soldiers' presence in Germany will then be considered unnecessary:

2	2	1
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It might be that the American soldiers will then be regarded as intruders who should leave the country; there are certain groups in Germany who want the Americans to leave the country; once a German army has been set-up we'll become strong and able to get along on our own, we then won't need the Americans any longer; the standpoint that American soldiers are of no use to us once we've got troops of our own might cause a strained situation; etc.

Because German soldiers don't want to be under joint or American command:

1	1	*
---	---	---

German soldiers won't accept orders from American soldiers; the Germans would be subject to the Americans, that won't suit the German soldiers; German soldiers won't submit to American authority, they even won't accept being put on the same level with them; etc.

Other answers:

2	3	2
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We then won't have to wait long for a clash as the Russians won't put up with it; quarrels will follow very soon, we don't need soldiers, they only mean trouble; food might become scarce; there will be wrangling, American industry will flourish, and we won't get anything; relations will get tense, people are against rearmament; etc.

16%**	17%**	20%
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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## TROOPS CONTINUE TO HAVE REPUTATION FOR GOOD BEHAVIOR ...

A majority of West Germans continue to state that American soldiers stationed in Germany are well-behaved, and an upward trend in this regard noted in the U.S. Zone in 1953 appears to be continuing. Though the change has been slight, the three-year trend has been consistently in a favorable direction, as the following figures show.

"According to everything you have seen or heard how do you find the behavior of the American soldiers - is it in general good or bad?"

	<u>U.S. Zone</u>		
	1952 (432)	1953 (550)	1954 (611)
Good	55%	57%	58%
Fair (volunteered)	20	24	23
Bad	8	5	4
Undecided	<u>17</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%	100%

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>Rheinland-</u> <u>Pfalz</u>
	1953 (1593)	1954 (1596)	1954 (462)
Good	53%	54%	51%
Fair (volunteered)	22	20	28
Bad	4	3	6
Undecided	<u>21</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%	100%

From the above figures it would appear that the Air Forces stationed in the Palatinate are not rated as well as troops and airmen in the U.S. Zone. In the absence of trend comparisons for this area, it is only possible to hazard the explanation that some of the problems, already ironed out in the U.S. Zone, incident to bringing in large forces into small communities remain to be solved in Rheinland-Pfalz.

WEST GERMANS LIKE MORE THINGS ABOUT U.S. SOLDIERS THAN THEY DISLIKE ...

In order to throw further light on what the West German people think about the American soldiers' conduct and manners, two additional inquiries were introduced in this year's study. The first asked whether or not there is anything West Germans find particularly displeasing about the soldiers' manners and appearance; the second, if there is anything they like especially in the same regard. The over-all balance of results again turn out to be in a direction favorable to the troops. Thus, while many people specify unfavorable characteristics, more mention aspects pleasing to them. By the same token, more say there is nothing they dislike than say there is nothing they like about the way the troops look and act.

"Is there anything about the American soldiers that displeases you (particularly) - I mean about their outward appearance or their manners?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Yes	17%	19%	24%
No	57	64	64
Undecided	26	17	12
	100%	100%	100%

"Is there anything about the American soldiers that you appreciate (particularly) - I mean about their outward appearance and manners?"

Yes	32%	36%	39%
No	33	40	43
Undecided	35	24	18
	100%	100%	100%

The net favorable balance obtaining for the U.S. troops is seen in the following summary tables:

	Dislike something	Like something	Net balance
West Germany	17%	32%	+15%
U.S. Zone	19	36	+17
Rheinland-Pfalz	24	39	+15

	Dislike nothing	Like nothing	Net balance
West Germany	57%	33%	+24%
U.S. Zone	64	40	+24
Rheinland-Pfalz	64	43	+21

UNMILITARY BEARING, CARELESS MANNERS, CASUAL WAYS AMONG CRITICISMS LEVELLED  
AT SOLDIERS ...

The alleged lack of discipline and military bearing - particularly as compared with German soldiers - over-casual manners, a generally sloppy appearance or bearing, loudness and tendency to pick quarrels are among the complaints made about the American soldiers by those who are prepared to specify displeasing traits. However, it will be noted in the comments as listed below none of these criticisms is made by more than a handful. Moreover, as will be seen in the subsequent enumeration of pleasing characteristics, more people apparently like the casualness and easy manner of the U.S. troops than dislike it.

"What, for instance?" (Asked of all respondents answering  
"Yes, displeases" to initial question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>Undisciplined and unsoldierly (without further explanation):</u>	4%	6%	4%
They don't have any discipline; that many soldiers are undisciplined; their lack of discipline, well, it's just different from the German Army, they're not so smart, they almost do what they like, you can see that everywhere; they are not so disciplined as the German soldiers; they are not really soldiers in our sense of the word; they cannot be compared to the German soldiers, they just don't have this soldierly bearing, they don't; they have neither much elan nor discipline, that's what I don't like particularly well; not the same kind of soldiers as the Germans are, they don't have the soldierly carriage, they are not soldiers in the German sense of the word but rather some kind of playboys; etc.			
<u>Sloppy, careless, casual-mannered (without further explanation):</u>	3	5	3
He is just too lax, his slovenliness; they are somewhat lazy, sloppy; American soldiers take it too easy, their carriage is poor; American soldiers are too slack, they should be more soldierlike; that they are so lax and don't have a soldierly bearing; their over-casual manner; they give the impression of being pampered; their over-casual way, their extreme laziness; etc.			
<u>Careless manners or bad habits:</u>	3	3	4
Their nonchalant way of behavior, they put their feet on the table; for instance, that they put their feet on the table; their nonchalant way of behavior and this everlasting gum-chewing and the ill-mannered way of talking with a cigarette in their mouths; they always keep their hands in their pockets, very unsoldierly bearing; etc.			
<u>They're often arrogant, they talk big and show off the victors:</u>	3	1	4
They talk awfully big; they're somewhat arrogant, I couldn't give an example at the moment; I really don't want to run them down but I believe that they're a bit arrogant because they've won the war; they're showing off as victors too much; they regard us as second-class people; too self-confident and bossy; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)



	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>They're loud, rude and kick up rows too easily:</u>	2%	2%	4%
American soldiers are quick to kick up rows; when drunk American soldiers are bound to kick up rows; the soldiers have too much money, they become reckless and get drunk and sometimes they pick quarrels; they may become a nuisance when they've drunk too much; when drinking, they are apt to misbehave; that they are very noisy when at a dance; because they are brawling into the morning hours and behave badly in joints, chiefly colored soldiers; the loud way they have - in the streets and in restaurants; etc.			
<u>Their behavior towards women is offensive:</u>	2	2	2
Keeping company with loose girls; no harm was done to me by any of them, but I didn't like their affairs with women; untold numbers of kids and they pay nothing for their upkeep; that they sort of further prostitution - they (the prostitutes) are chiefly with the Americans; the soldiers leave so many children behind who won't be properly supported whereas in America children are so much loved and well looked after; etc.			
<u>They commit crimes like holdups, rape, murder:</u>	1	1	2
Sometimes holdups of German civilians occur; forcing drivers to give them a ride, murdering taxi drivers; that sometimes they kill taxi drivers; as you can read in the papers, like in Munich, how mean they treat the Germans; some are said to carry out robberies; there are a lot of rough characters among them who behave very badly; cases of rape; there are often bad soldiers among them, you always hear about holdups and other crimes; these holdups of taxi drivers which keep occurring; on the average, those are mostly colored soldiers, that they've attacked people right in the street without any reason at all; etc.			
<u>Unsoldierly, careless in public places, sloppy in walk:</u>	1	1	1
They are sloppy, the way we walked in the streets was more soldierly; the sloppy way he walks, his bearing is quite slack; he just strolls along; etc.			
<u>Other answers:</u>	1	1	2
They plagued us more than enough and afterwards they turned us over to the French; they get on very easily with the Germans because of their money and very often they take advantage of it; they should leave us alone, shouldn't molest us; etc.			
	20%**	22%**	26%**

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## FRIENDLY COURTESY AND GOOD GROOMING ARE LEADING LIKEABLE CHARACTERISTICS ...

The American soldiers' courteous and friendly manners come in for most frequent praise (some also mention their relaxed manner or lack of tenseness). Another likeable characteristic is the grooming and well-dressed appearance of the soldiers. Others speak of the soldiers' readiness to help the German people especially in emergency situations and in traffic accidents. Some are favorably struck by the good driving and traffic manners of the Americans. A few mention the soldiers' kindness to children.

"What, for instance?" "(What else?)" (Asked of respondents answering "Yes, appreciate" to initial question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>His behavior is decent and correct - he is courteous and friendly:</u>	13%	15%	23%
Extraordinarily polite and nice; that he is a gentleman in all respects; I like it that American soldiers are always polite; they are gentlemen just like the English, they are very relaxed when dealing with the civilian population, they are nice to talk with; they stayed in our house during the war but they didn't steal anything; their behavior is good and courteous; I highly value their friendliness towards all people; you don't hear bad reports, they are pretty quiet; they are decent towards the population; their friendliness towards Germans; they are very civil, their politeness; they behave well and are friendly; their correctness, their civility; he is quite polite, especially towards women; they are very nice and friendly; the Americans are nice people to be together with; they always behaved decently, even when they had been drinking, I can only say good things about them; they are nice to you, it all depends on whom you come across, I worked together with a Negro who was very nice to me; he is polite, he is intelligent on the whole and friendly, too; etc.			
<u>He is well-dressed, clean, neat and tidy:</u>	10	10	16
All American soldiers look clean; swell uniform; clean and neatly dressed; correct in his clothes; immaculated clothes; their appearance as far as clothes are concerned (gala uniform); the cleanliness; tidy in his clothes and carefully groomed; there is a striking contrast between their uniforms and the uniforms of all other occupation soldiers, their uniforms compare very favorably, fit well, first-rate quality; they look sharp and clean; they are stylish in regard to clothes; yes, good clothes also worn by civilian Americans; he is always tip-top when off duty; the American soldiers are well dressed; their spick-and-span appearance; their clean looks; they are always cleanly, smartly and impeccably dressed, by no means sloppy; impeccable fit of the uniform, they are very well scrubbed and groomed; they are always well shaved; he is very tidy, not sloppy, his haircut is faultless; externally they make a well groomed impression, they are no sorry bunch; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
7%	8%	7%

He is eager to help:

He is always eager to help, we've seen it during disasters and catastrophes, where he quickly stepped in with a helping hand; the Americans were very helpful towards us, they gave us more to eat than we could use, I used to wash their laundry and instead of money they brought us everything we wanted; he is very eager to help on the whole, children and other people have often been saved by soldiers from drowning, at Christmas they donate many gifts for poor people; he is very helpful if something has happened to you, their generosity in the form of donations for the needy; they are very humane and eager to help, they not only give me and my children from their rations, but also to many other needy people; an explosion occurred in our place after the war, and the Amis were there right away and administered aid quickly and expertly, they immediately took both the lightly and seriously injured to the hospital, and therefore I'll always be grateful to them; their exemplary helpfulness;

He is easy-mannered and relaxed:

Because they don't have these stupid army regulations, but are somewhat more relaxed in dealing with their superiors; that they have a more relaxed attitude and that their whole conduct and appearance is easy-mannered; the compulsion to salute and soldierly conduct are not so rigid; the naturalness of their behavior, that he doesn't have to salute his superiors; he moves much easier in public, much more relaxed; he is more of a civilian, his appearance isn't so military; that he doesn't make such a rigid military appearance; that they move about freely, naturally, but I see American soldiers too rarely; that they are more easy-mannered and not so tense; they are not so tense as our soldiers were; that they move about more freely and don't make the appearance of slow-witted and rigid soldiers; they are easy-going somehow, not so overly rigid and constrained as our soldiers used to be; their unaffected behavior in the streets and in public; etc.

He is kind to children:

Almost all of them are kind to children; that they are very kind to the children; he has a soft heart for children; towards children, they must like kids very much; etc.

He is considerate, polite and helpful in traffic:

Excellent traffic discipline; helpfulness in case of traffic accidents; he is also very careful and reserved with his car in traffic; that as drivers they are much more considerate than the Germans; they are more cautious in traffic, especially with their cars; his eagerness to help as a driver, if somebody has had an accident; that he drives very carefully behind the wheel of a car; he is very polite and for the greatest part also courteous - in the trolley and in street traffic; his eagerness to help, which he, as a car driver, shows to

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
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German drivers, whose cars have stalled on the road; they are much more polite towards women on the street than German men are, they'll make way for you on the sidewalk; they are pretty decent, you can ask them anything if you are looking for a street or something; etc.

He is well-built and handsome:

1%	1%	-
----	----	---

There are strapping guys among them; generally they cut a good figure; handsome looks; he cuts a handsome figure as a well-built and husky soldier; he makes an extremely good outward appearance; etc.

Other answers:

3	2	5
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They maintain contacts with the population, they go in for sports, most of them go fishing and hunting for the fun of it; they are intelligent; especially the higher echelons are exquisitely refined; for the most part they are well educated; they make greater efforts towards individual understanding; they are very gay; that he always has money in his pockets; he is open and direct in his approach, not sly or cunning; he cultivates social life; they are great spenders, a little wasteful; his sporting appearance; etc.

46%**	49%**	62%**
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\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MANY KNOW THAT TROOPS NOW PERMITTED TO WEAR "CIVIES" WHEN OFF-DUTY ...

Bearing on the issue of civilian-troop relations is the decision of Armed Forces authorities to permit their members to wear civilian dress when off-duty. Majorities in the U.S. Zone (57%) and in Rheinland-Pfalz, but somewhat less than half (47%) of the entire West German population, are aware of the authorization.

"Do you know if members of the Armed Forces - officers and enlisted men - are allowed to wear civies off-duty, or must they always be in uniform when in public?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Wear civies	47%	57%	65%
Always in uniform	8	5	5
Don't know	<u>45</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>30</u>
	100%	100%	100%

AND LOOK UPON THE IDEA WITH FAVOR ...

Approval of the idea strongly outweighs disapproval in West Germany as a whole and in the U.S. Zone, though many are undecided about the matter. In the Palatinate, however, approval has only a slight edge over disapproval. This is seen in results of a question introduced by an informative sentence about the situation, as follows:

"(As you know) beginning November 1, 1953, American officers and soldiers were given permission to wear civies when off-duty, just as they are permitted to do in the U.S. and in other countries where American troops are stationed."

"Do you think it is a good or a bad idea to permit the wearing of civies off-duty?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Good idea	54%	49%	42%
Bad idea	19	19	35
Undecided	<u>27</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>23</u>
	100%	100%	100%

While off-duty civilian dress is not universally applauded, it is interesting to note that the accomplished fact is more favorably received than would have been anticipated from replies given in 1953 to a "before the fact" query. This is what people thought then:

"Would you generally be for or against granting permission to American soldiers to wear civilian clothes here in West Germany when off-duty?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone
For it	36%	26%
Against it	40	45
No opinion	<u>24</u>	<u>29</u>
	100%	100%



## PRO AND CON ARGUMENTS FOR CIVILIAN CLOTHING ...

Main reasons for favoring off-duty civilian dress for the U.S. Forces are that the soldiers thus are less restricted, more at ease; it promotes mutual good relations and decreases mutual reserve. In contrast those opposed emphasize the need to recognize the Americans by their uniforms, or appear to fear the soldiers would act recklessly without military garb. The categories of their pro and con replies are listed as follows:

"Why do you think it is a good idea?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Good idea" to initial question.) \*

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
The individual soldier is less restricted, he has greater freedom	25%	20%	19%
Relations between soldiers and Germans would improve, mutual confidence would grow	18	16	15
Uniforms create reserve on both sides, people dislike them	9	7	3
Then one could not recognize them as American soldiers any more	5	6	6
In uniform they have to behave themselves	1	2	1
Other answers	1	2	2
I have no objections	$\frac{3}{62\%}$ **	$\frac{3}{56\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{47\%}$ **

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

\* Here and in one or two other instances illustrative comments are omitted, as they are rather undifferentiated.

"Why do you think it is a bad idea?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Bad idea" to initial question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfalz
One could not recognize them as American soldiers that they are	7%	7%	15%
Soldiers - especially occupation troops - should wear uniforms, it should be possible to recognize them as soldiers	5	6	8
Then they will take more liberties, they won't behave as well as they would in uniform	4	4	8
Crimes and violations might increase	3	3	5
Because then they would take in women and girls more easily	1	1	2
They would be less respected than in uniform	*	*	2
They look handsomer in uniform	*	-	*
Other answers	$\frac{2}{22\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{22\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{41\%}$ **

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**CONTACT WITH TROOPS AND AWARENESS OF WELFARE ACTIVITIES INFLUENCES VIEWS  
ON CIVILIAN-TROOP RELATIONS ...**

To complete this section on civilian-troop relations, the role of the American troops and the Armed Forces welfare program in the betterment of rapport with the German people is demonstrated by a series of cross-comparisons of questions. First, these comparisons show, the American troops appear to be good ambassadors: the more contact West Germans have with American soldiers either through seeing them in passing or being acquainted with them, the more likely they are to note improved relations. Second, the various welfare activities pay off: people who know about them are much more inclined to say relations are better than are the uninformed. Third: the behavior and manners of the troops though not without influence on judgments regarding civilian-troop relations are not as marked as might be anticipated. Even among those who say the troops are badly behaved (a small fraction of the population) and those who say they find nothing pleasing in the American soldiers' appearance or manners, the prevailing view is that rapport has recently improved. The table showing cross-comparisons follows:

During Last Few Years:					
Relations Between Germans and U.S. Troops Have					
	Improved	Worsened	Remained Unchanged	Undecided	No. of cases:
<b>Soldiers Seen Weekly:</b>					
Many	71%	1%	19%	9%..100%	231
Some	68	2	22	8	99
Few	66	2	25	7	133
None	51	2	20	27	1133
<b>Know Some U.S. Soldiers:</b>					
Well	76%	1%	16%	7%..100%	207
Superficially	66	2	20	12	330
Know none	50	2	21	27	1059
<b>Christmas Interchange:</b>					
Informed	66%	1%	19%	14%..100%	1075
Uninformed	38	2	24	36	520
<b>Know of Other Activities:</b>					
Kinderlift	76%	1%	11%	12%..100%	105
Food to escapee camps	69	2	17	12	411
Aid to underprivileged	71	1	18	10	288
CYA	75	1	18	6	189
Others	70	2	16	12	248
Don't know of any	46	2	23	29	820
<b>Behavior of Troops:</b>					
Good	68%	*	19%	13%..100%	865
Fair	55	4	29	12	318
Bad	54	15	20	11	46
<b>Can mention actions and manners of troops which displease</b>	65%	4%	22%	9%..100%	273
Not any	61	1	23	15	916
<b>Can mention actions and manners of troops which please</b>	75%	1%	15%	9%..100%	578
Not any	51	3	30	16	523
* Less than one half of one per cent.					

**IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS OPINION THAT CIVILIAN-TROOP RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED PREVAILS ...**

The predominant opinion in all segments of the West German population is that civilian-troop relations have improved. The better educated, upper status groups take the affirmative more strongly than do others.

"Do you have the impression that the relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the past few years?"

	Improved	Worsened	Remained Unchanged	Undecided	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	64%	2%	20%	14%..100%	713
Women	51	1	21	27	882
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	54	2	21	23	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	71	1	17	11	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	70	-	20	10	76
(Above elementary	71	1	17	11	291)
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 24 years	59	4	22	15	170
25 - 34 "	63	1	21	15	325
35 - 44 "	56	2	19	23	335
45 - 54 "	62	2	16	20	367
55 years and over	47	1	24	28	386
<b>Income:</b>					
Up to 299 DM	50	2	22	26	755
300 - 499 "	62	2	20	16	537
500 - 699 "	63	2	21	14	163
700 DM and more	71	-	20	9	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	64	4	17	15	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	62	1	18	19	720
Other parties	50	8	34	8	38
No party	52	1	24	23	325
Undecided	41	*	25	34	222
<b>Occupation:</b>					
Professionals	66	2	20	12	64
Businessmen	67	2	18	13	173
White-collar workers	68	1	14	17	216
Skilled laborers	59	2	20	19	311
Semi-skilled laborers	53	1	23	23	211
Farmers	44	2	26	28	176
Housewives	53	2	17	28	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	49	1	21	29	297
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	57	2	20	21	752
Protestants	58	1	20	21	782
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	54	2	22	22	1277
Expellees, Refugees	64	1	16	19	319

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## AWARENESS OF CHRISTMAS INTERCHANGE WIDESPREAD AMONG ALL POPULATION GROUPS ...

As could be anticipated, awareness of the Christmas interchange is more extensive among those groups which are customarily better informed of events - that is, the upper level socio-economic elements in the population. More important are the findings that majorities in all groups - lower status as well as higher - know of the Christmas good-will effort, and the prevailing opinion among all informed groups is that it was a basic contribution to improved relations.

"Have you perhaps heard or read of anything that was undertaken by the American Army and by the German population during the Christmas season to improve friendly relations between the soldiers and the civilian population?"

	Yes, something was undertaken	Nothing was undertaken	Don't know	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>				
Men	74%	4%	22%..100%	713
Women	62	7	31	882
<b>Educations:</b>				
Elementary school	64	6	30	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	84	2	14	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	84	4	12	76
(Above elementary	84	2	14	291)
<b>Age:</b>				
Up to 24 years	68	6	26	170
25 - 34 "	74	5	21	325
35 - 44 "	63	7	30	335
45 - 54 "	68	6	26	367
55 years and over	65	5	30	386
<b>Income:</b>				
Up to 299 DM	63	6	31	755
300 - 499 "	71	5	24	537
500 - 699 "	71	8	21	163
700 DM and more	74	6	20	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>				
SPD	69	9	22	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	73	4	23	720
Other parties	63	3	34	38
No party	66	7	27	325
Undecided	51	6	43	222
<b>Occupation:</b>				
Professionals	86	5	9	64
Businessmen	71	6	23	173
White-collar workers	76	5	19	216
Skilled laborers	69	5	26	311
Semi-skilled laborers	64	8	28	211
Farmers	54	3	43	176
Housewives	50	12	38	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	70	4	26	297
<b>Religion:</b>				
Catholics	67	6	27	752
Protestants	66	6	18	783
<b>Origin:</b>				
Natives	67	5	28	1277
Expellees, Refugees	69	7	24	319



"As far as you know, did these efforts really contribute to improving relations between the American soldiers and the civilian population, or did the efforts have no real influence on them?"

	Really con- tributed	No real influence	Undecided	Not asked	No. of cases:
<b>Sexs:</b>					
Men	53%	8%	12%	27%..100%	713
Women	45	5	12	38	882
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	46	6	12	36	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	65	7	12	16	215
Diploma(Abitur), University	50	16	18	16	76
(Above elementary	61	9	14	16	291)
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 24 years	49	7	12	32	170
25 - 34 "	53	7	14	26	325
35 - 44 "	46	6	11	37	335
45 - 54 "	51	5	11	33	367
55 years and over	47	6	12	35	386
<b>Income:</b>					
Up to 299 DM	46	6	12	36	755
300 - 499 "	53	6	13	28	537
500 - 699 "	52	10	9	29	163
700 DM and more	58	9	7	26	69
<b>Party Preferences:</b>					
SPD	51	8	10	31	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	56	6	11	27	720
Other parties	29	21	13	37	38
No party	45	6	15	34	325
Undecided	31	5	15	49	222
<b>Occupation:</b>					
Professionals	61	11	14	14	64
Businessmen	52	9	10	29	173
White-collar workers	57	6	13	24	216
Skilled laborers	54	5	10	31	311
Semi-skilled laborers	42	5	17	36	211
Farmers	38	7	9	46	176
Housewives	33	3	14	50	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	50	5	14	31	297
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	50	6	11	33	752
Protestants	48	6	13	33	783
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	48	7	12	33	1277
Expellees, Refugees	52	5	12	31	319

## AWARENESS LACKING OF SOME ARMY WELFARE EFFORTS ...

Among the usually better informed groups, relatively large proportions do not know of any welfare efforts or activities other than the Christmas interchange carried on by the American Armed Forces in Germany. Thus on the average four in ten of the upper status, opinion leading elements - the better educated, more affluent groups - say they have not heard of any aid (other than that during the Christmas season) the Forces render to certain German groups. The extent of unawareness rises among other population elements.

"Have you heard or read of any other efforts or activities undertaken by the American Forces to help certain groups in Germany?"

	Children's airlift	Food to camps	Program to aid under- privileged	Other efforts & GYA activities	No	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	7%	28%	19%	14%	19%	47%..134%
Women	6	24	17	10	13	55 ..125
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	5	25	17	9	14	54 ..124
Middle schoold and/or high school w/o Diploma	13	28	22	21	20	38 ..142
Diploma(Abitur), University	13	40	22	34	24	34 ..167
(Above elementary	13	31	22	25	21	38 ..150
<b>Age:</b>						
Up to 24 years	6	25	14	15	20	54 ..134
25 - 34 "	8	26	19	15	22	42 ..132
35 - 44 "	7	26	16	10	12	55 ..126
45 - 54 "	7	24	20	12	16	50 ..129
55 years and over	5	27	20	10	10	56 ..128
<b>Income:</b>						
Up to 299 DM	5	26	18	9	14	54 ..126
300 - 499 "	7	26	18	12	17	51 ..131
500 - 699 "	9	24	17	17	21	45 ..133
700 DM and more	12	39	25	23	14	38 ..151
<b>Party Preference:</b>						
SPD	5	25	16	9	17	51 ..123
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	6	28	20	13	17	47 ..131
Other parties	13	21	24	3	26	50 ..137
No party	7	27	18	12	14	53 ..131
Undecided	8	21	13	12	8	64 ..126
<b>Occupation:</b>						
Professionals	16	40	23	28	17	33 ..157
Businessmen	6	21	21	18	23	46 ..135
White-collar workers	11	28	17	19	17	45 ..137
Skilled laborers	7	26	18	9	16	52 ..128
Semi-skilled laborers	6	23	14	8	17	56 ..124
Farmers	2	23	17	8	8	63 ..121
Housewives	6	20	14	8	13	61 ..122
Not empl.: pensioners; retired; etc.	6	26	22	9	10	53 ..126
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	5	25	18	12	16	52 ..128
Protestants	7	27	18	12	15	50 ..129
<b>Origin:</b>						
Natives	7	25	17	12	15	53 ..129
Expellees, Refugees	6	31	20	11	19	44 ..131

**ONLY MINORITIES IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS FORESEE WORSENEED RELATIONS WHEN  
GERMAN CONTINGENTS TRAINED ...**

In regard to the influence the presence of German troops will have on relations between the West German people and the U.S. Forces in Germany, no marked group differences are apparent. The prevailing opinion among all is that relations will remain the same or improve. (Since the predominant opinion is that present relations are good, the view that the situation will not change when there are German contingents may be regarded as a generally favorable one.)

"In case West Germany should have soldiers of its own again soon - do you believe that the relations between the German population and the American soldiers will then be better or worse than they are now?"

	Better	Unchanged	Worse	No opinion	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	28%	37%	17%	18%...100%	713
Women	17	31	14	38	882
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	23	33	14	30	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	21	37	20	22	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	37	28	25	10	76
(Above elementary)	25	35	21	19	291)
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 24 years	25	36	19	20	170
25 - 34 years	22	37	19	22	325
35 - 44 years	25	32	15	28	335
45 - 54 years	23	32	14	31	367
55 years and over	19	33	12	36	386
<b>Income:</b>					
Up to 299 DM	20	33	12	35	755
300 - 499 DM	24	37	17	22	537
500 - 699 DM	26	35	18	21	163
700 DM and more	39	25	26	10	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	21	35	18	26	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	29	36	13	22	720
Other parties	19	29	26	26	38
No party	18	32	16	34	325
Undecided	15	26	13	46	222
<b>Occupation:</b>					
Professionals	31	30	25	14	64
Businessmen	27	35	21	17	173
White-collar workers	22	34	21	23	216
Skilled laborers	26	33	15	26	311
Semi-skilled laborers	20	31	13	36	211
Farmers	19	33	11	37	176
Housewives	11	41	11	37	64
Not empl.: pensioners; retired; etc.	22	34	11	33	297
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	26	31	14	29	752
Protestants	20	35	16	29	783
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	22	33	16	39	1277
Expellees, Refugees	25	36	14	25	319

## TROOP BEHAVIOR RATED GOOD BY MAJORITIES IN ALL POPULATION ELEMENTS ...

In all population groups majorities rate the behavior of American troops as reputedly good. Intra-group differences are in no instances marked.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, how do you find the behavior of the American soldiers - is it in general good or bad?"

	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	57%	21%	4%	18%...100%	712
Women	52	19	2	27	882
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	54	19	3	24	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	51	27	3	19	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	65	21	5	9	76
(Above elementary)	55	25	4	16	291)
<u>Age:</u>					
Up to 24 years	54	23	5	18	170
25 - 34 "	54	26	4	16	325
35 - 44 "	55	22	2	21	335
45 - 54 "	60	15	2	23	367
55 years and over	50	17	2	31	386
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 299 DM	51	20	3	26	755
300 - 499 "	57	20	2	21	537
500 - 699 "	58	21	6	15	163
700 DM and more	61	22	4	13	69
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	53	22	6	19	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	61	18	2	19	720
Other parties	42	34	13	11	38
No party	49	20	2	29	325
Undecided	47	18	1	34	222
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	64	22	6	8	64
Businessmen	58	22	2	18	173
White-collar workers	57	25	1	17	216
Skilled laborers	55	20	3	22	311
Semi-skilled laborers	51	19	4	26	211
Farmers	51	20	2	27	176
Housewives	51	16	6	27	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	53	16	2	29	297
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	57	20	3	20	752
Protestants	53	20	2	25	783
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	54	19	3	24	1277
Expellees, Refugees	55	23	3	19	319

# LIKABLE TRAITS OF U.S. SOLDIERS OUTWEIGH THE UNLIKABLE IN ALL GROUPS IN WEST GERMANY ...

As to the manners and appearance of the American soldiers, all population groups in West Germany apparently find it easier to mention likable than unlikable characteristics. Majorities in almost all groups advance no negative criticisms, conversely, about a third on the average in all population elements assert there is nothing likable about the American soldiers. The more articulate upper status groups - those with more than average schooling, those with higher incomes, and the men - more frequently than others mention characteristics they consider unattractive, but they also cite likable traits oftener than do their counterparts.

"Is there anything about the American soldiers that displeases you (particularly) - I mean about their outward appearance or their manners?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	23%	58%	19%...100%	713
Women	13	57	30	882
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	15	58	27	1305
Middle and/or high school				
w/o Diploma	28	51	21	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	30	57	13	76
(Above elementary)	28	53	19	291)
<u>Ages:</u>				
Up to 24 years	14	63	23	170
25 - 34 "	30	51	19	325
35 - 44 "	16	59	25	335
45 - 54 "	13	60	27	367
55 years and over	12	57	31	386
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 299 DM	14	56	30	755
300 - 499 "	20	60	20	537
500 - 699 "	20	61	19	163
700 DM and more	35	49	16	69
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	18	61	21	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	17	60	23	720
Other parties	34	53	13	38
No party	18	55	27	325
Undecided	9	56	35	222
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	28	61	11	64
Businessmen	19	61	20	173
White-collar workers	22	59	19	216
Skilled laborers	19	59	22	311
Semi-skilled laborers	14	59	27	211
Farmers	15	50	35	176
Housewives	11	56	33	64
Not employed; pensioners; retired; etc.	11	57	32	297
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	17	57	26	752
Protestants	17	58	25	783
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	17	57	26	1277
Expellees, Refugees	16	60	24	319



"Is there anything about the American soldiers that you appreciate (particularly) - I mean about their outward appearance or their manners?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	39%	33%	28%...100%	713
Women	27	33	40	882
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	30	34	36	1305
Middle school and/or high school				
w/o Diploma	42	27	31	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	56	30	14	76
(Above elementary	45	28	27	291)
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	35	35	30	170
25 - 34 "	38	33	29	325
35 - 44 "	35	34	31	335
45 - 54 "	32	31	37	367
55 years and over	25	32	43	399
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 299 DM	27	33	40	755
300 - 499 DM	37	33	30	537
500 - 699 DM	41	34	25	163
700 DM and more	45	33	22	69
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	33	38	29	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	38	30	32	720
Other parties	34	42	24	38
No party	30	36	34	325
Undecided	18	31	51	222
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	45	38	17	64
Businessmen	36	37	27	173
White-collar workers	39	36	25	216
Skilled laborers	33	33	34	311
Semi-skilled laborers	35	29	36	211
Farmers	28	32	40	176
Housewives	23	33	44	64
Not employed; pensioners;				
retired; etc.	25	29	46	297
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	35	32	33	752
Protestants	31	32	37	783
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	32	34	34	1277
Expellees, Refugees	35	28	37	319

## HIGHER STATUS GROUPS MOST IN FAVOR OF "CIVIES" FOR OFF-DUTY HOURS ...

While approval of civilian apparel for soldiers when off-duty greatly outweighs disapproval in all population groups in West Germany, the idea receives particularly strong support from the opinion leading upper socio-economic segments.

"Do you think it is a good or a bad idea to permit the wearing of civies off-duty?"

	Good idea	Bad idea	Undecided	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>				
Men	61%	20%	19%...100%	713
Women	48	17	35	882
<b>Education:</b>				
Elementary school	50	20	30	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	68	16	16	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	82	9	9	76
(Above elementary)	72	14	14	291)
<b>Age:</b>				
Up to 24 years	64	18	18	170
25 - 34 "	63	15	22	325
35 - 44 "	53	20	27	335
45 - 54 "	56	17	27	367
55 years and over	41	23	36	386
<b>Income:</b>				
Up to 299 DM	46	19	35	755
300 - 499 "	58	20	22	537
500 - 699 "	66	17	17	163
700 DM and more	87	12	1	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>				
SPD	59	22	19	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	60	17	23	720
Other parties	50	31	19	38
No party	48	21	31	325
Undecided	37	15	48	222
<b>Occupation:</b>				
Professionals	76	12	12	64
Businessmen	58	18	24	173
White-collar workers	65	17	18	216
Skilled laborers	54	20	26	311
Semi-skilled laborers	53	20	27	211
Farmers	35	19	46	176
Housewives	50	23	27	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	48	19	33	297
<b>Religion:</b>				
Catholics	53	17	30	752
Protestants	55	20	25	783
<b>Origin:</b>				
Natives	52	19	29	1277
Expellees, Refugees	60	17	23	319

## II. Evaluation of Combat Qualities

Just as in the earlier studies the present inquiry into troop-civilian relations included consideration of German evaluations of the combat qualities of U.S. troops. In this respect a rise in a favorable direction appears to have occurred on every measure for which trend comparisons are available.

### IN WEST GERMANY, U.S. SOLDIERS GAINING ON RUSSIANS AS RUNNERS-UP TO GERMAN SOLDIERS ...

The favorable trend is particularly notable in the ranking accorded American troops when compared man for man on fighting ability with the British, French, German and Russian soldiers. West Germans continue, as would be expected, to give their own men first place, but during the three-year period, the number of West Germans rating the Americans in second place has doubled, going from 12 per cent in 1952 to 24 per cent in 1954. Thus, the gap between the Russians, who have consistently led in second place with a 31 per cent mention, and the Americans is now much narrower than formerly. There has been a corresponding decline in West Germany in the proportions placing the American soldier in the "last" category.

The upward trend in the "second place" category is also apparent in the U.S. Zone, though the gain vis-a-vis the Russians has not been so large as in West Germany as a whole. Also, as reference to the table below will show, just about as many U.S. Zone residents place the American soldiers in last place as formerly, though there is some slight evidence of a declining trend. While no comparisons are available for the Rheinland-Pfalz group, their views expressed in 1954 are more similar to those of West Germans generally than to U.S. Zone opinions.

"All in all, who in your opinion makes the best fighter as an individual? And who is in second place? And who is in last place?" (The various nationalities as listed below were presented alphabetically on a card to respondents.)

	West Germany			U.S. Zone			Rheinland Pfalz
	1952	1953	1954	1952	1953	1954	1954
<b>First place:</b>							
Germans	77%	80%	76%	80%	80%	80%	79%
Russians	5	4	3	5	6	4	3
Americans	1	2	2	1	2	2	1
British	1	1	1	1	*	1	1
French	*	*	*	*	1	-	-
No opinion/No answer	16	13	18	13	11	13	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<b>Second place:</b>							
Russians	31%	31%	31%	38%	36%	38%	31%
Americans	12	20	24	10	16	18	23
British	13	12	9	15	14	11	13
French	8	6	4	7	4	4	1
Germans	5	6	4	5	7	5	3
No opinion/No answer	31	25	28	25	23	24	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<b>Last place:</b>							
French	25%	32%	33%	31%	35%	35%	42%
Americans	20	16	12	19	18	17	14
Russians	9	9	9	8	7	7	5
British	8	11	13	7	9	11	7
Germans	*	*	1	1	-	1	*
No opinion/No answer	38	32	32	34	31	29	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

UPWARD TREND IN ESTIMATES OF HOW U.S. SOLDIERS WOULD RESPOND TO RUSSIAN AGGRESSION ...

Additional evidence of increased esteem for the military merits of American soldiers is a rising belief that the U.S. troops in Germany would put up a good fight in the event of Russian aggression. The increase is particularly marked in the U.S. Zone where the proportion predicting the Americans would fight well has risen 14 points during the three-year trend period; similarly there has been a 14 point drop in the percentage forecasting a poor defense effort on the part of the Americans, should the Russians attack.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now would fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

	<u>U.S. Zone</u>		
	1952	1953	1954
Well	27%	38%	41%
Fairly well (volunteered)	15	16	17
Poorly	34	26	20
Undecided	<u>24</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%	100%

... In West Germany as a whole confidence in American response to any future Russian aggression has also risen since last year.\* It is to be noted that West Germans as a whole as well as those in the Rhineland-Palatinate tend to express somewhat higher regard for the American troops on this issue than do U.S. Zone residents.

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>Rheinland-Pfalz</u>
	1953	1954	1954
Well	43%	48%	43%
Fairly well (volunteered)	18	17	19
Poorly	18	14	13
Undecided	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>25</u>
	100%	100%	100%

\* In the 1952 study this question was not asked regarding the Americans, but put in terms of the forces stationed in each of the three zones; e.g. British troops in the British Zone, and French troops in the French Zone.

KOREAN RECORD HAS ALSO TENDED TO RAISE RATING OF U.S. TROOPS DURING PAST YEAR ...

Another indication that favorable regard for the combat abilities of American troops has increased during the past year appears in results of an inquiry concerning the impression of American soldiers gained from reports of the Korean conflict. Significantly more people now than in 1953 state that their impression of the U.S. troops has improved as a result of what they have heard about Korea. And most of those who profess not to have changed their views in this regard declare they continue to hold a good opinion of the troops. Only small fractions say either that Korea has given them a lower regard for the Americans, or that the conflict there has done nothing to alter their previous poor estimation of the American fighting man. The question and the two-point trend comparison follow.

"From all you have heard about the fighting in Korea: do you have a better impression of the American soldiers or a worse impression?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>U.S. Zone</u>		<u>Rheinland-Pfalz</u>
	1953	1954	1953	1954	1954
Better	26%	34%	27%	32%	23%
Worse	10	6	9	6	7
The same *	28	-	27	-	-
Equally good	-	17	-	17	13
Equally bad	-	4	-	3	5
Can't decide	30	34	29	35	45
Heard nothing about Korea	6	5	8	7	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

MORE THAN A QUARTER OF THE WEST GERMAN PUBLIC ASSERT THEY NOW HAVE A BETTER IMPRESSION OF U.S. SOLDIERS ...

Thus far all the trends point to increased respect for the combat qualities of the American Forces on the part of the West German public. The trends, moreover, are substantiated by what the German people themselves have to say on the matter. Queried directly as to any change during the past year in their impression of the U.S. soldier as a fighting man, more than a quarter state they now have a better opinion in this respect than formerly. Scarcely anyone claims to have changed his mind in an unfavorable direction. The prevailing attitude is that no change at all has occurred during the past year.

"Has your impression of the American soldiers as a fighting man changed for the better or for the worse during the past year, or has it remained unchanged?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>U.S. Zone</u>	<u>Rheinland-Pfalz</u>
Changed for the better	27%	26%	13%
Changed for the worse	2	1	3
Remained unchanged	46	50	60
No opinion	25	23	24
	100%	100%	100%

- \* In the 1954 survey the category "the same" was refined in order to ascertain whether or not the lack of change in opinions was in a favorable or unfavorable direction. The fact that the direction is so strongly favorable in 1954 suggests that in the 1953 study a similar tendency possibly was present.



**BUT MANY WEST GERMANS STILL HAVE CRITICISMS TO MAKE ABOUT U.S. TROOPS  
FIGHTING ABILITIES ...**

Notwithstanding the fact that West German esteem for the combat qualities of American soldiers appears to be rising, a considerable proportion of the citizens of the Federal Republic continue to feel that as fighters the Americans are not all that is to be desired. This is seen in responses to a series of inquiries calling for spontaneous appraisals of the U.S. fighting man: 1) as compared with the Russians and with former German soldiers, and 2) as to his military strengths and weaknesses. Their comments together with an interpretation of them complete this section of the report.

**PRIMITIVE RUGGEDNESS CONTINUES AS EXPLANATION OF RUSSIAN SUPERIORITY ...**

Pursuing the reasoning behind the ratings accorded soldiers of the various nationalities, this year as in 1953 all those who had rated the Russians superior to the Americans were asked to expound the basis for their opinions. From the comments and trend figures given below it is clear that West Germans hold very definite ideas in respect to what makes the Russians better soldiers than the Americans. Replies made this year repeat almost identically those received in last year's survey, both in tone and frequency. Emphasized again are the qualities of endurance, the primitiveness of the Russian's demands, the discipline invoked by the Communist dictatorship, the Russian's disregard for life and so on.

"Why is the Russian soldier superior to the American?  
(In what respect, in which points?)" (Asked of all  
respondents who mentioned "Russians" before "Ameri-  
cans" in question ranking troops according to fight-  
ing abilities.)

West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland- Pfalz	
'53	'54	'53	'54	1954	
17%	16%	22%	18%	16%	

He has more endurance, is tougher, more brutal:

The Russians have more energy and endurance; the Americans are too civilized for a war, the Russians are more rugged; he is more of a dare-devil; the Russians have always been more used to the hardship of war; the Russian is more persistent under extreme conditions; because he is more ruthless; he is tougher and more rugged; the American soldier is good in the Air Force, but he has little endurance as an infantry soldier, the Russians are tough; the Russian people have had a much harder upbringing; he has more stamina than an American; because they are much better inured to extreme conditions and they can stand a lot more than the Americans; the Russians are rugged and robust, they are not so spoiled and pampered as the Americans; they are not so spoiled, what in the world could Americans do once they got stuck in a Russian winter?; because he is tougher and can take more on the chin; because he is not so pampered physically and can stand hardships much better; the Russians have more endurance, they are not as civilized as the Americans, they have a more rigorous discipline; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

He is less demanding and more easily satisfied:

He lives on a few sunflower seeds and he is not dependent on supplies; he is easily satisfied; he can manage with next to nothing; the Russian soldier doesn't need so much and he can do with little food; the Russians are extremely easily satisfied; their undemandingness, I know the Russians very well, they don't need a thing, the Amis are much more spoiled in regard to clothes and rolling stock, the Russians get everything done with tanks; the Russians can help themselves with the most primitive means, the Americans depend too much on their technics; etc.

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
'53 '54	'53 '54	1954
11% 11%	12% 10%	10%

He is bolstered by Communist ideas, compulsion, dictatorship and strict discipline (Commissars) stand behind him:

Because of his peculiar brand of a philosophy of life, since it has been hammered into him that the Western way of life is the greatest danger for the Russians; because he has been brought up under a dictatorship and is subject to strict discipline, he blindly carries out orders without letting himself be deterred; he is used to unconditional subordination to an order; because of his political indoctrination and fear of the Commissars; he is exposed to a much stronger coercion than an American soldier; because an absolute dictatorship exists in Russia, there is a powerful "must" behind everything; the Russians are more strongly indoctrinated, for 30 years they have been under the same ideological influence; the worst kind of blind obedience out of fear of being shot by their own people; indoctrination through propaganda is made easy by the primitive way of thinking; he is afraid of being shot by the man immediately behind him; the dictatorship won't allow him to retreat; etc.

10	8	9	10	7
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He is brave, courageous and a dare-devil, he is a better soldier:

Because the Russian soldier is a better individual fighter and because the Russian soldier doesn't know anything else but fighting; the American soldier doesn't have as much courage, his weapons are superior, but the average Russian soldier has more courage, the Americans are as likely as not to turn yellow; the Russians are more stupid, they'll run against everything and thus the Russians are more dangerous as fighters, the Amis might be more intelligent, but they are not as death-defiant; the Russians fight much better; the Russians are more ruthless in combat, they aren't such awful cowards; I don't know American soldiers so very well but the Russians are probably greater fighters; the Russians are more audacious, I simply believe that the Russians are brave; etc.

7	7	7	8	10
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(Cont'd on next page)

He is fanatical, dull and indifferent and fights to the last:

The Russian is a fanatical fighter, he'll shoot until he has run out of cartridges; the Russians are sturdy and dogged fighters, they'll never give themselves up; the Russians obey and fight to the last; the Russians don't care a damn about anything, they'll do anything that is asked of them; the Russians are superior because they don't give a hoot about their lives which they are prepared to throw away without a second thought, they never retreat, losses are immaterial to them, the Amis work everything over from the air first; the Russians are stubborn and they pursue an aim without considering the losses; he doesn't cling so much to his life, it's all the same to him, the Amis, on the other hand, lead a comfortable life, for them it is harder to sacrifice their lives; the Russian soldier is more willing to sacrifice himself, he'll risk his life during an attack without batting an eye; etc.

The Russian is a primitive man living close to nature:

The Russian lives close to nature; physically the Russians are the healthiest people, all their people live in close contact with nature and they are not spoiled; the Russian is more of a man in his original state, more of an animal; he has a healthy and rugged nature; etc.

He is superior in numbers:

They have an unlimited number of soldiers at their disposal; they are superior because of the number; etc.

Other answers:

The Russian soldier is better trained, we also fought against him and we lost; Russian weapons don't weigh so much (rifles), they are easy to handle and they are less sensitive; because the Russians fight on the ground and not in the air; on the whole, once you have seen how the Americans came into our country, so lazy and indolent, everything is made so easy for them; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

West Germany		U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfalz	
'53	'54	'53	'54	1954
7%	5%	7%	6%	6%

5      5      6      6      5

1      1      1      1      1

2      1      2      2      1

$\frac{1}{61\%}$   $\frac{3}{57\%}$   $\frac{2}{70\%}$   $\frac{4}{65\%}$   $\frac{3}{59\%}$

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

VIS-A-VIS GERMAN SOLDIERS, THE AMERICAN SOLDIER ALSO IS LACKING IN PARTICULAR MILITARY VIRTUES ...

Another approach to the appraisal of U.S. soldiers as fighting men was to ask West Germans in what respect the Americans do not measure up to former German soldiers. (As already reported the great bulk of Germans regard their soldiers as superior to all others.) Aside from such expressions of patriotic and national pride as could be expected in such a comparison, the tenor of comments bears considerable resemblance to what was said of the Americans vis-a-vis the Russians. The American soldier is inferior to the German in respect to courage, stamina, discipline and training.

"In what respects, would you say, are the American soldiers inferior to the former German soldiers?"  
(Asked of all those who ranked the German soldiers above the American soldiers.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>The German soldier had more courage, bravery, defiance of death and dare-devil spirit (or the Americans are deficient in these qualities):</u>	20%	21%	23%

The Germans are more courageous, Americans and the British are more faint-hearted; as far as courage is concerned, they prefer to let others do the fighting for them; the Americans were superior to us in regard to materiel, but the Germans have courage; the Germans are always willing to do their utmost and they stick it out in a lost position without fear; the American soldiers are yellow; the Germans are more courageous, one of my acquaintances told me that Americans are more afraid of one German prisoner than of six Frenchmen; the Americans don't have the courage of the Germans, they even were afraid of wounded soldiers; due to the influence of Prussian militarism the German soldier has a better fighting heart; the Germans have more of an attacking spirit, they are more heroic in battle; the Americans don't have the same courage and pluck, they lack fighting spirit; the Germans have more heroic qualities, they are more courageous, tougher and harder than the Americans, the German is more of a born fighter; he is more of a dare-devil, once he is attacking you can't stop him contrary to the Americans who rely on their weapons, whereas the Germans rely on a spirit of death-defiance and fidelity; the American soldier is not much of an attacker, he doesn't last under fire, today, after many years of training he should have become more soldierly and war-like; the Americans simply value life more, they are out to spare lives; the Americans are not steadfast; simply because the German soldier is brave; because the American soldier clings too much to his life, he has no ideals and lives too well and doesn't like the idea of dying too much because life is so beautiful for him; he is too yellow and takes to his heels too easily; he doesn't fight as heroically as the German, he cannot be used in so many situations as the German; they don't have much of a heart for attacking; the German has more pluck; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

The German soldier had more endurance and stamina and was less demanding (or American soldiers lack stamina, demand too much):

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
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18%	18%	19%
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Because of their endurance and toughness, German soldiers often didn't have anything to eat and still they fought on when Americans would have broken down long ago; they would never have lasted that long, they lack the endurance which our soldiers showed during the war, they are not as tough and brave; the German soldier is satisfied much more easily and is tougher; because the German soldier has more stamina, the Americans are not inured to cold; as far as endurance was concerned, the German soldier was worth ten others; as far as endurance under difficult conditions is concerned, they can't get along on little as the Germans can; they are more spoiled and pampered and they don't take their superiors so seriously, they ask for good food wherever they go; the American has become a softie because of the wrong kind of nutrition; the Americans cannot endure hardships; we have better stamina and are not so pampered; the American soldier is used to greater comforts, the German soldier is more easily satisfied, he can also manage with low pay or little food; I think the German soldier can stand hardships better; the German soldier has more endurance and is a more dogged fighter; the American soldier would never be able to endure what German soldiers had to endure in regard to poor food; etc.

The German soldier was more obedient and better disciplined (or Americans lack discipline, are too independent):

12	13	13
----	----	----

A certain blind obedience makes the German capable of carrying out orders doggedly, the German doesn't give much thought to why an order from headquarters has to be carried out, he merely acts according to the order; as far as obedience is concerned, in our army every order had to be carried out, but that's not so in the American Army; they don't have as much soldierly discipline as the Germans; the German soldier blindly carried out his orders out of a sense of obedience, something which the American soldier didn't do, he rather gave up; blind obedience isn't so much an inherent quality of the American soldier, therefore there are bound to be different opinions within an American unit which won't improve its fighting power; the German will carry out his orders, come hell or high water, I was in the front-line myself; because Americans take everything easier, discipline isn't ingrained in their bones, but the Americans can also afford that; the Germans knew discipline and order and organization, which the Americans didn't know; German discipline results in greater combat efficiency, that has been proved beyond doubt, the Americans are too lazy and undisciplined; they are not aware of their duties, discipline is ingrained in every German that makes all the difference; because they have no discipline at all, they have no soldierly bearing whatever; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>The German soldier had a more rigorous and better training (or the American lacks discipline and drill):</u>	11%	13%	10%
The German soldier was better trained and he was completely familiar with the terrain; they didn't go through rigorous training like the German soldiers did; as American soldiers didn't have to go through rigorous drilling, they were not well enough trained, they are very lazy; because German training is tougher; the American lacks the right training, the German drill, the Prussian spirit; the German soldier was better trained, he had been kicked around more in camp, the Americans are too lazy; basic training was tougher with us, the Americans have too much leisure time; the German soldier had more basic training, he had to go through more drilling; because he isn't as well trained as the German soldier; etc.			
<u>The German soldier was superior as an infantryman and as an individual fighter (or Americans are not good infantrymen or individual fighters):</u>	9	9	7
Yes, our soldiers have always been the best after all, really, the infantryman accomplishes things which nobody else is able to equal; the German soldier has always been excellent as an individual fighter, our infantry was probably the best; the German infantryman stands above all others; Americans lack infantry training; the German soldier is better on the ground, the Amis only drove up in cars, just like jack-in-the-box, the Germans had to accomplish a great deal more; he is not such a tough individual fighter when he is deprived of technical means; on a lonely outpost the German soldier is able to handle a critical situation without orders from his superiors; because they are not so good as the Germans are during a scuffle on the ground; the Americans are inferior in ground fighting; the American is no infantryman and a bad fighter at close range; etc.			
<u>The American soldier relies on the material and technical superiority of his weapons:</u>	8	6	10
The Americans rely more on their equipment which is outstanding in quality; the Americans can rely more on their materiel, therefore they don't have to put themselves out so much; if the American soldier senses resistance, all of the heavy weapons will be used until the resistance has been broken; because they never had to fight under the same conditions as the Germans had, they always had more materiel on which they could rely; the Americans only boast of their weapons; the Americans will only attack if they crush the enemy with their materiel; the Americans can achieve something only if they are in masses and with the best of technical support; they make themselves more dependent on the motorized weapons; they did everything with their planes during the war, we wouldn't have lost if they hadn't had so much materiel; etc.			

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	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>The Germans have proved to be excellent soldiers through the ages:</u>	6%	5%	5%
The German soldier has always been the best; the German soldier will undoubtedly be always considered one of the most able fighters; our soldiers always fought bravely in all wars; the Germans always had to endure a lot of hardships and they always fought well; the German soldiers conquered almost the whole of Europe, that was an achievement, after all; at any rate, the German soldier proved his qualities during two wars; the German has a completely different concept of soldiering, it's just that we are born militarists, we've got a lot of pluck in us; the German will give everything that's in him as a soldier; the Germans are the most efficient workers and they are best at all other things, too; etc.			
<u>The German soldiers fought (unlike the Americans) for their homeland, their fatherland:</u>	4	3	3
The Germans fight for their homeland, that's an important point; the Germans always fight for their fatherland, consequently they make a better stand, their fighting has a higher meaning; we had so much love for our fatherland, that we were ready to sacrifice everything for it, an American won't do that; all nations are mixed together in America while the Germans fight for their very own country; the Germans know what they are fighting for, the Americans always fight for land which doesn't belong to them; there was more at stake for Germany and therefore soldiers were braver, the American only fights for his pay; Americans don't fight so hard and stolidly because the enemy was not in their own country, the last two wars have proved that; etc.			
<u>The Germans are good soldiers (in general):</u>	3	3	5
The German soldier has proved himself as the best soldier in the world next to the Japanese soldier; the German is more of a soldier than the American; the German <u>is</u> a soldier, the American plays the role of a soldier; etc.			
<u>The American soldier lacks the combat experience of the German soldier:</u>	2	1	1
The German soldiers are more war-experienced and they can better adapt themselves to an emergency; the American Army is still too new whereas the German Army had always to fight for its existence and bare life; they weren't so long and so continuously in combat, and consequently they should be lacking in combat experience; it was always like this, the German soldier has a fame of long standing, the Americans haven't had to go through any gruelling experiences yet, that isn't their fault but the best soldiers are made in foxholes; etc.			
<u>Other answers:</u>	2	2	3
Money plays a big role among Americans and idealism is lacking; the Germans have a more serious attitude towards war whereas Americans regard it as a kind of sport; the Germans are superior because of their intelligence, because of their better grasp and knowledge of military aims; etc.			
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	7 102%*	11 105%*	8 107%*
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.			

# THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER AS A FIGHTING MAN ...

Additional inquiries suggest that many West Germans believe that the Americans tend to lack the more ruggedly military virtues not only as compared with the Russian and German soldiers but essentially. This is evident from replies to two inquiries: one seeking Germans' views on what they consider the U.S. soldiers weak points, and the other their suggestions on how the combat qualities of the Americans "could be improved." Balancing these negative queries was one regarding the strong points of the American soldier.

However, it is important to emphasize before going into West German specifications of the U.S. troops strengths and weaknesses that though the Germans do not hesitate to point out faults, they find somewhat more to praise than to asperse, as the following summary table indicates:

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Name strong points	57%	54%	57%
Has none	5	5	6
No opinion	38	41	37
	100%	100%	100%
Name weak points	48%	52%	52%
Has none	3	2	1
No opinion	49	46	47
	100%	100%	100%
Net favorable balance	+9	+2	+5

## STRENGTHS OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS LIE LARGELY IN THEIR MATERIAL ADVANTAGES ...

Aside from the excellent material and equipment available to the American soldier, which tops by a wide margin in German opinion all other factors contributing to his combat strengths, his physical and psychological well-being, resulting either from good food and high pay or from fellowship between the ranks and officers is frequently cited. In addition, quite a few refer to his humane traits, his friendliness and kindness as an important factor making for a good combat soldier. And some few cite his patriotic and military virtues - his ideal of freedom, his bravery, his alertness.

As a reading of the comments will suggest, West Germans mainly regard the American combat soldier favorably as a healthy, nice person, strongly supported by the technological achievements of the United States in respect to warfare.

"As to the American soldier as fighting man, what strong points could you mention?  
Aside from material resources, equipment, etc., does the American soldier have any other strong points?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
<u>His ample material resources, high quality materiel and equipment:</u>	37%	36%	37%
They have great self-confidence due to their ample material resources; He is better equipped; He has better chances because he has the better equipment as a soldier; they all have modern weapons; it is their superiority in materiel; the American army is effective only because of its technical equipment; that they are technically much better equipped; in that he can avail himself of better and more materiel which he may use generously; he can			

(Cont'd on next page)

West	U.S.	Rheinland-
Germany	Zone	Pfalz

fire as many rounds as he pleases, because the Amis don't know a shortage of ammunition; he is armed to the teeth - two infantrymen, one tank; support by Naval and Air Forces and that in enormous numbers; he has modern weapons, especially atomic weapons; because the army is largely mechanized; the superiority in the air; in technics; he doesn't have to rely so much on himself because his country is richer; they will be less exhausted due to the large number of vehicles and their ample equipment, thus they are more relaxed; they've got plenty of vehicles of any description, they needn't go slow on materiel; etc.

His excellent food and pay:

13%	12%	13%
-----	-----	-----

They get good pay, excellent food and frequent leave, that makes a lot of difference; they are also better paid and that's very important, they certainly got a better deal than the German soldiers; good food, better than what our soldiers got, therefore he should be able to stand a lot more; he is well fed and therefore capable of fulfilling tasks that require a lot of strength; he is the best-paid soldier of the world; he is better paid; they get a lot of money; they are kept supplied in all respects much better by their homeland; their country is rich and it can afford to pay the soldiers well; they are well fed and well paid and therefore they are contented; etc.

The favorable treatment he receives - fellowship between the ranks and their superiors:

9	9	9
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Greater freedom, more comfort; he does not feel so pressed, he does everything more voluntarily; in training more consideration is shown to the individual than over here; more freedom of action, no stubborn militarism; easy discipline, not so strict in every respect; because he has a free will, there are not so many restrictions for him; he is more apt to volunteer because he is not so much subjected to coercion; the American soldier does not have as much drill as the German, he is more relaxed; he carries out his orders promptly, but still enjoys a certain measure of freedom. Things aren't overdone as they are so frequently over here; That he does not have to observe such strict discipline toward his superiors as the German soldier; they have more spare time than the Germans, they will not be punished for trifles, they may be pretty frank with their superiors; the American is more independent than the German and can afford to be that way; they have more personal liberty than the Germans; more generous, fewer restrictions; the gap between officers and men is not so wide, they are on more companionable terms; etc.

His good personal traits - humane, kind, friendly, etc:

7	7	8
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He is helpful; he is helpful and gallant toward women and children; he is not such a fanatic fighter, he is not obsessed by an idea, he does not feel such bitter hatred; the individual soldier is humane as a rule; he is very companionable; more human, not such an uninspired dog-face, not so thoughtless; as compared with other nations, the Americans have treated their prisoners properly; that they soon get in contact

(Cont'd on next page)

West U.S. Rheinland-  
Germany Zone Pfalz

with the civilian population of the occupied country; they are not so mean; perhaps not as brutal as the Russians, perhaps more helpful as friends; I respect the Americans, they are very honorable, they are very friendly as soldiers; I would characterize him as a sportsmanlike and fair fighter; individual Americans are very gentlemanly; his frank character, he does not lie, he has a sound sense of justice, is very helpful; they are not wild, in 1945 they came to our village and behaved like decent soldiers; they have a sense of humor, their equanimity can hardly be disturbed; they were not rude, they have behaved decently as victors; they did not swipe anything, in some cases they even gave things to people when they made their home here after the invasion; his unconstrained attitude; that they do not steal and they leave the civilian population alone; to me he appears to be a good man; they are humane, as soldiers they are not like the Russians, they are more decent in every respect; once the enemy is beaten Americans will help immediately; etc.

His military and patriotic virtues - sense of values, alertness:

7%

5%

5%

As a soldier he thinks more and does not rush so blindly into the enemy fire; they are always ready to go into action; quick witted, more speed; they are dare-devils, not relying so much on the partner; as compared with the others except for the Germans, he is not a bad fighter; I believe that he is now brave and steadfast because every soldier knows that in a future war his personal freedom is at stake; as far as I am informed about the Korean war, they are tough in taking blows, it is a fact that the Reds have not reached their aims in Korea, this required a good deal of resistance, this means quite something in a far-off country; in his attitude toward duty, he has the ability to subordinate himself; they have good discipline; disciplined behavior of the troops; they are true Christians and capable of enthusiasm in fighting for their country; their conception of freedom, they all consider themselves fighters in the front rank for freedom; in fact they seem to be good, reliable, and conscientious soldiers; is smart in thinking; intellectual flexibility; he is quick to adopt innovations; somewhat more thoughtful in his doings; etc.

His excellent physical stamina (due to training, sports, diet, etc):

5

3

5

He has a very good physical training; sportsmanlike, very tough; they have a lot of sports activities, they are physically quite fit; toughness, most of them are good sportsmen; good physical condition; he is very hard and tough; American soldiers are good sportsmen; the Americans are strong and healthy; they are tall and sturdy; perhaps they are healthier and more robust. The soldiers who were here seemed to be very robust; they have the power to hold out, they don't give in so easily; more energetic due to their upbringing; they are very good sportsmen which comes in handy for them as soldiers; he is a sportsman, the entire military machinery is based on sports; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>His military training, especially in technical matters, use of weapons:</u>	3%	2%	3%
He gets the best training; he is better trained in the use of technical weapons; the troops are well trained; he gets a very good training in all arms that he carries or operates; longer training especially in technical fields; perhaps better trained, more familiar with the various weapons; he has a more comprehensive training, he is more independent; because they are brought up and trained with a view to greater independence for the individual, and because their training is carried out in a very realistic way, e.g. training with live ammunition; due to the individual training, there are no routine methods as in our country; they are more familiar with mechanized instruments of war than the Germans; he knows how to handle technical matters; etc.			
<u>His ability in particular aspects of warfare:</u>	1	1	1
He is good at hatching stratagems and at camouflage; he is good at street fighting where he has protection and where he can sneak up; they are good as commandoes and, therefore as parachute troops; they are dare-devils in flying; they are good at dropping bombs; I think he is good in aviation; the flyers were the best; etc.			
<u>Other qualities:</u>	1	1	2
Because there is a lot of German blood in the Americans; perhaps the large number of people, otherwise hardly anything; he is strong because he has a rich country behind him that supports him; they have an international army; he who has money rules the world; etc.			
<u>He has no strong points:</u>	5	5	6
He has no strong points; don't know what strong points they should have; I don't know any, he has not proved any so far; none, the supply units worked well, they lived riotously even in the front lines; how can you ask for strong points when I am telling you that they behave on the street like pigs, there is a bar just across the street and what is going on there is incredible; cannot give any, when I first met them I found them very timid; etc.			
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{38}{126}^{**}$	$\frac{41}{122}^{**}$	$\frac{37}{126}^{**}$

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## LACK OF RUGGEDNESS, AGGRESSIVENESS, DRILL AMONG AMERICAN SOLDIERS' WEAKNESSES ...

Among the military failings Germans ascribe to the American soldier when queried on the point (about half are unprepared to make any adverse criticisms, as already noted) are that he lacks toughness because he is pampered and depends too much on his accustomed comforts, he hesitates to risk his life in battle or lacks aggressiveness, his training is not rigorous enough, and so on. The emphasis on such aspects when listing the weaknesses of the American soldier plus the failure of any but a few to cite ruggedness, courage and military discipline as among his strengths, make it clearly evident that however the West Germans regard the American soldier, he does not completely fit the traditional German pattern of a military man.

"And as a fighting man, what are his weak points?"

"And aside from this, what other weak points does he have?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>He lacks toughness, is too pampered:</u>	20%	20%	18%

American soldiers are a little pampered in regard to food and accommodations; they are soft; they like to lead an easy life; they like to take it easy, they don't like to walk, they want to amuse themselves and things like that; they are a little indolent; as they are used to a high standard of living, they take a very dim view of military life, they don't like to exert themselves; they can't live without the amenities of life; their billets are more luxuriously furnished, they'll mind hitting the dirt much more than the Germans do; they are pretty demanding in their personal requirements; they can't do without the amenities of life, even during a campaign, they feel a war mustn't involve hardships for them; they are pretty demanding, just compare their rations to ours; they aren't so tough as other soldiers are; they aren't tough and enduring enough; no perseverance, they are too unstable; they aren't good at marching as they aren't used to hardships; from a psychological and moral point of view, the American soldiers aren't strong, they've had little combat experience so far, if they come face to face with human misery, they are apt to crack up; they aren't so good at braving set-backs; they are less likely to live up to a grave crisis than other soldiers are; they are Saturday night soldiers, they go into action with freshly pressed pants; etc.

<u>He lacks aggressiveness, prefers to save his life:</u>	15	14	14
They aren't so audacious as the Germans are; they have cold feet; not much of a dare-devil; they aren't bold, they are over-cautious; they aren't courageous, they are cowards, a cat could scare them off; I believe they don't like man-to-man fighting; he is too cautious in combat; as soon as American soldiers realize that they are outnumbered, they beat it; that he spares himself, he hasn't got the courage a soldier has to have to be regarded as an excellent soldier; they aren't easily willing to make extreme sacrifices; courage			

(Cont'd on next page)

West	U.S.	Rheinland
Germany	Zone	Pfalz

certainly isn't his strong point; though this doesn't go for all, it's safe to say that the majority of them got the jitters; no fighting spirit; they haven't got much courage, when the "Amis" arrived, we just laughed in spite of the sorry situation we were in, for days they were too cowardly to leave the woods; he isn't a good infantry soldier; he is afraid of man-to-man fighting; when they realize that they are going to lose, they'll beat it; that they are apt to send others into the fire first; no fighter type, just mercenaries; distrust, fear, cowardice; etc.

He lacks discipline and rigorous trainings:

9%

9%

15%

I think they don't have so much discipline; that his carriage is lax, his discipline toward his superiors isn't so good; he doesn't have so much respect for his superiors; they lack military spirit and their soldierly training isn't thorough; that the training they get doesn't make tough fighters out of them; military training should be planned along different lines, it should be just as rigorous as the Prussian drill of old; they have no real drill, they lack a Prussian-type military code; they are not so orderly, it's hard for them to subordinate themselves because they don't have such a strict discipline; they lack rigorous drilling, you could see that in Korea where 70 per cent of the soldiers didn't fight; lax training; when they are on guard duty, they put their hands into their pockets and dangle a cigarette in their mouths, I think that's rather peculiar; too much freedom is granted during military training; they aren't trained so rigorously; their soldierly bearing isn't so good as that of the former German soldiers; etc.

He depends too much on superiority in materiel and equipment:

7

4

4

Without plenty of arms and war materiel they won't start anything; they rely on their guns and their modern equipment; once their motorized units don't outnumber the enemy, they display little courage; as far as I remember them from the days of front-line fighting, they beat it as soon as they realize they can't break through with their arms; they rely too heavily on their technical superiority; if they don't have sufficient materiel, they just won't fight; he relies too much on support by heavy weapons; they don't attack, they do their fighting with their atomic weapons and their planes, whenever things get tough, they employ remote-controlled weapons; they depend on their arms; they are incapable of using primitive fighting methods and primitive means; they depend too heavily on their tanks and planes; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
5%	8%	8%

His fondness for women:

Women are their weakness; their contact with German women; that they like to fool around with girls; they seduce girls; the soldiers can well play the role of cavaliers due to their high pay; because they fool around too much with women; I guess they are awfully fond of women; they think they can do with German women what they please; that they run after the girls; that they fool around with women too much and often seduce them; etc.

His love of alcohol:

Drinking; that taste for schnapps; their preference for liquor; they drink too much, at least here in Germany; it's an unpleasant thing that they are drunk so often; he likes to booze; when they came over, they made a bee-line for the next bar, and I guess things haven't changed in the meantime; that he drinks too much; he starts boozing, whenever he's got some time on his hands; they are fond of drinking schnapps; etc.

His general behavior and manners:

His rather slack behavior; that they put their feet on the table; they haven't got much tact; they have a rather loud manner; their gangster-like behavior, their rudeness; chewing gum and cigarettes are indispensable requisites for them; their constant chewing, I think that's awful; he is too slack, in my opinion; they quickly get into quarrels; that none of the soldiers knows how to behave properly; etc.

His lack of military enthusiasm:

That they don't have the national pride that places the fatherland above individual interests; they are not so patriotic, perhaps the Ami doesn't like it so much to be a soldier; he considers being a soldier as too much of a "must"; they don't have so much national pride as the others; I should think that they don't have the right attitude toward war; they lack an idea for which to fight, the American is a mass type who is not attached to his hearth and homeland like the German; for them war means just business; he considers everything to be too much of a sport and ignores the serious side of a matter; he takes things too easy; that they don't really know what they should defend in Europe, thousands of kilometers away from their home country; he considers war to be a job assignment, he quits in the evening and starts fighting again next morning; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfals
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2%	2%	2%
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Other weak points:

He attributes too much importance to his ego, he overrates his importance; his private life and his military life don't make a harmonious whole; they lack combat experience; military leadership; morale; they are pretty happy-go-lucky, they don't take things seriously enough; they aren't real soldiers, it's all just for show; they treat their prisoners badly; you have to ask those people who have had contact with them, they should have treated the prisoners better in the past; etc.

No weak points:

They don't seem to have any, they won the war, after all; the average soldier doesn't have any weak points; he doesn't have any weak points; etc.

3	2	1
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No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{49}{121\%}^{**}$	$\frac{46}{123\%}^{**}$	$\frac{47}{125\%}^{**}$
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\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## AMERICAN SOLDIERS NEED MORE DRILL AND RIGOROUS TRAINING GENERALLY ...

In order to probe further into criticisms West Germans have of American troops, they were asked to make suggestions on how to improve the combat qualities of the U.S. soldiers. Again, the evidence suggests that in German opinion the chief failing of the Americans is that they do not conform to the German military tradition. In fact the most frequent single suggestion is that Germans be invited to help drill and train the American troops. And those that do not go this far, emphasize the need for more rigorous training with special reference to drill, presumably of the Prussian type.

"According to your views, what could the American Army do to improve the fighting qualities of the American soldier?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>Use German instructors and experienced German specialists, or German soldiers and introduce harsher training and drill in the Prussian-German manner:</u>	17%	19%	20%
Introduce the rigorousness which we were used to; send German instructors over; they should take on us old grizzled officers as instructors; they should learn something from the Germans and mix more with the Germans; they should join with the Germans, one should accept the good points from the other; they should put them through as many hardships on the training grounds as it was customary with us; at least two years of tough training as with the Germans; they should adopt some things from the Germans, what they need is German instructors; he could very well be trained according to the old Prussian code, though only its positive aspects should be considered, to be sure; the military instructors should be tougher, the soldier should be as hungry once in a while and also as dirty sometimes as we were; German drill should be introduced; he might develop more courage if the German soldier would be shown to him as a model; give them a more rigorous training so they might get to be like German soldiers; they should mix Americans and Germans, I can't think of any other suggestion, after all, you can't instill courage into a person; they should be trained together with the future German soldiers; the same discipline which we German soldiers had; introduce that kind of drill which the German soldiers had to take; put them under German command, in order to teach them discipline; etc.			
<u>Give them a more intensive training and a better education:</u>	15	17	13
A more rigorous training; intensify the training; they should keep them under close control; they should make the recruits get on the ball; they should make them snap to it, if those boys don't have the time to think so much, they'll make better soldiers, they must simply cut down the soldiers' pay and be a little tougher with them during drill; teach them soldierly bearing, you can still see it			

(Cont'd on next page)

West	U.S.	Rheinland-
Germany	Zone	Pfalz

in an old man whether he was a soldier once or not; they should be a little firmer with them during training; roll-calls should be better organized and snappier; treat them more roughly, so that they can stand more; he should be trained in a more rugged and tougher manner; the laxness in drill should disappear; they should teach them more discipline, they should rough them up; make him go through more drill; drill should be rougher; give their troops a more rigorous training; have more military exercises; better training with all the trimmings; tougher drill; a tougher training for the soldiers; etc.

Maintain more discipline, order and obedience:

11% 14% 13%

More rigorous discipline; introduce a somewhat more stern discipline and order; they could enforce discipline more strictly, but the soldiers won't like it; inspire a greater respect for officers in them, more distance between soldiers and officers; more rigorous discipline should be introduced and exacted; the American soldier should learn to obey orders blindly, that's the only way to achieve military successes; heavier penalties for offenders; education towards greater obedience; harder discipline; etc.

Train him for harder life, don't pamper and spoil him:

10 11 16

They should train the American soldiers in a more Spartan spirit as far as the American mentality permits this; train him to be able to do with less food and still retain his fighting spirit; they could also train the soldiers in peace to be less demanding; don't let them lead such an easy life; by not granting them so many liberties; teach them to get along on little; by not paying them so well that they can afford just everything; by not making military service a plush job for the individual; doing away with many comforts; he must be weaned from all those luxurious things; sounder nutrition, no sweet stuff; a more simple and nourishing diet, no white bread; not so many liberties and off-duty hours; not giving him so much leave; etc.

Emphasize infantry training and instruction about terrain and individual fighting:

6 5 5

Better training as an infantryman and individual fighter; more field practice, also night maneuvers, then you bet those boys won't be finicky any more; more rigorous combat training without blind obedience, more emphasis must be put on infantry training; adopt the methods of the German and Russian infantry; attribute more importance to the infantry; the individual soldier should be instructed more thoroughly so that he will become a tough fighter; especially in regard to individual training and the instruction of very small groups; doing much more infantry drill, a lot more maneuvers; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfalz
<u>Intensify political indoctrination and education:</u>	3%	3%	3%
Make him realize more clearly the menace from the East, the American soldier cares too little about politics, he must be taught that the Russians are a danger to him, too, and reminded of what happened to the Germans after they had lost a war; by giving better information to the soldiers about the dangers of international Communism; make the soldier realize that he is defending his own frontiers in other countries; they must make him realize that he is defending his own country over here; the only opportunity lies in influencing the soldiers by means of propaganda, the necessity of fighting should be explained to them; as long as a soldier doesn't know what he is fighting for, he will never make a good soldier; he must be weaned from his fear, otherwise he won't get very far with the Russians; etc.			
<u>Train them to be independent of materiel, mobile equipment and heavy weapons:</u>	1	1	2
To instill the idea in him to give his very best and not just to rely on the materiel; they shouldn't rely so much on their mobile equipment; not to give him so much support from the air but to tell him that he himself should give his best, this should be broken to them during basic training; not rely on their planes alone; teach him not to rely completely on his heavy weapons; don't hand out so much equipment; etc.			
<u>Other suggestions:</u>	3	3	2
Subject the officers to a rigid test; take more energetic measures against the camp followers, do more to keep them away from the American soldiers, a lot could be done in this respect, I feel there is a danger of the Americans getting demoralized; cooperate with the Germans on house building projects by lending their trucks; give them a tougher education when at school; they shouldn't pocket so much money from us but give jobs to the workingmen, and what else could they do but give them front-line experience, which will make them tougher; better solidarity within the units; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfalz
4%	4%	3%

Do nothing:

They can't do anything else, I am in favor of their training methods because they are not so rigorous, too much drill won't do any good; nothing can be improved upon; all necessary things have been done already in regard to equipment and materiel; they are strong enough for my money; he can't become more efficient, for he is a good fighter; almost nothing, for the vital things are within the men; America is made up of many nationalities and because of that the State won't be able to effect great changes in the soldiers as they are today; I don't believe that the fighting qualities of a soldier can be improved, he is either good or less good, it all depends on his moral fiber; nothing at all, it must be inherent in a nation and the Amis just haven't got it; they should release all their soldiers, and once there are no more soldiers we will have no more wars; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{49}{119\%}$ **	$\frac{43}{120\%}$ **	$\frac{46}{123\%}$ **
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\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

UPPER STATUS GROUPS CONTINUE TO GIVE EDGE TO RUSSIANS OVER AMERICANS FOR SECOND-PLACE RATING ...

Whereas the gap between the Russians and Americans for second-place ranking has narrowed in West Germany as a whole it remains relatively wide among certain groups, notably the upper status elements in the population. In fact, one of the very few instances in this entire study where departures in the trends occur within specific groups occurs here. Specifically the better educated people more frequently rank the Russians as second-best this year than last, while no change has occurred in their rating of the Americans. The trend for the educational group is:

	Americans		Russians	
	1953	1954	1953	1954
Elementary school	20%	25%	31%	29%
Above elementary	19	17	33	43

Otherwise there are no marked departures within groups, therefore as throughout this report, only this year's figures are presented.

"All in all, who in your opinion makes the best fighter as an individual soldier? And who is in second place?"

	Americans	Russians	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>			
Men	22%	43%	713
Women	25	22	882
<b>Age:</b>			
Up to 24 years	28	39	170
25 - 34 "	20	45	325
35 - 44 "	20	33	335
45 - 54 "	28	30	367
55 years and over	26	20	386
<b>Income:</b>			
Up to 299 DM	25	25	755
300 - 499 DM	24	39	537
500 - 699 DM	18	39	163
700 DM and more	29	42	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>			
SPD	28	35	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	27	31	720
Other parties	5	55	38
No party	18	35	325
Undecided	17	21	222
<b>Occupation:</b>			
Professionals	16	41	64
Businessmen	23	34	173
White-collar workers	24	36	216
Skilled laborers	20	37	311
Semi-skilled laborers	25	35	211
Farmers	21	35	176
Housewives	29	23	64
Unemployed	18	27	49
Not empl.: pensioners; retired; etc.	20	18	297
<b>Religion:</b>			
Catholics	22	31	752
Protestants	25	33	783
<b>Origin:</b>			
Natives	23	31	1277
Expellees, Refugees	26	30	319
<b>Veteran Status:</b>			
Veteran, First World War	26	23	121
Veteran, Second World War	18	49	122
Veteran, both World Wars	18	50	295
Non-Veteran	30	40	166



GROUP DIFFERENCES NOT MARKED REGARDING THE WAY U.S. TROOPS WOULD MEET  
A RUSSIAN ATTACK ...

As to how American troops now in Germany would meet a Russian attack, should one occur, group differences are not sharply differentiated. The strongly prevailing opinion among all population elements is that the U.S. troops would give a good rather than a fair or poor account of themselves in such an event.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now would fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

	Well	Fairly well (volunteered)	Poorly	Undecided	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	50%	19%	17%	14%...100%	713
Women	48	14	11	27	882
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	47	16	13	24	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	49	18	19	15	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	52	25	20	3	76
(Above elementary	50	19	19	12	291)
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 24 years	47	19	17	17	170
25 - 34 "	46	22	15	17	325
35 - 44 "	45	18	14	23	335
45 - 54 "	52	15	14	19	367
55 years and over	50	11	11	28	386
<b>Income:</b>					
Up to 299 DM	46	14	13	27	755
300 - 499 DM	50	20	15	15	537
500 - 699 DM	61	17	10	12	163
700 DM and more	47	29	17	7	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	50	20	16	14	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	57	16	12	15	720
Other parties	35	18	29	18	38
No party	40	17	15	28	325
Undecided	36	12	12	40	222
<b>Occupation:</b>					
Professionals	44	20	20	8	64
Businessmen	49	23	14	14	173
White-collar workers	49	21	16	14	216
Skilled laborers	52	14	14	20	311
Semi-skilled laborers	45	15	14	26	211
Farmers	35	16	19	30	176
Housewives	47	9	11	33	64
Not empl.: pensioners; retired; etc.	54	12	9	25	297
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	50	14	15	21	752
Protestants	48	18	13	21	783
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	48	15	14	23	1277
Expellees, Refugees	50	20	14	16	319
<b>Veteran Status:</b>					
Veteran, First World War	60	15	12	13	121
Veteran, Second World War	40	23	23	14	122
Veteran, both World Wars	49	20	17	14	295
Non-Veteran	50	18	17	15	166

## KOREAN RECORD HAS MADE A PARTICULARLY GOOD IMPRESSION ON UPPER STATUS GROUPS ...

The higher socio-economic status groups are more likely than others to have gained a more favorable impression of American combat qualities from the Korea fighting. Aside from this, reactions of population groups are not markedly different.

"From all you have heard about the fighting in Korea: do you have a better impression of the American soldiers or a worse impression?"

	Better	Worse	Equally good	Equally bad	Can't decide whether better or worse	Heard nothing about Korea	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>							
Men	43%	7%	18%	4%	26%	2%..100%	713
Women	28	4	17	3	40	8	882
<b>Education:</b>							
Elementary school	33	5	16	3	37	6	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	42	6	23	6	21	2	215
Diploma(Abitur),University	43	14	21	3	19	-	76
(Above elementary	42	8	23	5	20	2	291)
<b>Age:</b>							
Up to 24 years	40	6	16	5	28	5	170
25 - 34 "	38	7	20	5	27	3	325
35 - 44 "	28	3	18	4	41	6	335
45 - 54 "	37	7	17	3	32	4	367
55 years and over	33	5	15	2	38	7	386
<b>Income:</b>							
Up to 299 DM	32	5	14	3	39	7	755
300 - 499 "	35	6	20	4	31	4	537
500 - 699 "	38	7	25	4	24	2	163
700 DM and more	53	7	16	1	23	-	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>							
SPD	39	8	16	3	31	3	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	42	5	19	4	27	3	720
Other parties	29	5	10	16	32	8	38
No party	26	5	19	3	39	8	325
Undecided	18	4	14	1	52	11	222
<b>Occupation:</b>							
Professionals	44	8	22	5	18	3	64
Businessmen	38	6	19	6	28	3	173
White-collar workers	33	6	24	3	32	2	216
Skilled laborers	37	7	17	4	31	4	311
Semi-skilled laborers	37	4	11	4	39	5	211
Farmers	28	5	12	2	44	9	176
Housewives	32	-	22	2	39	5	64
Not empl.: pensioners; retired; etc.	33	4	18	3	34	8	297
<b>Religion:</b>							
Catholics	38	5	15	3	33	6	752
Protestants	31	5	21	4	35	4	783
<b>Origin:</b>							
Natives	35	6	16	3	35	5	1277
Expellees, Refugees	33	5	23	4	31	4	319
<b>Veteran Status:</b>							
Veteran, First World War	49	5	12	3	29	2	121
Veteran, Second World War	39	8	18	9	26	-	122
Veteran, both World Wars	42	7	23	3	25	-	295
Non-veteran	42	9	15	4	26	4	166

**MAIN TENDENCY IN MOST POPULATION GROUPS IS TO REPORT "NO CHANGE" IN IMPRESSION OF FIGHTING QUALITIES OF U.S. TROOPS ...**

The prevailing tendency among all groups is to say that their impression of the combat qualities of the American troops has remained unchanged during the past year rather than improved or worsened. However, veterans of World War I (and men generally) more frequently than others report having gained a better impression.

"Has your opinion of the American soldier as fighting man changed for the better or for the worse during the past year, or has it remained unchanged?"

	Changed for the better	Changed for the worse	Remained unchanged	No opinion	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	34%	2%	49%	15%...100%	713
Women	22	2	43	33	882
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	27	2	44	27	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	30	1	54	15	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	26	4	58	12	76
(Above elementary)	29	2	55	14	291)
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 24 years	28	2	51	19	170
25 - 34 "	30	1	52	17	325
35 - 44 "	23	1	50	26	335
45 - 54 "	29	2	44	25	367
55 years and over	28	1	41	30	386
<b>Income:</b>					
Up to 299 DM	26	1	44	29	755
300 - 499 DM	32	2	49	17	537
500 - 699 DM	27	2	51	20	163
700 DM and more	26	1	60	13	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	29	2	54	15	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	34	2	45	19	720
Other parties	13	-	71	16	38
No party	20	2	47	31	325
Undecided	18	*	36	46	222
<b>Occupation:</b>					
Professionals	28	2	51	19	64
Businessmen	26	3	51	20	173
White-collar workers	29	1	54	16	216
Skilled laborers	31	2	43	24	311
Semi-skilled laborers	30	*	47	23	211
Farmers	23	1	42	34	176
Housewives	20	-	50	30	64
Not empl.: pensioners; retired; etc.	28	1	41	30	297
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	30	1	45	24	752
Protestants	26	2	47	25	783
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	27	2	46	25	1277
Expellees, Refugees	29	1	48	22	319
<b>Veteran Status:</b>					
Veteran, First World War	41	-	44	15	121
Veteran, Second World War	29	2	58	11	122
Veteran, both World Wars	37	2	48	13	295
Non-veteran	29	2	52	17	166

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

### III. General Evaluation Of The Forces' Presence In West Germany

Basic to the issue of civilian-troop relations and German estimates of the combat qualities of the American soldier is the way the German people respond to the continued presence of the U.S. Forces in their country: whether they still regard them as occupation troops, how they estimate the advantages and disadvantages of their presence in Germany, whether they would like them to leave or remain. Trend returns on these inquiries are presented in this section.

#### MANY CONTINUE TO CONSIDER U.S. FORCES CHIEFLY OCCUPATION TROOPS ...

First, the number of West Germans who regard the American contingents chiefly as occupation troops appears to have declined, but still remains appreciable. A difference in the way replies were recorded in this year's survey precludes an exact comparison with results obtained in 1953, but reference to the 1953 report will show that in West Germany and the U.S. Zone, 41 per cent and 42 per cent respectively, considered the American Forces to be mainly in Germany for occupation purposes. This year's results are as follows:\*

"As what do you regard the American soldiers in West Germany: chiefly as occupation troops or chiefly as a protection for European and West German security?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
As occupation troops	30%	31%	34%
As a protection	45	44	41
Both - on a fifty/fifty basis	13	13	12
No opinion	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
	100%	100%	100%

- \* During the 1953 survey, it was discovered that some respondents found it difficult to choose between the two alternatives, since they believed the U.S. Forces divided their duties equally between occupation and defense purposes. Thus the 50/50 category was added but recorded only when respondents volunteered this reply. The complete returns as received in West Germany and the U.S. Zone in 1953 were:

	West Germany	U.S. Zone
Occupation troops	41%	42%
Protective	42	42
Undecided	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>
	100%	100%

U.S. FORCES ARE IN GERMANY TO DEFEND AGAINST AGGRESSIVE ATTACKS ...

Reasons why the American Forces are regarded as protective rather than occupation troops follow much the same pattern as those advanced in the 1953 study, with the security afforded against potential Communist aggression in the forefront. However, proportionately many more West Germans bring up the point this year than did so in 1953, although no proportionate increase occurred in the number designating the U.S. troops as security forces. (Last year, 27 per cent of West Germans advanced this view, as compared with 43 per cent this year.)

"For what reasons do you regard the American soldiers as a protection?" (Asked of all respondents answering "As a protection" or "Both - on a fifty/fifty basis" to initial question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfalz
<u>Because they protect Germany against the menace from the East:</u>	43%	38%	33%

To resist possible aggression from the East; because we are not in a position where we can defend ourselves against a surprise attack from the East; they came as occupation troops, but they are part of the Western defense system now - you never know where you stand with the Russians; if they weren't here, we'd be a sitting duck for the East; because they are the only ones who would really stand by our side in case of war; because the East is so heavily armed; so there won't be a war, the Russians won't be able to muster up enough courage because the Americans are too strong for them; they'll give the damned Russians a sound hiding, should they ever try to attack us; if it weren't for the Americans, the Russians would long since have been on the Rhine; the Russians could easily thrust into a military vacuum; they protect us against the talons of Bolshevism; because the East always starts a conquest at the point of the least resistance; because at the moment we ourselves are too weak - one of them would be the master naturally and I prefer the Americans over the Russians; because I'm against Communism and I expect protection from the Americans; as long as they are here, the Russian front cannot be extended across Germany; etc.

Because they protect and defend the unarmed Germany (no mention of Russia):

7                      8                      8

Since we can't protect ourselves we have to depend on their protection; as long as we don't have our own army we need a protective force from abroad; so that we keep on enjoying peace and order and so we cannot be attacked all of a sudden; the danger hasn't quite passed yet and we are defenseless after all; we are at our enemy's mercy and somebody has to protect us as long as we can't do it ourselves; there might be the possibility of another war, and in that case we need them for protection; because we need them, for we aren't strong enough to defend ourselves against a possible attack; if the Germans were all alone that wouldn't be so good, if they are all united, then things will develop more favorably; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)



West Germany    U.S. Zone    Rheinland Pfalz

Because they maintain internal security and order in Germany:

4%                  6%                  4%

We need them badly for the maintenance of peace and order in West Germany, for one hates to think what would happen if they'd withdraw; we need some protection, for all I know disturbances might occur and the police alone do not suffice; so that the Nazistic forces won't get the upper hand again; if it weren't for the presence of the American occupation, we'd fall victim to Communism. The middle classes would then be as endangered as they are in the East Zone; because without the American occupation Communism in Germany would be stronger than it is today; because they constitute a guarantee for our German brothers that no attempt will be made to bring about the reunification of Germany by a coup d'etat, for that would mean a third World War; because otherwise something also might have happened such as disturbances fomented by the S.S.; the German Communists were and still are kept in check by the American occupation power; etc.

The days of occupation belong to the past:

1                  1                  1

Because the period of occupation is as good as over; the task of the Americans as occupiers is fulfilled; there is nothing to remind you of an occupation status any more, the Germans are completely free and can do what they please; after 1949 they became more of a protective force than an occupation; etc.

Because they help and support Germany:

1                  2                  3

In many cases they helped the people and that's why they are no longer an occupation power; because they take good care of us, especially of the needy; they give aid here and there and then you begin to think that they are also good people; because we already had so many advantages through the Yanks; etc.

Because they protect their own interests:

1                  \*                  2

Because I feel that those two countries - one having a red star, the other a white star as an emblem - will never quite agree, both strive for world rule; the Yanks' main concern is to be the leading power in the world; they want to defend their freedom and their culture; etc.

Other reasons:

1                  1                  1

For what else are they then still here?; at the same time they constitute a political counterbalance against France; they are technically well trained and equipped with modern weapons, they are born democrats. Class distinctions don't exist for them; as a nucleus or as instructors for a future German army; simply because we don't have a peace treaty yet; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{2}{60\%}$ \*\*                   $\frac{3}{59\%}$ \*\*                   $\frac{2}{54\%}$ \*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## REASONS WHY THE U.S. FORCES ARE CONSIDERED OCCUPATION TROOPS ...

West Germans who still regard the American troops in Germany as occupation forces repeat almost verbatim and in like frequency the arguments advanced in the 1953 survey. Thus, they continue to say that "occupation is a consequence of defeat," "Germany still lacks a peace treaty," "Germans bear the costs," "they control Germany," and so on.

"For what reasons do you regard the American soldiers as occupation troops?" (Asked of all those who answered "Occupation troops" to initial question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
Occupation is a consequence of defeat:	12%	13%	18%

Because they've won the war; because we've lost the war, that's it; they've defeated us and that's why they can stay here; because once you've won a war, you may well stay on in the country you occupy; they are here as occupation troops according to the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement; they are the victors and that's why they play the role of an occupation power, every nation would act that way under such circumstances, Germany included; they were the victors and we the vanquished, after all, therefore they have to see to it that peace and order are maintained; it's always been like this, after a war a victorious power leaves an occupation in the defeated country; etc.

Their presence and behavior prove it:

8            7            10

Because they don't behave like protective forces; because of the way they behave over here; they act the masters, after all; I have never heard anything else but that they are occupation troops; because they've been here ever since 1945; because they come here with the intention of occupying Germany; whenever you read or hear about them, people refer to them as occupation troops; because they occupied Germany after the war and they've stayed on here ever since; they still call themselves the masters and treat us their subjects; they keep the country occupied, after all; 99 per cent of them are just scum, there are too many of them; they have been here now for such a long time, and wherever they are, they behave abominably, they commit crimes; after they had invaded the country, they just stayed put; their behavior often leaves much to be desired; etc.

We have not got a peace treaty yet - the Occupation Statute is still in force:

5            5            5

Because the Occupation Statute hasn't been annulled yet; because peace hasn't been achieved so far; they obviously are occupation troops as a peace hasn't yet been concluded, and an American High Commissioner still resides in Bonn; the war hasn't been officially terminated yet, there is no peace treaty; because the Occupation Status hasn't yet come to an end; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
4%	2%	4%

We have to pay for them:

They hamper us in our stride, we have to pay for their upkeep; we have to foot the bill for the occupation; we have to pay through the nose for them; the Americans want to train their soldiers over here at our expense, that's it; we are played for suckers, that's a fact, we have to foot the bill whether they are here as occupation forces or as a protection; etc.

They want to rule and control Germany - we have no say in matters - we are not free:

4	3	2
---	---	---

The Americans still have a say in matters, though our government handles our affairs; the others still retain a veto right; because the German government hasn't complete freedom of action yet; the occupation powers turn thumbs down on quite a few things, they exert pressure in a roundabout way, I learned this from some Trade Corporation people; because they assume rights which they couldn't exercise when acting as a protective power; the victors continue to watch us; well, if you come down to it, the Federal government hasn't much to say yet; practically our government is dependent on the Allies; first of all they want to control Germany; the decisions of the Control Council prove it, they still control the country; because they snoop around all the time to find out what's cooking in our country; etc.

They attend to their economic and other interests:

2	2	1
---	---	---

They go ahead and requisition things; in trains special compartments are set aside for their use; so far no housing space has been derequisitioned in the Sonneberg residential district; they can only be interested in holding on to the profits they made in industry over here; they want to exploit the country, and that's what they actually do; etc.

They cannot protect us because there are too few soldiers, nor are they cut out for this task:

2	2	1
---	---	---

They haven't got enough fighting power; because they are numerically too weak to be able to protect us; they can't protect us, the Russians will overrun the whole country; they can't protect us as they badly lack in discipline, besides, they rely too much on their planes and arms; if there ever would be an emergency, the number of the Americans stationed here wouldn't suffice for defense; etc.

They can't defend us because they don't take any interest in it, because they are cowardly:

1	2	1
---	---	---

If things really started happening, they won't be on the spot right away, I'm sure of that; they aren't a protection, the Amis take to their heels as soon as they spot the Russians; they don't attend to our interests, since we feel that the next war mustn't be fought on German soil; there's a lot of talk about their intention to withdraw, and if they'd do so, we'd be left unprotected; they join the army just to draw their pay-checks, they aren't real soldiers;

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
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I'm quite sure the Americans won't lift a finger to protect us; they certainly had cold feet in the past, and you tell me they will protect us!; etc.

We don't need any protection, we can manage on our own:

2%	1%	2%
----	----	----

We've got our border police and the regular police to protect us; we don't need any protective forces, things will go on just as they are now; we Germans want to manage our country ourselves, there's no need for the Amis to stay on here, nor for the Russians, either; we don't need them any longer, they can beat it as far as I'm concerned; etc.

They distrust a resurgent, powerful Germany and thus they maintain the occupation status:

1	*	*
---	---	---

They stay on here as a precaution against a possible rearming of Germany; because they want to hold us down; etc.

Other reasons:

2	2	2
---	---	---

They just want to stay here because life is more pleasant for them than back in the States, none of them wants to return home; I lost my job because of the Americans; we don't have any advantages through them, we don't want those foreigners in our country; I only feel they are our liberators; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{4}{47\%}$ **	$\frac{6}{45\%}$ **	$\frac{4}{50\%}$ **
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- \* Less than one half of one per cent.
- \*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer..

## ADVANTAGES/DISADVANTAGES OF THE TROOPS' PRESENCE IN WEST GERMANY ...

Two findings of importance occur in the three-year trend of replies to the inquiry which has been repeated each year with slight modifications, asking West Germans for spontaneous remarks regarding the advantages and disadvantages of having American troops in their country. \* The first is that more people now than formerly volunteer that there are no disadvantages; correspondingly fewer say there are no advantages. The second noteworthy finding is the absence of any marked change especially over 1953 in the listing of benefits and disadvantages deriving from the troops' presence. Now as formerly protection against aggression leads as the chief advantage; costs head the list of disadvantages.

## THE TREND SHOWS IMPROVEMENT IN OVER-ALL APPRAISAL ...

The foregoing statement of a growing tendency to volunteer that there are no disadvantages to the Germans incident to the American Forces' presence in West Germany is amplified in the summary table showing the proportions declaring either "No advantages," or "No disadvantages" for the three-year period. The balance, it will be noted, has clearly swung from the negative to the affirmative since the first survey.

## PROPORTION STATING THERE ARE:

	No advantages	No disadvantages	Balance
<u>West Germany:</u>			
1952	33%	4%	-29%
1953	19	16	- 3
1954	14	19	+ 5
<u>U.S. Zone:</u>			
1952	31%	4%	-27%
1953	20	17	- 3
1954	12	20	+ 8

- \* In 1952, the question on advantages began "Aside from the question of West Germany's security, do you believe that the presence of Allied troops brings more advantages or more disadvantages to the West German population?"

In 1953, "First of all, what advantages does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany? (What else?)"  
IF "Security of West Germany" or the like is mentioned: "Aside from the question of West Germany's security: what other advantages does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany?"

In this year's survey no specific reference was made to security. The question reads: "First of all, what advantages does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany?"  
"Aside from what you mentioned just now: what other advantages does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany? (Any others?)"



## SECURITY IS MAIN ADVANTAGE, COSTS CHIEF DISADVANTAGE ...

More illuminating than trend results in respect to specifications of advantages/disadvantages incident to the presence of U.S. troops in Germany - which as already noted show little change - is a presentation of a balance sheet constructed from replies to the two queries obtained from this year's study. It is clear from this analysis that not only is security from outward aggression one of the main benefits Germans assign to the presence of U.S. troops on their soil, but it over-weighs by a very large margin any corresponding disadvantage, e.g. provocation of a Russian attack. It is also very apparent that even though many Germans are aware of the economic benefits gained from the Armed Forces, many more of them, both in West Germany and in the U.S. Zone, complain that the Germans pay the bill. In this regard, the contrast in the Rheinland-Pfalz area is notable. There where the Americans have recently come in large numbers, accompanied by a vast construction program, Germans are much more conscious of economic advantages. The moral here seems clear: Increased information on who actually pays the bill and how much, and more publicity on building projects and de-requisitioning probably would help to clear the air.

Summary Table Showing Balance of Advantages/Disadvantages

## Proportions Listing:

	Advantages	Disadvantages		Balance
<u>West Germany (1954)</u>				
External security (Protection from attack vs. provocation of Russians)	45%	1%	-	+44%
Internal security (Political order vs. in- cidents, racketeering, etc.)	6%	11%	-	- 5%
Economic (Dollar/Mark expenditures, jobs, etc. vs. occupation costs, requisitioning, damages)	43%	79%	-	-36%
German-American amity (Friendship and help vs. control and political tutelage)	9%	4%	-	+ 5%
<u>U.S. Zone (1954)</u>				
External security	48%	1%	-	+47%
Internal security	6%	12%	-	- 6%
Economic	35%	73%	-	-38%
German-American amity	8%	3%	-	+ 5%
<u>Rheinland-Pfalz (1954)</u>				
External security	25%	1%	-	+24%
Internal security	4%	30%	-	-26%
Economic	91%	68%	-	+23%
German-American amity	2%	4%	-	- 2%

COMMENTS LISTING ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES ... follow on the next page.

## THE ADVANTAGES ...

"First of all: what advantages does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany?"

"Aside from what you mentioned just now: what other advantages does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany? (Any others?)"

No advantages:

We have no advantages out of it, Americans bring everything over with them; we didn't have any advantages yet; I wouldn't know of any advantages because of them; I believe that we don't enjoy any advantages; directly after the war there were some advantages in regard to security, but probably no longer today; why advantages? There is no advantage in being occupied; none at the moment; none at all; etc.

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
14%	12%	13%

SECURITY (EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL)Protection from the Russians (the East):

28	29	16
----	----	----

As the first consideration the protection against the Russians, which also forces a discipline upon us; the Russians might have already over-run us if American soldiers had not been here; we won't be standing entirely alone, if the Russians should march across the border in our direction; the Russians won't have the nerve to attack West Germany as long as Americans are here, the Russians are afraid of the material potential of America; the population is protected against an attack from the East and people can go about their work in peace and calm; the Americans make us feel reassured against the Russians, their presence is a matter of life and death for the Germans; they provide a certain security against aggression from the East; you feel protected against attack from the East; if the "Amis" were not here, it would be a cinch for the Russians to invade the country; maybe because the Russians don't dare to come over, though we have no weapons, the Americans can defend us; should the Russians make war one of these days, we'll have at least protection against them in Germany; a protection against the Russian desire to expand; the Soviet Army is prevented by them from taking over the whole of Germany and making it into a People's Democracy; they constitute a certain guarantee for the Germans that no Eastern power will exploit West Germany; we need not be afraid of a Russian invasion; etc.

Protection and security (no mention of Russians):

16	18	9
----	----	---

They feel more secure against the world; if there should be another war we'll have soldiers at least; they will defend us if we should be attacked by another country; you feel protected; everybody knows that the population is protected against surprise attacks, as long as Americans are here, nothing can happen from the outside; the American soldiers substitute for the army that we don't have; the population, so far as they don't think along Communist lines, has a feeling of security; a great

(Cont'd on next page)

West	U.S.	Rheinland-
Germany	Zone	Pfals

pewer protects the home country; instead of war there will be peace and quiet as long as they are here; etc.

Maintaining peace and order in Germany:

6%	6%	4%
----	----	----

Internal peace is guaranteed by the troops if political riots should ever break out; peace and order is maintained as a result of their presence; the wind has been taken out of the sails of left wing radicals; the population enjoys a great protection also in regard to internal politics; you can't imagine how the parties would have clashed after 1945 if the Americans hadn't been here; order within Germany is safeguarded, they also guarantee the internal security against possible threats from any single party; that we have protection against Communism, for after 1918 something was up all the time, they marched through the streets and there were fights all the time; protection against organized unrest; under the protection of an armed force peace and order are better safeguarded; otherwise the former Nazis would have kept plying their insidious business; there will be no political strife among the Germans as long as the Americans don't leave; etc.

Safeguarding freedom and democracy:

1	1	*
---	---	---

I think we can lead a freer life, we can feel more secure and can move about on the streets safely and unhampered, in the Eastern Sector with the Russians you actually cannot help being afraid; freedom of opinion and personal freedom are guaranteed as long as American troops are here; etc.

ECONOMIC

Expenditures, contracts, and general economic advantages:

24	21	42
----	----	----

Business is better in those areas where Americans are stationed; we have better sales for all goods; the economy enjoys advantages since the soldiers leave a lot of money behind; our industry lands a lot of contracts with the army; more money is earned because of the occupation powers; the Americans put a lot of money among the people; the soldiers buy a lot of things in Germany; the merchants profit where troops are stationed; they bring money into the country and thus the economy prospers; business flourishes because of the high pay American soldiers receive; Americans buy more things because they can afford it, they have more money than the Germans; enormous economic advantages, businessmen have good earnings; they bring dollars into the country; a great increase in turn-over where there are garrisons, American troops are great providers of hard currency; the influx of hard currency, the soldiers spend part of their pay with German business people;

(Cont'd on next page)

West	U.S.	Rheinland-
Germany	Zone	Pfalz

economic advantages, every foreigner brings money into the country; export transactions are concluded with different firms; in terms of economy greater sales of different goods, money is spread among the people; later on they also buy German goods or they return as tourists; I think that the soldiers spend their pay and thus they give business people and bar-owners a chance to make money; a lot of money is made from Americans, all sorts of trades flourish, the building trade, locksmiths and others; etc.

Increased job possibilities:

10%	6%	37%
-----	----	-----

Through them we also have fewer unemployed, since they employ Germans; they give jobs to many people; the building activity gives many a worker a job; wherever there are troops, there is a lot of work to do, thus many people are kept busy; at the moment a considerable boom to the labor market; jobs for the unemployed whom the occupation forces need; if the Americans weren't here more people would be unemployed, all those who work for the Americans are better paid than those who work for German employers; more jobs through their building activities; providing of jobs, that enough jobs are available, many hangars for planes are being built; providing work through building projects for the occupation forces and other employment; etc.

Helped food situation:

5	5	7
---	---	---

Thanks to them we had more to eat during those bad years; the German population is being supported by American food; they also supported and helped us, they helped with their food; I can imagine that the population enjoyed advantages in the beginning as far as food was concerned; they didn't let us starve; advantages because of the Marshall Aid and through food stuffs; rationing was abolished sooner and we were eating better sooner than people in England; life became better, more food came into Germany; etc.

Charity and donations:

4	3	5
---	---	---

Some German families are supported by Americans whom they know; the population has advantages through the numerous donations; the Americans really do something to alleviate the plight of the aged; American donations for orphans and refugees; the soldiers will always help the poorer people; many relief activities of American soldiers for the population, orphanages get donations, refugee farmers get cattle, building projects for German relief institutions are financed; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

GERMAN-AMERICAN AMITY

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfals
6%	4%	2%

Promotes friendship between nations:

The returning soldiers share the experiences they had in Germany with many people in America, good publicity for us if only we manage to impress the soldiers favorably; mutual understanding improves and we get to know each other's habits; Americans learn to understand us better, their respect for Germany is again increasing; we have closer connections with America and especially with the American people; through personal contacts, many people get to know the English language, you become better acquainted with Americans as persons; better mutual relations and better chances to get to know each other; Americans have a different way of life from which we are still able to learn a great deal; you see and learn a lot more through the Americans, especially through the language, they also have welfare institutions that are worth copying; etc.

Ready helpfulness during accidents, catastrophes and other incidences:

3	4	*
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During catastrophes Americans energetically stepped in with all sorts of relief activities; like now during the avalanche disasters, during serious accidents, the troops often help with their equipment and their planes, something that we couldn't have done, since we have no army; the Americans give help during catastrophes, they provide transportation; they help wherever they can, their planes bring the refugees over here from West Berlin; if an American soldier (an officer) had not collected money for her old mother, the sick daughter would have died in America without having seen her mother once again; the relief during catastrophes and the aid for children; their planes went into action when the avalanches came down and they aided people with drugs and blankets; etc.

OTHERSAdvantages for women:

1	1	*
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Many girls married Americans; many German girls became well off by marrying Americans; etc.

American occupation is better than the rest - the lesser evil:

*	1	1
---	---	---

Better at least than if the Russians were here; you were glad when they were here, they are better, anyway, than the French; an occupation army must be there, as long as we don't have a peace treaty, and in that case the Americans are still the most pleasant of the lot; etc.

Miscellaneous comments:

1	1	1
---	---	---

Better protection against the Displaced Persons; because the Americans put an end to requisitions of cattle by the French; giving the refugees a new home overseas; later on additional living quarters will be available; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

$\frac{19}{138\%}$ **	$\frac{21}{133\%}$ **	$\frac{16}{153\%}$ **
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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.



THE DISADVANTAGES ...

"And what disadvantages, in your opinion, does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany? (Any others?)"

"Aside from what you mentioned just now: what disadvantages does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany? (Any others?)"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>No disadvantages - rather advantages:</u>	17%	20%	15%
I wouldn't know, I like the Americans; I can't see any disadvantages as long as they behave all right; no disadvantages, occupation costs are a natural consequence to the outcome of war; since all requisitioned houses are to be returned to their owners soon, I don't see any disadvantages for the population; there are good and bad types in every nation, but you can't say that we have real disadvantages through the presence of the American troops; etc.			

ECONOMIC

<u>(Heavier) financial burden, occupation costs, taxes, increased prices:</u>	40%	40%	28%
The occupation costs are too high; the tax payers have to pay until they are blue in the face; our budget is jeopardized through their rigorous meddling in our financial affairs; we have to pay additional taxes to pay for their food; the sums we need to cover the occupation costs would be sufficient to keep an army of our own; occupation is too expensive an affair, therefore, we want armed forces of our own; the upkeep, the lodgings we have to provide for them, mean a heavy financial burden for us; it's we who have to pay for them, the money spent for occupation purposes could help many needy families; the high occupation costs, the luxurious lives the Americans lead over here cause envy and discontent among the poor; we have to pay terribly high sums for the American military forces, German soldiers wouldn't be that expensive as the pay they get is much lower than that of the Americans; everything the forces need has to be provided by us, our taxes should be spent for more useful purposes, but, anyway, we can't do a thing about it; high taxes as a consequence of the occupation mean a burden to us; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>Requisitioning of housing space, public buildings, land, etc.:</u>	32%	25%	34%

They take up housing space we need, they should make peace and go where they belong; many private homes have been requisitioned that means great losses in private property; that in spite of our housing shortage and the many refugees and bombed-out we have to provide houses for the occupation forces; they requisition the nicest houses here; they confiscate apartments, houses, even land; they requisition houses, we Germans are crowded into small rooms while the Americans get whole houses to live in; they confiscate the most comfortable houses, the Koenigssee district was out of bounds for us; arable land is converted into drill-grounds, airdromes and training-grounds; we lose too many areas of rich arable land through requisitions; many Germans have to give away their gardens for American housing projects, many Germans are turned out into the streets because the Americans need their homes; they confiscated our luxury hotels and restaurants; the land they have requisitioned for airdromes, the owners haven't been paid compensation for the losses yet; people are deprived of their land without being compensated for it, they are still waiting for their money, besides money never makes up for land; the richest parts of arable land have been confiscated, they could have taken less fertile tracks; etc.

<u>Damage through maneuvers, damage of other kinds:</u>	6	7	5
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The streets are ruined by the many motor vehicles, and sometimes rural areas are damaged in the course of maneuvers; during the maneuvers damage is caused in woods and on roads; much arable and pasture land is ruined in the course of maneuvers; the vineyards are ruined during maneuvers; the streets are ruined by their tanks; the destroyed fields after a maneuver; much damage is done, I'm thinking of the roads that are damaged through the heavy American traffic; etc.

<u>Unfavorable effect of the high American living standard:</u>	1	1	1
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The Americans have too much money to spend, all the nice places like Garmisch are overcrowded with Americans; the soldiers' pay is so high that they can spend a lot of money; etc.

#### PERSONAL INSECURITY

<u>Corruption of morals, bad influence on the younger generation:</u>	8	8	16
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All those illegitimate children for whom the fathers don't want to pay; the young people are in danger of becoming demoralized; immoral relations aren't infrequent, the Negroes are primitive people without manners; that the girls make up to the Negroes, and that there are so many illegitimate children; a great many become demoralized through their connections with American soldiers. I'm thinking of the soldiers' sweethearts;

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
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immorality can grow, the stories about German girls and their American lovers are simply disgusting; I learned that many German girls are seduced by Negroes; the many illegitimate children, the half-castes and the diseases; the young are demoralized, they like to be around the soldiers and imitate them; they set a bad example for the young through their behavior in public, it's sometimes even shocking, but not all of them behave like that; etc.

Incidents, racketeering:

3%

4%

14%

You can't live safely in districts where Negroes are stationed, you experience the dark sides of the American soldiers. I'm thinking of the rowdies who knock down taxi drivers, the bad behavior of some individual soldiers make you judge them all alike; the black market is booming; smuggling of coffee and cigarettes means a loss in customs revenues to the German government; incidents might occur with drunken soldiers; hold-ups of civilians; there are riots, quarrels, robbery and murder committed by drunken Americans; etc.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL INSECURITY

Limitation of personal freedom, tutelage:

4

3

4

Because the German government is not free, it can't act as it pleases; the possibility for the Americans to raise protests in German affairs; the Germans could do much more productive work without the occupation powers who can veto everything; sovereignty hasn't yet been returned to us, that, for instance, our ships are still under American command; we feel somewhat unfree and patronized; etc.

Endangering the country's security - provoking Russia:

1

1

1

The gap between East and West has been widened, but not the Americans alone are to be blamed for that; that probably reunification of Germany can't be realized within the near future; the partition of Germany is due to the occupation; the next war will be waged at our expense; if there is another war it will take place in our country, we'll pay for it once more; etc.

Other answers:

1

2

4

The risk for mothers of a young daughter, that a marriage with an American might take her far away from the home country; they let us starve for three years, even Marshall Aid couldn't make up for the damages caused then; German women become scarce for German men; the many airmen over here give you an uneasy feeling; etc.

No opinion/No answers:

$$\frac{16}{131\%}^{**}$$

$$\frac{17}{128\%}^{**}$$

$$\frac{20}{142\%}^{**}$$

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## THE AMERICANS SHOULD NOT GO HOME ...

Undoubtedly the key to the entire complex of reactions and relationships of the German people vis-a-vis the U.S. Armed Forces is whether or not the West Germans want the troops to remain in their country. The judgments they express on this issue are not only inherently important but serve to give proper perspective to such criticisms as are made of the behavior and military qualities of American soldiers.

The answer is clearly in the affirmative: large majorities declare the U.S. Forces should remain in West Germany. Conversely, only small minorities advocate withdrawal.

"Taking everything into consideration, should the American Forces leave West Germany now or should they stay on?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Leave	15%	12%	16%
Stay on	71	71	62
No opinion	14	17	22
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

... Comparison with previous U.S. Zone results suggests an upward trend in the desire that the U.S. Forces should stay in West Germany. Since the question was previously stated in terms of "Western" Forces rather the Americans as in this year's survey, the trend can only be roughly compared. However, it is possible to assume that residents of the U.S. Zone had the American forces mainly in mind when rendering their judgments in former years.

	U.S. Zone		
	Dec '51	Jan '53	Jan '54
Troops should:			
Leave	22%	18%	12%
Stay on	58	70	71
No opinion	20	12	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## EVEN WHEN WEST GERMAN CONTINGENTS ARE ESTABLISHED ...

Additional evidence that West Germans place considerable reliance on the U.S. Armed Forces is the fact that over half want them to remain in Germany at their present strength as long as there is any danger of aggression - even when West Germany has its own trained and equipped contingents. Two in ten advocate a gradual withdrawal of the Americans as the German troops are built up, but only 14 per cent want a complete withdrawal.

The question and replies follow.

"When the West German military personnel are trained and equipped, which of these three courses should the Americans follow?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Withdraw the American Forces entirely	14%	10%	14%
Send one American soldier home for each German soldier who is trained and equipped	20	25	21
Retain all the American Forces here in addition to German troops until danger of aggression is over	52	49	46
Qualified answers	3	3	3
No opinion	11	13	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## REGARDLESS OF CRITICISMS, MAJORITIES WANT THE AMERICANS TO REMAIN ...

Underscoring the previous statement that the key to German appraisal of the U.S. Forces is the judgment on whether or not they should remain in West Germany is the following table showing cross-comparisons of questions. Clearly demonstrated is that regardless of criticisms West Germans level against the American soldiers stationed in Germany, majorities want them remain here. (The one exception is based on too few cases to be reliable beyond chance error.)

This analysis, somewhat more detailed than that presented in last year's report, nevertheless continues to bear out similar findings obtained then. It is accordingly possible to repeat the interpretation made in the 1953 study: "The criticisms previously reported thus can be envisaged more in the nature of irritations and gripes than as an indication of any basic enstrangement on the part of segments of the German people vis-a-vis the American Forces in Germany."

American Forces In West Germany Should:				
	Leave	Remain	Undecided	No. of cases:
<u>Civilian-troop relations have:</u>				
Improved	12%	81%	7%...100%	904
Worsened	52	41	7	27*
Remained same	21	61	18	326
<u>U.S. soldiers' behavior is:</u>				
Good	10	80	10	865
Fair	24	66	10	318
Bad	39	61	-	46*
<u>When German troops, civilian-U.S. troops relations will be:</u>				
Better	10	85	5	361
Same	13	79	8	536
Worse	27	63	10	241
<u>Rate U.S. soldiers in second place as fighting man</u>				
	12	78	10	374
<u>Rate U.S. soldier in last place as fighting man</u>				
	23	72	5	201
<u>Rate Russian soldier in second place as fighting man</u>				
	17	76	7	502
<u>If Russians attack, U.S. troops would fight:</u>				
Well	10	82	8	771
Fairly well	14	77	9	263
Poorly	30	63	7	220
<u>Impression of U.S. soldiers gained from Korea is:</u>				
Better now	10	85	5	550
Worse now	38	61	1	87*
As good as before	10	83	7	277
As bad as before	38	57	5	56*
<u>Consider the U.S. troops as:</u>				
Occupation forces	28	58	14	493
Protective forces	7	87	6	717
Fifty/fifty	10	73	17	203
<u>Average number of soldiers seen weekly:</u>				
Many	16	75	9	231
Some	10	81	9	99
Few	11	81	8	133
None	15	69	16	1133
<u>Know some American soldiers:</u>				
Well	11	83	6	207
Superficially	14	77	9	330
Know none	16	67	17	1059

\* Because of the small number of cases these results should be cautiously interpreted.



## PRESENT STRENGTH OF FORCES SHOULD BE RETAINED ...

A decrease in American troops' strength in Germany is also voted down by the West German public, although about a quarter would welcome it. As will be noted in the figures below, residents of the Palatinate area are less inclined than other Germans to favor retention of the U.S. Forces at their present strength.

"Supposing the American Forces stay on in Germany, should they be decreased in number or not?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Decreased	24%	25%	28%
Not decreased	55	52	41
No opinion	21	23	31
	100%	100%	100%

THE MAIN REASONS ... for advocating a reduction in the American Forces in Germany is that it would lead to lower taxes, less occupation costs, etc. A few argue that since West Germany will have its own troops, so many Americans are not needed, or that more housing will then be available, or that the crisis is over, and the like.

"What are your reasons for recommending a decrease in the American Forces in Germany?" (Asked of all respondents who answered "Decrease" to initial question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
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Occupation costs and taxes could be decreased, thus easing the financial burden on Germany:

14%	17%	16%
-----	-----	-----

They live on our money without giving us an equivalent; taxes could be reduced; the fewer soldiers, the lower the expenses; we don't want them to live at our expense forever; the occupation costs could be reduced; we now have to pay 70 to 80 per cent of the cost for their upkeep; we could use the money we now spend for occupation costs for our own benefit; fewer soldiers mean lower costs for the government; if there is no decrease in the American Forces we'll be up to the eyes in debts very soon; the upkeep of the American Forces is a very expensive affair, a decrease in the Forces could balance our budget; etc.

Housing space would be available then:

3	3	3
---	---	---

Houses could be returned to their owners; the many requisitioned houses would be returned; we might then get an apartment; we would get room for our refugees; etc.

Germany will raise an army of its own:

3	2	4
---	---	---

Because we'll get armed forces of our own, after that we don't need such strong American Forces; if the EDC would come into being we could place Germany's protection in our own hands; the American contingents needn't be so strong as they are now, all the more as German forces are to be added soon; there are so many German ex-professional soldiers who could be called up; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>The number of troops would still be adequate after a decrease:</u>	1%	1%	4%
There would still be enough of them left; fewer soldiers would do; we don't need such masses of soldiers, what are they good for anyway?; peace and order could be maintained by a smaller number of troops; there are much too many soldiers over here; etc.			
<u>Freedom and self-confidence of the Germans would increase:</u>	1	1	2
Self-confidence of the Germans would be stimulated; we would enjoy more freedom then; occupation is a disagreeable affair in any case, everybody wants to be master in his own house; etc.			
<u>They aren't necessary any longer (without giving reasons):</u>	1	1	*
We don't need them any longer; I think we could miss some of them; etc.			
<u>Relaxations in the political field allow a decrease:</u>	1	1	*
As the danger of war has subsided, the high costs for the occupation troops are no longer justified; the tensions between East and West might relax; the war is over, we don't need them any longer; there is no imminent danger of war; once peace is guaranteed, American Forces in Germany could be decreased; etc.			
<u>Other reasons:</u>	3	3	3
I think they need their soldiers in their own country; provided they'd send them back in case of need, it would be a good thing to ship some of them home now; our police also represent a protection; the desire for amusement would quieten, the noisy night life would come to an end, and the women would be left in peace; they can't protect us against the Russians anyway; too many troops over here make you think that something is in the air, that another war might be around the corner; the girls who were corrupted by the easy life the soldiers could offer them would have to take up work again; anything but war; as few as possible; they won't be of any use if the Russians show up; etc.			
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{28\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{30\%}$ **	$\frac{*}{32\%}$ **

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**EVEN AMONG UPPER STATUS GROUPS, FAIRLY LARGE MINORITIES DESIGNATE U.S. FORCES AS OCCUPATION TROOPS ...**

While the prevailing view in most population elements is to regard the U.S. Forces in Germany as security rather than occupation troops, it is noteworthy that even among the better educated and generally higher status elements - customarily well-informed people, relatively large minorities still continue to say the American soldiers are mainly in Germany for occupation purposes. The views of sympathizers of the Social Democratic party as contrasted with those of the coalition parties are notable. SPD adherents as frequently say the U.S. troops are occupation as security forces; a majority of coalition party adherents describe them as protection forces.

"As what do you regard the American soldiers in West Germany: chiefly as occupation troops or chiefly as a protection for European and West German security?"

	As occupa- tion troops	As a pro- tection	Both	No opinion	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	33%	50%	13%	4%...100%	713
Women	29	41	12	18	882
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	30	44	13	13	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	34	49	13	4	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	33	55	14	-	76
(Above elementary)	34	50	13	3	291)
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 24 years	34	45	12	9	170
25 - 34 "	36	42	14	8	325
35 - 44 "	33	41	15	11	335
45 - 54 "	29	49	12	10	367
55 years and over	25	47	11	17	386
<b>Income:</b>					
Up to 299 DM	27	45	12	16	755
300 - 499 "	37	43	13	7	537
500 - 699 "	32	47	16	5	163
700 DM and more	32	54	13	1	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	39	40	15	6	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	26	55	11	8	720
Other parties	47	40	8	5	38
No party	37	35	14	14	325
Undecided	25	36	14	25	222
<b>Occupation:</b>					
Professionals	39	40	19	2	64
Businessmen	33	51	9	7	173
White-collar workers	33	47	15	5	216
Skilled laborers	35	40	13	12	311
Semi-skilled laborers	36	37	13	14	211
Farmers	15	57	13	15	176
Housewives	33	33	12	22	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	27	48	10	15	297
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	31	44	13	12	752
Protestants	30	46	13	11	783
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	32	43	13	12	1277
Expellees, Refugees	25	53	9	10	319

**MAJORITIES IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS OPPOSE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. TROOPS ...**

Large majorities of West Germans in all walks of life express the opinion that the American contingents should remain in Germany, with the higher socio-economic status groups being even more frequently of this view than their compatriots. Worthy of some note is the finding that those who prefer the Social Democratic party as contrasted with the coalition parties' adherents, more often recommend withdrawal of the forces, though among the former also a large majority wishes the U.S. troops to stay in Germany.

"Taking everything into consideration, should the American forces leave West Germany now or should they stay on?"

	Leave	Stay on	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	15%	77%	8%...100%	713
Women	15	66	19	882
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	16	68	16	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	9	83	8	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	8	88	4	76
(Above elementary	9	84	7	291)
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	14	74	12	170
25 - 34 "	16	74	10	325
35 - 44 "	15	68	17	335
45 - 54 "	17	70	13	367
55 years and over	12	76	12	386
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 299 DM	15	67	18	755
300 - 499 DM	17	73	10	537
500 - 699 DM	11	82	7	163
700 DM and more	7	93	-	69
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	22	70	8	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	9	82	9	720
Other parties	32	58	10	38
No party	19	60	21	325
Undecided	15	55	30	222
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	15	80	5	64
Businessmen	16	75	9	173
White-collar workers	11	77	12	216
Skilled laborers	21	70	9	311
Semi-skilled laborers	19	65	16	211
Farmers	8	72	20	176
Housewives	22	50	28	64
Not empl.: pensioners; retired; etc.	10	72	18	297
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	14	71	15	752
Protestants	16	70	14	782
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	16	69	15	1277
Expellees, Refugees	11	78	11	319
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Veteran, First World War	11	82	7	121
Veteran, Second World War	17	76	7	122
Veteran, both World Wars	16	75	9	295
Non-veteran	13	79	8	166

**IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS, PREVAILING OPINION IS THAT EVEN WHEN GERMAN CONTINGENTS, U.S. TROOPS IN GERMANY NOT BE DECREASED ...**

In respect to what American troop strength should be when West Germany has its own trained contingents, group differences are on the whole not marked. In all population elements the prevailing opinion is that the U.S. Armed Forces in Germany should not be reduced until the present danger is over. The only sharp difference occurs between political party adherents: Social Democrats are much more likely than followers of the coalition parties to advocate complete withdrawal of American troops as soon as German contingents are trained.

"When the West German military personnel are trained and equipped, which of these three courses should the Americans follow:

- A. Withdraw the American Forces entirely
- B. Send one American soldier home for each German soldier who is trained and equipped
- C. Retain all the American Forces here in addition to German troops until danger of aggression is over."

	A	B	C	Qualified answer	No opinion	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	16%	20%	55%	4%	5%...100%	713
Women	12	20	48	3	17	882
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	15	19	50	3	13	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	12	27	54	4	3	215
Diploma (Abitur) University	8	24	60	7	1	76
(Above elementary	11	26	56	4	3	291)
<b>Age:</b>						
Up to 24 years	13	22	52	3	10	170
25 - 34 "	15	22	52	5	6	325
35 - 44 "	17	21	49	2	11	335
45 - 54 "	13	17	55	5	10	367
55 years and over	12	19	51	1	17	386
<b>Income:</b>						
Up to 299 DM	12	17	53	2	16	755
300 - 499 DM	16	18	45	4	7	537
500 - 699 DM	9	32	49	5	5	163
700 DM and more	15	27	56	2	-	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>						
SPD	20	22	48	4	6	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	9	21	60	3	7	720
Other parties	24	13	40	13	10	38
No party	18	18	44	3	17	325
Undecided	15	14	43	3	25	222
<b>Occupation:</b>						
Professionals	11	31	47	8	3	64
Businessmen	15	26	53	2	4	173
White-collar workers	13	24	50	7	6	216
Skilled laborers	18	19	51	4	8	311
Semi-skilled laborers	18	16	50	2	14	211
Farmers	9	19	51	3	18	176
Housewives	11	8	59	5	17	64
Not empl.: pensioners; retired; etc.	10	19	53	1	17	297
<b>Religion:</b>						
Catholics	13	20	53	3	11	752
Protestants	15	19	52	3	11	783
<b>Origins:</b>						
Natives	15	21	49	3	12	1277
Expellees, Refugees	9	17	61	4	9	319
<b>Veteran Status:</b>						
Veteran, First World War	16	17	60	-	7	121
Veteran, Second World War	21	20	50	6	3	122
Veteran, both World Wars	15	21	56	3	5	295
Non-Veteran	16	19	54	6	5	166



## PREVAILING VIEW IS AGAINST REDUCTION OF U.S. FORCES IN GERMANY ...

The predominant judgment among all population groups is that there be no decrease in the number of American troops in Germany. Again people in the higher socio-economic status groups give indications of being more favorably inclined than others toward the U.S. troops. Among political party adherents, followers of SPD, as contrasted with those who prefer one or the other of the coalition parties, are more likely to advocate a reduction in troop strength.

"Supposing the American Forces stay on in Germany, should they be decreased in number or not?"

	Decreased	Not decreased	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	26%	60%	14%..100%	713
Women	23	49	28	882
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	25	52	23	1305
Middle and/or high school				
w/o Diploma	22	63	15	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	18	69	13	76
(Above elementary	21	64	15	291)
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	27	53	20	170
25 - 34 "	29	55	16	325
35 - 44 "	20	55	25	335
45 - 54 "	25	58	17	367
55 years and over	21	51	28	386
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 299 DM	22	52	26	755
300 - 499 "	26	57	17	537
500 - 699 "	28	57	15	163
700 DM and more	25	66	9	69
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	33	52	15	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	19	64	17	720
Other parties	52	32	16	38
No party	30	45	25	325
Undecided	15	45	40	222
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	24	64	12	64
Businessmen	26	57	17	173
White-collar workers	22	60	18	216
Skilled laborers	29	55	16	311
Semi-skilled laborers	25	51	24	211
Farmers	23	47	30	176
Housewives	25	41	34	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	17	58	25	297
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	25	54	21	752
Protestants	22	56	22	783
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	26	51	23	1277
Expellees, Refugees	18	67	15	319
<u>Veteran Status:</u>				
Veteran, First World War	20	68	12	121
Veteran, Second World War	29	60	11	122
Veteran, both World Wars	25	61	14	295
Non-veteran	27	56	17	166

#### IV. Reactions To The Presence Of American Families In West Germany

In line with the general upward trend regarding the contacts of the Armed Forces with the German people and estimations of combat qualities, is an increased manifestation of hospitality on the part of the West Germans toward U.S. families living in Germany.

MORE PEOPLE THIS YEAR THAN LAST HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO THE MODE OF AMERICAN FAMILY LIFE IN GERMANY ...

Notwithstanding the criticisms of costs and housing demands which, as already noted, many Germans continue to level against the U.S. Forces, more people now than a year ago declare they have no objections whatsoever to the way American families in Germany live. In West Germany, 50 per cent now express such views in contrast to 43 per cent in 1953. Similarly, in the U.S. Zone, 55 per cent as against 45 per cent a year ago so declare. And in the Rhineland-Palatinate area where a large influx of American families has occurred during the past year, 69 per cent state they have nothing to criticize. Since fairly large minorities are unprepared to comment pro and con, it means that such criticisms as are made against the mode of American family life in Germany are confined to relatively small fractions of the West German public: respectively, 12 per cent in West Germany as a whole, 15 per cent in the U.S. Zone, and 10 per cent in the Palatinate.

This year as last the main charge made by the critical minority is that of luxurious living - at German expense. The comments listed in order of frequency with trend figures follow.

"From all you have heard or read about it, is there anything to be criticized about the way the American soldiers' families here in West Germany live?"

	West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland- Pfalz
	'53	'54	'53	'54	1954
<u>No objections and other positive comments:</u>	43%	50%	45%	55%	69%
No, I have nothing to criticize; absolutely nothing, quite the contrary; I hold nothing against them, they have to have their wives here; they live according to the customs of their country; I think it is better if they are here; no, they live just as we do; no, I'm sure they're all very nice, just like the Englishmen whom I know; no, nothing to criticize, they buy their goods just as we do; formerly, you would often hear that they lived riotously when we starved but now you hear nothing like that; no, they live decently as compared with the Englishmen; don't live more sumptuously than we do; no, on the contrary, they let the craftsmen earn money and do a lot of good, gifts, invitations; etc.					
<u>They live in too grand a style, with great luxury, greater luxury than in the U.S., and we have to foot the bill:</u>	11	10	11	11	

In contrast to us they live too well, the salaries are too high, it costs us too much; they live much better here than would be possible for them in America, in their demands they could adjust themselves somewhat to local conditions; they apparently lead a comfortable life, I was once told that they get such good salaries, that we have to raise the money for them through taxes; they live in exaggerated luxury at our expense; they could adjust themselves somewhat to the German way of life; they lead a

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
'53 '54	'53 '54	1954

life of luxury that they could not afford in their country; I think they live beyond their means; they could well cut down their expenses; It would be fitting if they'd live more modestly; as compared with the poverty of the mass of the people their lavishness is objectionable; they are somewhat lavish, German businessmen of course are happy about it, but we are instinctively asking ourselves who is going to pay for it; too much luxury, causing envy among the Germans; because it is at our expense, the women need not go shopping by car; etc.

They require too much housing space:

4% 2% 4% 2% 2%

They have too much housing space; they could live more modestly in order not to cause envy among those who suffer under the housing shortage; I disapprove of the American families' use of requisitioned German apartments and furniture; a married couple uses 6 to 8 rooms; etc.

They keep servants at our expense:

1 \* 2 1 1

They have their maids, they can do better than we do, I just cannot compare my standard of living with theirs; they have their maids, they live too extravagantly, that causes envy; etc.

Their behavior is arrogant:

1 1 1 1 \*

They feel the victors and make no efforts to come to an understanding with the local population; they presume too much; they treat us like second-class people; etc.

Other answers:

3 2 3 2 2

At first they behave conspicuously, but later on they adjust themselves; they seem very impressed by the progressive mode of living of the Americans; as far as I know they don't always take good care of the apartments; too lazy; too much is going to waste in their kitchens according to what I heard; it is said that some treat their wives badly, but this is certainly the wives' fault too, on the other hand some marriages are very successful too; a soldier's life is a hard life, women don't go with that; they should keep social contact with German families; etc.

Indifferent answers:

2 2 3 1 -

I don't care, if we had won the war, our soldiers would have their wives in foreign countries, too; I don't care; I don't care, but I believe that the women behave well; we should not bother about what they do with their money; etc.

No opinion/No answers:

$\frac{37}{102\%} = 103\% \quad \frac{36}{103\%} = 103\% \quad \frac{34}{103\%} = 103\% \quad \frac{30}{103\%} = 102\% \quad \frac{21}{102\%} = 102\%$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## SHARP UPWARD RISE IN APPROVAL OF AMERICAN FAMILIES' PRESENCE IN GERMANY ...

Approval of the idea of bringing American families has markedly increased during the year - rising 17 points in West Germany as a whole and 22 points in the U.S. Zone, to reach firm majority proportions. The trend is as follows:

"Do you think it right that the families of the American soldiers may also come to West Germany or would you think it better if they were not allowed to come along?"

	West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland-Pfalz
	'53	'54	'53	'54	'54
Right they are here	45%	62%	40%	62%	55%
Better if not	37	25	41	23	30
Undecided	18	13	19	15	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

THAT AMERICAN HOUSING PROJECTS ... are a clue to this sharp upward trend in approval is suggested by two inquiries asked this year for the first time.

First, the people who disapproved of American families' coming to Germany were asked what their views on the matter would be if there was sufficient housing available. Under such conditions, about half of the disapprovers say they would no longer object.

"If enough housing quarters were available, would you then approve of it or wouldn't you approve of it?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Approve	13%	12%	19%
Disapprove	11	10	10
No opinion	1	1	1
	25%	23%	30%

The fraction that maintains its dissent, regardless of what the housing situation might be, argues as follows:

The financial burden is too great	4%	3%	3%
It is not customary for families to accompany the troops; soldiers should get home leave	2	3	3
The combat spirit declines when soldiers have family responsibilities	2	2	2
West Germany is already overcrowded	1	1	2
The occupation will go on forever	1	1	*
In case of war, American families would be endangered	1	*	*
Other reasons	1	*	1
	12%**	10%**	11%**

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## U.S. HOUSING PROJECTS APPROVED ...

In addition, all respondents were asked to express their views on the American housing projects. Approval of the projects is given by strong majorities; conversely relatively few either disapprove or say they are indifferent.

"As you may know, many housing projects are being built for American families living in Germany. Do you approve of this or don't you approve?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Approve	59%	58%	65%
Disapprove	17	18	14
Indifferent	17	18	16
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%	100%

## REASONS FOR APPROVAL ...

Two reasons lead by a wide margin: the first is that the U.S. projects help to alleviate the German housing shortage; the second is that such projects are permanent investments which will remain when the Americans leave.

"What are your reasons for approving?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Approve" to initial question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
<u>The shortage of German housing would largely be alleviated:</u>	29%	29%	32%
Because it would largely alleviate the German housing situation; so that private property will be derequisitioned again; housing is under construction so that requisitioning can be stopped, we can thus retain our housing space; as a result of it they will not ask for German apartments; because the German people can thus stay in their homes; so that they do not take up housing space earmarked for the general public; more housing units will thus be available; that there will be more space available for refugees; then the German population may return to the better-type apartments; this means that German families need not leave their homes; approval only if German families may then return to their apartments; if the presence of the families is considered essential, I agree on condition that the Germans are not ousted from their homes; if housing projects are built, no German families will be evacuated; because apartments will then become available and no further requisitionings will take place; a burden is taken from the Germans; etc.			

When the Americans leave the housing projects will become available to the Germans:

They can later be used for our own purposes; perhaps we will get the houses some time later on; the houses will remain and in the long run the Americans certainly want to go back; the Germans will have more housing space when they leave; because later these housing projects will remain; I hope that later on the Germans will benefit from it and that the refugees will get out of their converted air-raid shelters; because these

19      19      22

(Cont'd on next page)



West	U.S.	Rheinland-
Germany	Zone	Pfalz

homes will later on belong to us; some day they will be turned over to the German government; because the houses cannot be taken to the USA; because apartments will become available for the Germans; the capital is safely invested; I have no reason not to approve of it - they create values thereby; etc.

It is in the mutual interest if the Americans live with their families and keep to themselves:

7%      6%      7%

Because the family and married life of the soldiers will not be disturbed. As a result of it German women won't be molested so much any more; if enough housing space is available it will be a good thing if the families are here, it will also stop the business of those many illegitimate children; if no apartments have to be vacated for them then we think it is right that the families are together; the families should be where the men are; because a family man should not be kept away from his dependents for a long time; these people also like to live together, human understanding; they can live their own way, they are among themselves; so that the families live within their own projects then the German families have less chance to become envious; the Americans will then at least live together. It is better for our security if the families are here, they will fight better; because it will be better for the Americans if they live together, then their children can attend schools located in their projects; as a result of it the Americans will spend more spare time with their families, at least the Americans living in the housing projects; etc.

The construction of such housing projects creates jobs and reduces unemployment:

6      5      11

This will give us work; if they like it over here they should go ahead and build, that means money for the people; many people will have work; there will be jobs and the construction workers will earn their bread; that will stimulate our construction business; it will be a boost to our economy; the construction business is a key industry, it will provide jobs and opportunities for earning money; good pay for Germans; it is also a boost to the building trade, this here is a poor area, it is a good thing that building projects will be started here; etc.

Provided the Americans foot the bill it's all right:

4      3      3

As long as the apartments are financed from American funds they may build apartments; only if the Americans bear the expense, otherwise they should leave the families in America; if the apartments would be built with American capital; only if the Americans will foot the bill and if there is no burden on the population; I agree with it if it does not cost us money; all right with me, if they have money to pay for it; only if paid for from American funds; etc.

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	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
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The American families have to get accommodations somewhere:

3%	3%	1%
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They have to stay somewhere after all; because they need apartments, too; I don't care but they have to have a place to live; everybody needs shelter after all; as they are here anyway, they may well go ahead and build housing projects for them; if the families come over, they have to have a place to live, too; etc.

It will improve relations between Germans and Americans:

1	1	*
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There will be no hatred between Germans and Americans any longer, as no Germans would be ousted from their homes any more; that we will not get furious about the Americans because they don't pay their way in Germany; because there will be more harmony between Germans and Americans; etc.

The Americans are our helpers and allies:

1	*	-
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If we expect them to help us we have to offer them something in exchange; if they are our friends and allies, this also includes their families; because they are not our enemies any more; etc.

Other reasons:

3	2	5
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I'm in favor of it for moral reasons; it is better if people know each other than if they pass by as strangers; I agree to that but only if it does not lead to requisitioning of land on a larger scale, above all farm-land; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{2}{75\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{70\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{82\%}$ **
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\* Less than one half of one per-cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## REASONS FOR DISAPPROVAL ...

"First alleviate the German housing shortage," is the leading argument of those who are opposed to building quarters for American families. Others oppose because they say the Germans bear the cost, or do not want the Americans in Germany in any case.

"What are your reasons for disapproving?" (Asked of those who answered "Disapprove" to initial question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>The shortage of German housing should first be alleviated:</u>	10%	10%	8%
Our housing shortage is still too acute; although man and wife should live together, you cannot agree to housing projects being built for American families when we Germans still have so few apartments for ourselves; it will retard housing construction for German families; they should build apartments for our people first, that would be better; they should rather build homes for other people, for the underprivileged, instead of for the soldiers; they should rather build houses for our refugees; it would be better if the local population would be taken care of first and the Americans only later on; we still don't have enough housing ourselves; we have a large population ourselves, the refugees want to live, too; first of all, all of our people looking for a home should be taken care of, then they may build for other purposes; because thousands of refugees are still living in makeshift shelters; there are still so many Germans who need an apartment; because they take up our housing space, our people will never get apartments then; because, first of all, housing projects for Germans should be constructed because so many are still living in hovels; etc.			
<u>The construction costs are too great a financial burden on the Germans:</u>	4	5	3
As long as the houses are largely built from occupation cost funds; we already have to pay enough as things are, the German people are badly neglected; because we have to pay for everything and we are getting poorer all the time; because it is done at the expense of us taxpayers; because these projects have to be built from occupation cost funds and we have to foot the bill; because these apartments are too expensive, all this is done at our expense; etc.			
<u>American families should stay in America:</u>	2	1	1
Everybody should stay in his country, I would rather be in my own too; this would be superfluous in my opinion, they should not let the families come in the first place; if the Russians came unexpectedly it would be a disaster, the Americans would first bring their			

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West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
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families to safety and would only then think of defense; because the Americans should have no families here, then they would also have more interest in fighting; etc.

The projects require too much land:

1%

1%

1%

They expropriate German land which is taken from the farmer; they need too much land for this purpose; they take land away where others would also like to build; because the land on which they are building is good farmland which is lost for our people; etc.

The Americans will otherwise get too settled over here:

1

1

\*

Then they will get settled here, they are not to stay here for good, it is still only temporary; that is a very serious matter, if they are going to build housing projects, they will think that they are staying for good; etc.

Other reasons:

1

1

2

Nothing should be built anymore, enough has been built for the Americans; why housing projects, barracks - soldiers are soldiers; later when Eastern Germany will be united with us, the housing projects are of no use and no new tenants will be found for them; because they have become so arrogant: "You are our colonial people;" they have to get along with the space they have; etc.

No opinion / No answer:

\*  
19%\*\*\*  
19%\*\*\*  
15%\*\*

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

# INCREASED CONTACTS WITH AMERICAN FAMILIES FAVORED BY A MAJORITY OF WEST GERMANY ...

Further evidence of a generally friendly spirit on the part of the West German people toward American families is that a majority of West Germans as a whole as well as U.S. Zone residents would welcome more social contacts with American families. People in the Rhineland-Palatinate are more doubtful about the advisability of closer relationships.

"Do you personally favor increased social contacts between German and American families or do you think it better if each group sticks pretty much to itself?"

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
Favor	62%	55%	47%
Sticks to itself	22	26	36
No opinion	16	19	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

No one reason stands out among those who believe the Germans and Americans should not mingle socially. But all have a similar tenor: the two people are different and it's best to avoid conflicts or trouble.

"What are your reasons for thinking this is better?"  
(Asked of all respondents who answered "Sticks to itself" to previous question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
<u>The character, manner, habits, way of life of Germans and Americans are too different:</u>	6%	9%	12%
Our ways are a little different from theirs, I don't think I'd hit it off with Americans; the Americans have different customs, this does not go well together; I think American family life is different from ours, so they feel embarrassed and so do we; I could not feel at ease with an American family, you don't understand them, they have opinions which are quite different from ours; everyone should follow his own course because we are too different from each other; every nation has its own customs, they should observe theirs and let us have ours; people have different manners; every country has its customs and habits; they have their peculiarities and, therefore, they better stick to themselves; different opinions, they need not to be shunned for this reason but it is still better if every group keeps to itself, we are too different in character; because these are two different nations; they are not used to our way of life; there would be no harmony, the American way of life is different from ours; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)



West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
5%	5%	8%

Friction will result:

The result would be disputes and quarrels, conversations usually end up with German-American politics, I am not in favor of friendships with other families, and with foreigners even less; because it would lead to friction and differences of opinion, no good will ever come of too much intimacy; it will not do in the long run, they will not get along with each other all the time; everyone should keep to himself and then you get along best; if you don't meet anybody you cannot run into a dispute, either; perhaps it would often result in differences of opinion; incidents would be avoided; it will be better if they show a certain reserve when they first become acquainted, then friction and quarrels will not occur so easily; etc.

Some enmity, hatred and suspicion still exists:

They are still our foes; because we are and will remain the defeated and will not be fully recognized for this reason; there is still a little hatred in everything; people are still somewhat suspicious; the race hatred is too great; the national pride of the Americans is too great; the enmity is still there; I have no contacts, I am German and will remain German, they have brought misery upon us in the war; etc.

The Germans cannot keep pace with the standard of living of the Americans:

We don't have as much money as the Americans and cannot keep up with them; because the German families will then be dissatisfied if they realize how the others live; we cannot keep pace with the Americans, they know better how to get something out of life than we do; because living conditions are a separating factor; everybody should mind his own business, the Americans live too well and the Germans have to live on a moderate income and will then be dissatisfied; if the Germans realize how the Americans live there will only be embitterment; they don't fit together anyway, we live much more modestly; etc.

Language will be a barrier:

Because the language will be an obstacle; they cannot understand each other, they will have to learn the other's language; they speak a different language, they do not understand each other; because we cannot talk to them; because you cannot talk things over because of language difficulties; etc.

It is not desirable in the moral interest of German women and girls:

It is not nice if German girls have Negro friends; this cannot do any good, those many illegitimate children, there are more than 96,000 already; less trouble with respect to women; for moral reasons; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
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It is better that contacts are avoided (no particular reason given):

3%	3%	5%
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I don't go in for that sort of thing; if I want them to stay overthere I wouldn't want social contacts with them; everyone for himself, God for all of us; people should observe the proper distance; what good should come of social contacts, I cannot think of anything; everybody should mind his own business, it's better; Americans belong to Americans and Germans belong to Germans; nothing good will come of it; etc.

Other reasons:

1	2	1
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Because we got along without them before and in case of danger they will take to their heels anyway; if we get together too much the Russians will be upset; because the Americans will go home again anyway, therefore it is not worthwhile to establish closer relations; the Americans are getting too familiar, besides they might get inside information which they might use against us some time; the Americans, especially women, are too tidy; you cannot see clearly what's going on in the world and therefore it is better to wait and see; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{24\%}$ **	$\frac{2}{27\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{39\%}$ **
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\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS, PRESENCE OF AMERICAN FAMILIES WINS STRONG APPROVAL ...**

The presence of American army families in Germany wins majority approval among all elements of the West German population, with the best educated groups most frequently approving. Though the Socialist party sympathizers also give majority support almost a third of them say they are against having the army families in West Germany.

"Do you think it right that the families of the American soldiers may also come to Germany or would you think it better if they weren't allowed to come along?"

	Right that they are here	Better if not	No opinion	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>				
Men	61%	28%	11%..100%	713
Women	62	22	16	882
<b>Education:</b>				
Elementary school	60	25	15	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	67	26	7	215
Diploma(Abitur), University	77	16	7	76
(Above elementary	70	23	7	291)
<b>Age:</b>				
Up to 24 years	56	30	14	170
25 - 34 "	63	26	11	325
35 - 44 "	65	21	14	335
45 - 54 "	67	22	11	367
55 years.and over	58	25	17	386
<b>Income:</b>				
Up to 299 DM	60	22	18	755
300 - 499 "	63	27	10	537
500 - 699 "	64	29	7	163
700 DM and more	68	32	-	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>				
SPD	62	32	6	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	68	22	10	720
Other parties	45	47	8	38
No party	59	23	18	325
Undecided	49	21	30	222
<b>Occupation:</b>				
Professionals	78	16	6	64
Businessmen	70	24	6	173
White-collar workers	66	25	9	216
Skilled laborers	59	29	12	311
Semi-skilled laborers	56	28	16	211
Farmers	53	23	24	176
Housewives	62	16	22	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	62	22	16	297
<b>Religion:</b>				
Catholics	60	24	16	752
Protestants	63	25	12	783
<b>Origin:</b>				
Natives	61	25	14	1277
Expellees, Refugees	63	24	13	319

## NEW HOUSING PROJECTS FOR AMERICANS FAVORED BY MAJORITIES IN ALL GROUPS ...

Most likely to approve of new housing projects for U.S. families in Germany are the higher status groups - the better educated, more affluent elements, and the men, though such projects are strongly favored by all groups. Again, however, SPD sympathizers tend more frequently than others to withhold approval.

"As you may know, many housing projects are being built for American families living in Germany. Do you approve of this or don't you approve?"

	Approve	Disapprove	Indifferent	No opinion	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	65%	18%	12%	5%..100%	713
Women	56	15	21	8	882
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	56	18	19	7	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	73	12	11	4	215
Diploma(Abitur), University	77	9	7	7	76
(Above elementary	74	12	10	4	291)
<b>Age:</b>					
Up to 24 years	58	20	16	6	170
25 - 34 "	64	19	12	5	325
35 - 44 "	60	15	18	7	335
45 - 54 "	60	18	17	5	367
55 years and over	56	14	20	10	386
<b>Income:</b>					
Up to 299 DM	53	17	21	9	755
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700 DM and more	75	15	7	3	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>					
SPD	57	23	16	4	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	70	13	13	4	720
Other parties	53	39	5	3	38
No party	54	16	20	10	325
Undecided	41	15	28	16	222
<b>Occupation:</b>					
Professionals	74	11	6	9	64
Businessmen	69	14	13	4	173
White-collar workers	71	14	13	2	216
Skilled laborers	58	19	17	6	311
Semi-skilled laborers	58	19	17	6	211
Farmers	46	18	22	14	176
Housewives	48	22	22	8	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	56	13	23	8	297
<b>Religion:</b>					
Catholics	60	16	18	6	752
Protestants	59	17	16	8	783
<b>Origin:</b>					
Natives	58	17	17	8	1277
Expellees, Refugees	63	16	16	5	319

**ALL POPULATION GROUPS LARGELY WELCOME INCREASED GERMAN-AMERICAN SOCIAL CONTACTS ...**

Only minorities in all population elements express disapproval of increased social contacts between German and American families; but the idea of more such contacts is particularly favored by the upper status groups and by younger West Germans. In contrast to the people who prefer the Christian Democrats or the other coalition parties, Socialist party adherents again reveal more opposition.

"Do you personally favor increased social contacts between German and American families or do you think it better if each group sticks pretty much to itself?"

	Favor	Stick to itself	No opinion	No. of cases:
<b>Sex:</b>				
Men	69%	20%	11%..100%	713
Women	55	23	22	882
<b>Education:</b>				
Elementary school	58	23	19	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	78	17	5	215
Diploma(Abitur), University	76	16	8	76
(Above elementary	77	17	6	291)
<b>Age:</b>				
Up to 24 years	66	22	12	170
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Up to 299 DM	54	23	23	755
300 - 499 "	69	20	11	537
500 - 699 "	74	21	5	163
700 DM and more	77	19	4	69
<b>Party Preference:</b>				
SPD	65	27	8	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	70	18	12	720
Other parties	48	34	18	38
No party	53	23	24	325
Undecided	47	22	31	222
<b>Occupation:</b>				
Professionals	75	16	9	64
Businessmen	74	18	8	173
White-collar workers	71	22	7	216
Skilled laborers	63	20	17	311
Semi-skilled laborers	59	23	18	211
Farmers	47	22	31	176
Housewives	55	19	26	64
Not empl.: pensioners; retired; etc.	55	24	21	297
<b>Religion:</b>				
Catholics	58	25	17	752
Protestants	65	19	16	783
<b>Origin:</b>				
Natives	60	22	18	1277
Expellees, Refugees	69	18	13	319



## V. Requisitioning

## MORE PEOPLE THIS YEAR THAN LAST THINK REQUISITIONING HAS ENDED ...

Although West Germans continue to consider that the German housing shortage is related to American demands, the conviction that the U.S. authorities no longer requisition German property has grown considerably during the past year. Only in the Rhineland-Palatinate area does the opinion prevail that such practices continue to be carried out.

"As you may know, the Americans requisitioned apartments, houses and landed property after the war in West Germany. Do you happen to know whether the Americans still carry out such requisitioning or whether they don't?"

	<u>West Germany</u>		<u>U.S. Zone</u>		<u>Rheinland-Pfalz</u>
	'53	'54	'53	'54	1954
Yes, carry out	19%	13%	21%	12%	45%
No, don't carry out	29	48	36	56	33
No opinion	52	39	43	32	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

That some Germans are confused between requisitioning as carried out in the first post-war years and the present practice of buying or leasing property either directly or through occupation cost funds is demonstrated not only by the finding reported above from the Palatinate area where much land has been taken over recently, but in the illustrations given as reported below. It will be noted that they refer to land taken over for airbases and artillery range mainly in the Palatinate.

"What requisitionings are you thinking of, for instance?"  
(Asked of those who answered "Yes, carry out" to initial question.)

	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>U.S. Zone</u>	<u>Rheinland-Pfalz</u>
<u>Requisitioning of land for airbases:</u>	5%	3%	23%
Requisitioning of land for airbases; land for airbases in Rheinland-Pfalz; in the Rhineland for the construction of a jet-fighter airbase; if necessary for tactical reasons such as airbases, important military matters, it will just be requisitioned, especiall airbases; where airbases are under construction they have already requisitioned land; requisitioning of the best land for airbases; etc.			

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland Pfalz
<u>Requisitioning of land for training camps and artillery ranges:</u>	3%	3%	10%
The expansion of training camps as a result of which much land is requisitioned for drill-grounds; land for maneuver grounds; the fine forests near Gelterswoog, for instance, they ruin the road with the tanks; they take the land away from the farmers, they need more land for artillery ranges than we did formerly; etc.			
<u>The requisitioning of apartments, apartment houses, mansions and hotels:</u>	3	3	3
Many apartments are still vacated to house families of soldiers; apartment houses in the American Zone; houses are requisitioned here and are only partly used; Honnef, Mehlem, hotels and mansions; etc.			
<u>Requisitioning of land (in general):</u>	2	3	14
Land is requisitioned; the areas in the Palatinate Forest; just recently they have requisitioned tracts of land in the Palatinate area; requisitioning of land, however, they pay for it; land and forests; etc.			
<u>Requisitioning of land for housing projects:</u>	1	1	3
Land for housing projects; land for American housing projects; tracts of land for housing projects of the Amis; and building lots, too; etc.			
<u>Requisitioning of barracks:</u>	1	-	*
Barracks for their soldiers; here they have requisitioned barracks and billeted British troops there; etc.			
<u>Other answers:</u>	1	*	1
Under requisitioning we also include the installation of explosive chambers in bridges; etc.			
<u>No opinion / No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{17\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{14\%}$ **	$\frac{1}{55\%}$ **

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

# INCREASED MAJORITIES SAY ARMY FACILITATES DEREQUISITIONING ...

But whatever view West Germans have regarding present requisitioning, very few assert that the U.S. authorities do not make every possible effort to derequisition property as quickly as possible. Majorities larger than in 1953 state that the American Army does all it can to speed up derequisitioning. The few skeptics continue - as in 1953 - to refer generally to the American fondness for comfortable housing.

"Do you have the impression that the American Army seriously tries to derequisition as many requisitioned houses as possible, or doesn't try?"

	West Germany		U.S. Zone		Rheinland-Pfalz
	'53	'54	'53	'54	1954
Yes, tries	57%	69%	60%	76%	76%
No, doesn't try	8	6	12	7	3
No opinion	35	25	28	17	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Why doesn't the American Army try to derequisition houses, apartments and landed property?" (Asked of all respondents who answered "No, doesn't try" to previous question.)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland-Pfalz
<u>The still need the requisitioned property:</u>	2%	2%	1%
They have to accommodate their families; because they need them, where else should they live?; they have to be accommodated somewhere, from a humane point of view I can understand the soldiers' wish to have their families with them, but our refugees should come first; they probably intend to use them for some purpose or other, they haven't constructed enough houses yet; etc.			

They don't think of the Germans, they believe they can live in Germany in the same way they do in America:

Because they don't care about the housing conditions in Germany; they aren't interested in the worries of the Germans, the main thing is that they have houses of their own, whether the Germans have a roof over their heads or not doesn't matter; a friend of mine who lives in Marburg begged his knees to get his house back, but all they did was to allow him to use the cellar, his wife couldn't help crying when she told it to me; we read in the papers that those houses which had been derequisitioned and returned to the Germans some time ago have been re-requisitioned by now because less comfortable houses didn't suit the Americans; for the sake of their comfort, they don't want to live so crowdedly as the Germans; etc.

2 2 \*

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	U.S. Zone	Rheinland- Pfalz
<u>They don't make particular efforts to release housing space:</u>	1%	2%	*%
They ought to move out but you don't notice that they are actually doing it; there are houses that, though requisitioned for the army, are not used by it, but in spite of this these houses aren't de-requisitioned; etc.			
<u>They like it in those nice houses:</u>	1	1	*
Why should they? They've got the nicest places to live in, they don't think of leaving them; because they live quite comfortably in these requisitioned houses; I'm not surprised that they feel at home in these houses; etc.			
<u>Other answers:</u>	*	*	1
It's up to the German government to get those houses back, the Americans themselves won't do a thing in this matter, in their capacity as occupation power they are entitled to requisition houses; etc.			
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{1}{7}\%^{**}$	$\frac{1}{8}\%^{**}$	$\frac{1}{3}\%$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

\*\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

**PREDOMINANT VIEW OF ALL GROUPS IS THAT THE U.S. NO LONGER REQUISITIONS  
GERMAN PROPERTY ...**

In all groups, the view that the Americans no longer requisition German property strongly outweighs the belief that they continue to do so. It is to be noted, however, that the better educated and economically more prosperous groups tend more often than their counterparts to believe that requisitioning still takes place. Also to be noted is that Socialist (SPD) followers are less sure on the issue than adherents of the present coalition parties.

"As you may know, the Americans requisitioned apartments, houses and landed property after the war in West Germany. Do you happen to know whether the Americans still carry out such requisitionings, or whether they don't?"

	Yes, carry out	No, don't carry out	No opinion	No. of cases:
<b><u>Sex:</u></b>				
Men	16%	48%	36%..100%	713
Women	12	47	41	882
<b><u>Education:</u></b>				
Elementary school	12	47	41	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	22	49	29	215
Diploma (Abitur), University	21	59	20	76
(Above elementary)	22	51	27	291
<b><u>Age:</u></b>				
Up to 24 years	21	47	32	170
25 - 34 "	15	50	35	325
35 - 44 "	13	48	39	335
45 - 54 "	13	50	37	367
55 years and over	11	43	46	386
<b><u>Income:</u></b>				
Up to 299 DM	10	48	42	755
300 - 499 "	15	47	38	537
500 - 699 "	20	53	27	163
700 DM and more	29	51	20	69
<b><u>Party Preference:</u></b>				
SPD	14	47	39	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	13	56	31	720
Other parties	32	29	39	38
No party	13	42	45	325
Undecided	9	35	56	222
<b><u>Occupation:</u></b>				
Professionals	20	56	24	64
Businessmen	16	54	30	173
White-collar workers	18	48	34	216
Skilled laborers	15	44	41	311
Semi-skilled laborers	12	49	39	211
Farmers	13	38	49	176
Housewives	8	47	45	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	9	48	43	297
<b><u>Religion:</u></b>				
Catholics	14	51	35	752
Protestants	13	45	42	783
<b><u>Origin:</u></b>				
Natives	14	46	40	1277
Expellees, Refugees	10	54	36	319



MAJORITIES IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS BELIEVE U.S. ARMY TRIES TO EXPEDITE  
DE-REQUISITIONING ...

Regardless of any doubts as to the present status of the American policy on requisitioning, strong majorities in all elements of the population express the view that the U.S. Army makes a serious effort to de-requisition as quickly as possible the German property it still holds.

"Do you have the impression that the American Army seriously tries to de-requisition as many requisitioned houses as possible or doesn't it try?"

	Yes, tries	No, doesn't try	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	75%	7%	18%..100%	713
Women	64	6	30	882
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	67	5	28	1305
Middle school and/or high school w/o Diploma	76	11	13	215
Diploma(Abitur), University	72	17	11	76
(Above elementary)	75	12	13	291)
<u>Age:</u>				
Up to 24 years	74	6	20	170
25 - 34 "	68	10	22	325
35 - 44 "	69	7	24	335
45 - 54 "	71	5	24	367
55 years and over	66	4	30	386
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 299 DM	67	4	29	755
300 - 499 "	72	7	21	537
500 - 699 "	70	10	20	163
700 DM and more	73	13	14	69
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	75	7	18	281
CDU/CSU, FDP, DP, BHE	74	7	19	720
Other parties	39	21	40	38
No party	67	6	27	325
Undecided	52	2	46	222
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	74	17	9	64
Businessmen	74	8	18	173
White-collar workers	75	9	16	216
Skilled laborers	70	7	23	311
Semi-skilled laborers	69	2	29	211
Farmers	60	6	34	176
Housewives	58	3	39	64
Not employed: pensioners; retired; etc.	63	5	32	297
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	72	6	22	752
Protestants	66	7	27	783
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	67	7	26	1277
Expellees, Refugees	76	4	20	319

**THE HICOG SURVEYS**

**Volume IX**

**Reports 199 - 208**

Volume IX

199.	West Germans State Their Views on the Role of Atomic Weapons in Western Defense (18 June 1954)	6175
200.	Current Trends in West German Opinions on Major Political Issues: With Reactions to Bonn-Moscow Overtures and the Geneva Conference (28 June 1954)	6252
201.	Estimates of Soviet Zone Audiences of RIAS Program Features (20 August 1954)	6323
202.	German Reactions to the John Affair and Other Recent Political Events: With Trends on EDC, Further European Conferences, and Related Issues (8 September 1954)	6365
202S.	Post-EDC Climate of West European Opinion: With Reactions to the London Conference (2 November 1954)	6444
203.	East Zone Refugees Report on Their Radio Listening Habits (10 November 1954)	6466
204.	Radio Diary Study in West Germany and West Berlin, May 1954 (29 November 1954)	6490
205.	The Berlin Atomic Energy Exhibit: West and East German Reactions (1 December 1954)	6660
206.	Current German Opinion on the Saar (Following the Paris Agreement) (6 December 1954)	6714
206S.	The Current State of Morale among Youth in West Berlin (4 February 1955)	6769
207.	Public Opinion in Western Germany on the Reestablishment of Military Forces (4 February 1955)	6825
208.	Frankfurt Visitors Appraise the Atomic Energy Exhibit "Atoms for Peace" (15 February 1955)	6866

WEST GERMANS STATE THEIR VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF  
ATOMIC WEAPONS IN WESTERN DEFENSE

Report No. 199

Series No. 2

June 18, 1954

C O N F I D E N T I A L

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

With atomic developments once more in the forefront of public attention owing to the worldwide publicity attendant to the recent series of American hydrogen bomb tests, the time was deemed propitious for surveying current West German rank and file thinking on the role of atomic weapons in Western defense.\* Such weapons in their potentialities and implications reach so intimately into the lives of every individual that general public opinion in this area must be considered of more than usual importance to policy-making decisions.

The survey was carried out in early May (April 26th thru May 10th), and is based upon a representative probability sampling of the West German and West Berlin population 18 years of age and over. The West German sample encompassed a total of 618 cases; the West Berlin sample, 263 cases.

As usual, interviewing was conducted under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

In the interest of speed in reporting upon the results they are presented without discussion, with but capsule headings to point up major indications. The headings focus solely on West German returns; West Berlin figures are included for comparative purposes and, it will be noted, are generally more closely in line with American and Western policy.

Complete tabulations of population sub-group comparisons on the issues posed in the present study can be found in an appendix. On a few of the more significant issues comparative figures by sex, education, and income level have been cited in the text to point up the views of opinion-leading elements as versus less influential segments of the West German population.

## S U M M A R Y

The most significant disclosure of the present study is that West German attitudes about the military use of atomic energy amount to no less than a strait-jacket upon American freedom of action in the use of atomic weapons for Western defense. Rank and file feelings are most pointedly revealed in majority opposition of nearly three to one proportions to any American effort to counter a Russian non-atomic attack on Germany through the use of atom bombs on Russia.

Only less fraught with problem implications is the finding that the preponderance of West Germans are (a) not aware of any American efforts to eliminate atomic warfare, (b) approve of such outlawing even if there is no concomitant understanding about conventional disarmament, and (c) despite efforts that have been made to apprise them of this fact, are quite unaware that such a course of action entails disadvantages for the West with its superiority in nuclear weapons as versus Russian superiority in conventional armament.

\* For an earlier study see Report Number 13, Series Number 2, dated April 1, 1950, entitled - "The Implications of the H-Bomb In The East-West Struggle."



Thirdly, in expressions of opinion the realism of which may be questioned, West Germans preponderantly reveal dissatisfaction with the extent of American efforts toward the peacetime use of atomic energy, and recommend that America's major atomic efforts at this time be devoted to this end rather than to military purposes.

Brought to bear on a concrete issue, such attitudes add up to an absence of popular endorsement of the stationing of atomic weapons in Germany with outright opposition no less than and possibly exceeding approval. Such a disclosure calls into question, of course, public relations activities with respect to the presence of American atomic weapons in Germany based upon implicit or explicit assumptions of general public approval.

Attitudes in West Berlin are distinctly more favorable to American and Western policy than those in West Germany. And not all West German opinions are adverse. Few adhere, for example - contrary to not infrequent assumptions - to the view that America is likely to be "trigger-happy" in its use of atomic bombs; no greater minority now than two years back feel that America is in any way "war-mongering" in its defense activities; and the preponderance believe that circumstances being what they are, with the Russians in possession of atomic weapons, their possession by the West adds up to more advantage than disadvantage.

But, all in all, the findings expose very serious problems of international support vis-a-vis the role of atomic weapons in American plans for Western defense. This is all the more true if the present findings are not peculiar to West Germany, but are general on the worldwide scene - a point which in view of the significance of the present indications is pressingly in need of investigation.

CONFIDENTIAL

I. WHAT IS AMERICA'S STRENGTH IN ATOMIC WEAPONS  
AND SHOULD TESTS BE CONTINUED?

PREPONDERANT JUDGMENT AMERICA STRONGER THAN RUSSIA IN  
ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

"As far as you know, which countries at present  
have atom and hydrogen bombs?"

	West Germany (618)	West Berlin (207)
America	84%	94%
Russia	71	80
England	21	31
France	1	3
Other countries	1	3
Don't know	16	5
	194%	216%

"In your opinion which country is at present stronger  
in atomic weapons - Russia or America?" (After those  
unaware told - "America and Russia have A and H bombs.")

	West Germany	West Berlin
Russia	10%	5%
America	51	71
Both the same	15	10
No opinion	24	14
	100%	100%

OPINION-LEADING ELEMENTS MOST CONVINCED OF GREATER AMERICAN  
STRENGTH ...

"In your opinion which country is at present stronger  
in atomic weapons - Russia or America?"

	Russia	America	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	9%	59%	14%	18%...100%	271
Women	11	45	15	29	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	10	49	14	27	506
Beyond elementary	6	62	20	12	112
<u>Income (per month):</u>					
Up to 149 DM	12	41	10	37	99
150 to 299 DM	7	50	16	27	173
300 to 399 DM	12	56	14	18	143
400 to 499 DM	8	51	20	21	86
500 DM and more	10	63	13	14	93

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

MAJORITY CONCURRENCE ONLY UNDER PRESSURE FOR CONTINUANCE OF  
AMERICAN ATOMIC TESTS ...

"Have you heard anything about tests which have been carried out recently with atom and hydrogen bombs?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Yes	80%	87%
Have not heard of tests	$\frac{20}{100\%}$	$\frac{13}{100\%}$

"Are you for or against America continuing these tests for the development of atom and hydrogen bombs?" (After those unaware told - "America has recently carried out new tests with atomic weapons.")

	West Germany	West Berlin
For	37%	56%
Against	35	35
No opinion	$\frac{28}{100\%}$	$\frac{9}{100\%}$

IF Against Continuance Of Tests:

"Supposing Russia would continue its atomic tests for the development of atom and hydrogen bombs, would you even then be against America continuing its tests, or would you be for it in that case?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Yes, even then against it	6%	5%
No, in that case for it	25	29
No opinion	$\frac{4}{35\%}$	$\frac{1}{35\%}$

IF For Continuance Of Tests (on initial question):

"For what reasons would you be for it?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>It's necessary to keep up with Russia:</u>	17%	29%
"America must continue to develop these weapons in order to keep up with the Russians."		
"America mustn't get behind Russia in this field, and Russia is carrying out such tests in Siberia, after all."		
"If they didn't, Russia would become stronger than the US in the long run, and then the Russians would overrun everything."		
"Because the Russians conduct such tests, too, only you don't hear much about it."		
"Russia, too, goes ahead with developing atom bombs."		
"Because Russia also goes on with developing atomic weapons."		
"Because I'm sure the Russians will carry on their research work, too."		

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

West Germany      West Berlin

(Cont'd from preceding page)

It's necessary to gauge the effect of atomic weapons:

7%

12%

"These tests have to be conducted, otherwise you wouldn't know what happened if such weapons are used."

"Research work must be carried on in order to find out to what extent the force of atomic weapons can be regulated, otherwise the world may be blown to pieces if these weapons should actually be employed some day."

"To find out what effect atomic weapons have."

"In order to observe the effect of atomic explosions."

"The effect of every new weapon must be tested."

It's necessary to intimidate Russia:

3

6

"The Russians must be given a good scare, if they understand what damage will be done through these American bombs they won't start a new war."

"To teach them a lesson, these tests will serve to inspire respect in them."

"In order to bulldoze the Russians, they should fear us."

"They should continue these tests in order to subdue the Russians."

It's necessary for security against attack:

3

6

"They will have to continue these tests in order to insure their security."

"For their own security and in order to preserve world peace and freedom."

"They must be armed and ready to defend themselves, now as well as later on."

"You have to be prepared."

It's necessary to develop and perfect atomic weapons:

3

6

"Because they have to develop and perfect atomic weapons."

"Atomic weapons must be perfected, after all."

"So that the Americans can perfect these weapons."

"So that atomic weapons can be developed to perfection."

"They can't help it, for they mustn't stand still at the present stage of development."

It's necessary to find out how to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes:

3

3

"Because from these tests information is gleaned also as to how to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes."

"To serve scientific and medical research."

"If atomic energy isn't used for war purposes, it may be that it can be used to the peaceful service of mankind later on."

"For economic research."

If adequate safety precautions are taken:

2

5

"To a certain degree, as long as they have things under control."

"Only if people who live in that area aren't imperiled."

"As long as they can control the situation."

"Only they mustn't endanger the lives of people."

Tests should be continued (no specific reasons given):

2

0

"They should go on."

"They should go right ahead."

"No harm is done by it."

"As far as I'm concerned, they may well go ahead with their tests, nobody will be the worse for them, after all."

(Cont'd on next page)

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany      West Berlin

Other answers:

1%      2%

"I have no specific reasons, if the Americans deem it to be right and necessary, I'm sure it's all right, that's why I approve."

"Because we can't do anything about it anyway now that these weapons exist."

"So that everybody knows how deadly these weapons are."

"Only in that way will the American learn how people can protect themselves against atomic warfare."

No opinion/No answer:

\* 41%      69%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.'

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IF Against Continuance Of Tests (on initial question):

"For what reasons would you be against it?"

West Germany      West Berlin

It's too dangerous - would lead to ruin:

23%      24%

"All this is so terribly dangerous."

"Because even the tests involve fatal hazards, just think of those Japanese fishermen."

"Too many living creatures may be poisoned and vast areas may be contaminated."

"Because wherever these bombs are dropped, nothing will grow any more."

"Because those tests cause too much damage, as we have seen."

"Because it will result in the destruction of mankind."

Tests should be discontinued (no specific reasons given):

4      1

"They should leave the whole thing alone, no weapons whatever should be produced."

"Tests of any kind should be discontinued."

"No research work whatever should be done on atomic weapons from now on."

It leads to war or serves war purposes:

2      3

"Because this trend simply must lead to war."

"Because things like that always end in war."

"Because these tests exclusively serve war purposes."

"I'm very much against atomic weapons and against war and against anything that's connected with it."

It's futile as atomic weapons aren't to be used:

2      1

"These tests should be discontinued as atomic weapons won't be used, anyway."

"Atomic weapons aren't to be used, therefore they needn't be perfected either."

"Because it would mean developing something that isn't to be used."

(Cont'd on next page)



CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
It would result in an atomic armament race:	1%	1%
"If they go on with these things, the enemy will do the same."		
"Because if the Russians hear about it, they, too, will continue to develop atomic weapons."		
"If the Americans would go on with developing atomic weapons, this would act as a spur to the Russians."		
Other answers:	3	5
"Because it will only serve to terrify mankind again and again."		
"To remove East/West tension existing throughout the world."		
"I think science took a wrong course when harnessing atomic energy for using it in bomb warfare."		
No opinion/No answer:	$\frac{1}{36\%}$	$\frac{-}{35\%}$

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

SUPPORT FOR CONTINUANCE OF AMERICAN ATOMIC TESTS HIGHEST AMONG  
OPINION LEADERS ...

"Are you for or against American continuing these tests for the development of atom and hydrogen bombs?" (After those unaware told - "America has recently carried out new tests with atomic weapons.")

IF Against Continuance of Tests:

"Supposing Russia would continue its atomic tests for the development of atom and hydrogen bombs, would you even then be against America continuing its tests, or would you be for it in that case?"

	Unquali- fiedly for	Quali- fiedly for	Quali- fiedly against	Unquali- fiedly against	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	45%	25%	7%	2%	21%...100%	271
Women	31	25	5	5	34	347
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	33	26	6	3	32	506
Beyond elementary	57	20	4	6	13	112
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	27	25	4	3	41	99
150 to 299 DM	33	25	4	3	35	173
300 to 399 DM	42	23	8	3	24	143
400 to 499 DM	36	32	6	5	21	86
500 DM and more	53	26	2	6	13	93

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

## II. ARE A AND H BOMBS TOO DESTRUCTIVE TO BE USED IN WARFARE?

OPINION SOMEWHAT PREPONDERATES THAT ATOMIC WEAPONS WOULD NOT BE USED IN NEW WORLD WAR ...

"If a new world war broke out - which naturally nobody desires, do you consider it more likely that atom and hydrogen bombs would be used or do you consider it more likely that both sides would avoid using atom and hydrogen bombs?"

West Germany West Berlin

More likely that A and H bombs would be used	33%	45%
More likely that A and H bombs would not be used	49	49
No opinion	18	6
	100%	100%

POISON GAS ANALOGY, HOWEVER, APPEARS TO HAVE EFFECT OF INCREASING RATHER THEN DECREASING FEELING ATOM WEAPONS WILL BE USED ...

JAITMEDIWMOO

"Some people hold the view that atom and hydrogen bombs will not be used in a new world war, just as poison gas wasn't used in the last war either, since the destructive power of atomic weapons is frightful and therefore neither side will employ them. How do you feel about this?" \*

West Germany West Berlin

Feel that A and H bombs will be employed	38%	49%
Feel that A and H bombs will not be employed	42	44
Undecided, No opinion	20	7
	100%	100%

Comments Indicating Feeling A And H Bombs Will Be Employed

West Germany West Berlin

Atom weapons will be employed in case of extreme need:

12% 16%

"If one side is almost at the end of its means and there's no other way of defeating the enemy it would certainly employ atomic weapons."

"If things get serious they would employ them."

"If America would see no other way out it would surely employ atomic weapons."

"Both sides are afraid of it, yes, but if need be they would use them."

"They wouldn't employ atomic weapons at the beginning because it's not yet clear whether the effect can be kept under control, but in case of need if there's no other way out they would do it."

"In case of necessity it will be done."

(Cont'd on next page)

\* This question was asked much later in the interview than the preceding one to minimize the influence of the preceding judgment on answers to the present query.

- 7 -

CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

CONFIDENTIAL

West Germany    West Berlin

Atomic weapons will be employed (without specific reasons):

10%

18%

"I believe very strongly that they'll be employed."

"There'll certainly be a mass extermination in a coming war."

"Yes, this time these new weapons would be used."

"I believe that they will be employed if it came to another war."

To win and end the war as soon as possible:

5

8

"The quickest way to reach a decision will be the use of atomic weapons, each side will try to be the first to use them."

"Each nation would hurry to do so in order to be the victor later on."

"If it should come to a new war atomic weapons would be used in any case because that side which is the first to use them will get the better of the enemy."

"I'm sure that atomic weapons will be employed by both sides because each of them wants to end the war successfully in the quickest possible way."

"To end the war victoriously as soon as possible."

Because they were used already in Japan:

3

4

"Atom bombs were employed in the last war and it will also be done in a future war."

"They didn't hesitate to drop atom bombs in 1945 and they wouldn't hesitate to do so in the future."

"There were already tried on Japan and they will be used again."

"America used these weapons on Hiroshima already."

"They don't care about it, they dropped atom bombs during the last war."

Rashness or recklessness will lead to their use:

3

3

"During World War I people weren't so reckless as they're now, I'm sure they will drop atom bombs."

"They're mad enough to drop atom bombs."

"There are some madmen who wouldn't care if millions would be killed."

"I believe them capable of everything."

Atomic weapons exist and will be used exactly as bombs and poison gas were used:

2

1

"One has to make use of everything one produces."

"What do they make that stuff for?"

"All possible means were used in the last war, bombs were dropped on open towns."

"Poison gas was also employed in the last war, I no longer believe in anything."

Other answers:

2

2

"Most probably they will be used because these days nobody cares much about human lives and wars get more cruel all the time."

"Germany will be the war theater and will be destroyed with or without atomic weapons."

"Wars and weapons get more frightful and destructive all the time."

No opinion/No answer:1  
38%\*  
52%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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Comments Indicating Feeling A And H Bombs Will Not Be Employed

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Atomic weapons will not be employed (without specific reasons):</u>	19%	13%
"No, they won't dare to employ them."		
"I, too, don't believe it."		
"That's right, they won't be used."		
"They won't employ them."		
"This opinion is right, I guess, take the war in Korea - they didn't use atomic weapons over there."		
<u>Atomic weapons will not be employed because of their disastrous effect:</u>	9	21
"The frightful effect of the atom bombs will prevent East and West from employing them."		
"They probably won't be used since the destructive power is formidable."		
"I share this opinion, atom bombs mean complete destruction, no country wants to risk that."		
"Atom bombs will never be employed as already two powers possess them (it will be more later on) who don't want to kill each other."		
"It would be the end of the world if atom and hydrogen bombs would be used."		
<u>Atomic weapons will not be employed since both sides have them and neither side dares to be the first one to use them:</u>	8	6
"I don't think that these weapons will be used since the risk is the same for both sides."		
"Neither side will dare to drop atom bombs."		
"Neither side has enough courage to do the first step."		
"Because both sides have them."		
"Because they fear each other."		
<u>Atomic weapons will not be employed (qualified answers):</u>	2	1
"The Russians might use them for a surprise attack, but I don't think that they will be generally used in wars."		
"Only if there is no other way to stay alive."		
<u>Other answers:</u>	2	3
"The fuss they make about atomic weapons is only meant to frighten people."		
"Because there are enough other weapons to destroy each other."		
"I think they'll come to an agreement as to this matter."		
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	$\frac{2}{42\%}$	$\frac{*}{44\%}$

\* Less than one half of one per cent.



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OPINIONS SPLIT ON WHETHER PRODUCTION OF WEAPONS OF EVEN GREATER  
DESTRUCTIVENESS WOULD INCREASE OR DECREASE DANGER OF NEW WORLD WAR ...

"If in the future atom and hydrogen bombs of an  
even great destructive power would be produced,  
do you believe that this would tend to increase  
or reduce the general danger of a new world war?"

West Germany      West Berlin

Increase	31%	27%
Reduce	28	43
No influence	16	23
No opinion	<u>25</u>	<u>7</u>
	100%	100%

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## III. IF A AND H BOMBS USED - WHERE MOST LIKELY?

MAJORITY OF WEST GERMANS SEE GERMANY VERY LIKELY TO MOST LIKELY ATOMIC TARGET IN EVENT OF EAST/WEST WAR ...

"In your opinion, on which countries would atom and hydrogen bombs most likely be dropped in a war between East and West which involved atomic weapons?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
America	27%	43%
Russia	33	58
Germany	41	27
England	9	8
France	7	5
All these countries	13	5
Other countries: ...	9	22
No opinion	21	10
	160%	178%

IF Germany Not Mentioned As Most Likely Target:

"And how about Germany: Do you consider it very likely, a slight possibility, or unlikely that in case of such a war atom bombs would be dropped on West Germany also?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Very likely	20%	17%
A slight possibility	9	22
Unlikely	13	28
No opinion	17	6
	59%	73%

IF Germany Most Likely Target:

"Why do you think so?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Because Germany is located midway between the two spheres of power:</u>	12%	9%
"Because we lie in the middle and the two opponents meet in Germany."		
"We are the buffer between East and West, we'll be the first to suffer."		
"Because a future war will mostly be waged in our country as we are right in the middle between the two powers."		
"We're wedged in between the two forces, that's why."		
"Because Germany is located between the two assailants, between America and Russia."		
<u>Because Germany is located close to the Eastern bloc:</u>	4	3
"Because we are closest to the Russians."		
"Because the Russians are only a few kilometers off."		
"Because Germany is neareasy at hand, the Russians don't have far to go to get to us."		
"Because the Russians are rather close by, and once the Russian steamroller gets going, the others can't stop it right away."		
"They'll come upon us first, they are rather close by, after all."		

(Cont'd on next page)

West " West  
Germany Berlin

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because Germany is the bone of contention:

3% 2%

- "We are the bone of contention."
- "Because everybody wants to grab a part of Germany."
- "Because Germany is the bone of contention."
- "Because Russia doesn't want America to grab an economically strong Germany, and vice versa."
- "I guess it's because they all are at loggerheads because of Germany, people say that in a future war Germany will be the theater of operations."

Because we Germans are unpopular and feared:

3 2

- "Because they all hate us and thus we'd be exterminated at last."
- "Because they don't like us the least little bit."
- "Because both of them have it in for us, and they'll rush upon us from both sides."
- "Because the great powers would like to exterminate us."
- "Because they are afraid we'll get to the top once more, that's why they'd prefer to crush us."

Because Germany is a highly industrialized country:

3 1

- "Because I'm sure Russia would try to destroy German industry in case of war."
- "Because it's vital for Russia to destroy the Ruhr District as it's a production and armament center."
- "Because I'm sure Russia's first objective will be to smash the Ruhr District."
- "I'm sure they'll raid the Ruhr District with the intent of causing widespread destruction."
- "Because of the Ruhr District."

Because Germany is an ally of the West - a staging area for the West:

2 4

- "It would happen in case Germany would have an army again."
- "In case of war Germany would be a staging area for the West."
- "Because we produce war materials."

Because the occupation troops of both side are still in Germany:

2 2

- "Because both blocs keep occupation troops in Germany."
- "Germany is the natural choice, as both sides have settled down in Germany."
- "Because both Americans and Russians are in Germany."

Because Germany and Russia are enemies:

2 2

- "Because we are the bitterest enemy of the Russians."
- "Because Russia has it in for the Germans."
- "I guess it's because the Russians would like to overrun us some day."

Germany has always been the target:

2 1

- "We are always the dupes who are the first to get hit."
- "We are always the first to suffer."
- "Our country has been turned into a battlefield in all wars yet."

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

West Germany	West Berlin
8	1
2	1
$\frac{1}{44\%}$	$\frac{-}{28\%}$

(Cont'd from preceding page)

No specific reasons given:

"Because Germany will become a battlefield and we'll be the first to perish."

"I'm quite sure it will happen, for what reason should they spare Germany?"

"Because Germany will be dragged into any future war."

"Because a future war would be waged on German soil."

Other answers:

"Because our country is most densely populated, and therefore the greatest effect would be achieved."

"I guess it's because everything revolves around Berlin."

"Because those bombs have to be carried a long way and all over the world there are troops, while Germany is defenseless, therefore Germany will be the most convenient battlefield for them all."

No opinion/No answer:

⊗ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## CONFIDENTIAL

IV. WHAT ARE REACTIONS TO PART PLAYED BY ATOMIC WEAPONS  
IN WESTERN DEFENSE

OPINIONS SPLIT ON WHETHER AMERICA PUTS CORRECT EMPHASIS ON  
ATOMIC WEAPONS IN ITS DEFENSE PLANS ...

"Do you have the impression that America relies too heavily on its atomic weapons in its defense plans, or do you believe that America should rely more on its atomic weapons?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Relies too heavily on atomic weapons	27%	24%
Should rely more on atomic weapons	10	16
Just right as they act now	26	44
No opinion	<u>37</u>	<u>16</u>
	100%	100%

PREPONDERANCE - BUT NO MAJORITY - SEE MORE ADVANTAGES THAN DISADVANTAGES  
FROM WESTERN POSSESSION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

"Considering everything, do, in your opinion, more advantages or more disadvantages result from the West having atom and hydrogen bombs at its disposal?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
More advantages	41%	71%
More disadvantages	24	14
Undecided & Don't know	<u>35</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%

IF More Advantages From West Having A And H Bombs:

"What advantages are these, in your opinion?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Check the Russians:	10%	13%
"That may keep the Russians in check."		
"That intimidates the Russians and checks them so that they have to leave us alone."		
"So that the East can't do with us as it pleases and has to be very careful not to risk anything."		
"The Russians have to leave us alone."		
"It serves as a warning to the East."		

Enables West to match Eastern power:

	9	5
"The Russians have these bombs so the Americans must have them as well."		
"Because of these bombs the American are in an equal position with the Russians with regard to weapons."		
"It would be a disadvantage to us if only the Russians had them."		
"It balances the power between East and West."		

(Cont'd on next page)



CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West

Germany

West 1

Berlin

Keeps the Russians from starting a war:

5%

14%

"It's a very strong reason for the Russians not to start a war."

"That the Russians are afraid to start a war against the West."

"If the West has enough of these bombs a war won't be started so easily - the other side (Russia) fears these weapons and will be very careful not to plunge the world into a war."

"If we wouldn't have atomic weapons, we couldn't keep the Russians back, they would just march in here, there would have been a war long ago if it were not for the atomic weapons."

"Because they are most probably the reason why Russia doesn't start a war."

Strengthens Western superiority:

5

11

"Because that guarantees Western superiority."

"These bombs are the most powerful means of destruction and the West is in a superior position compared to Russia because the Russians don't have so many atomic weapons at their disposal."

"America has far more atom bombs than Russia and can check the East by these means."

"Because the Western powers might have more of these weapons than the Russians."

"Superiority over the Eastern powers."

Promotes security and peace:

4

9

"It will result in general security."

"We'll be in a more secure position as far as the Russians are concerned."

"We will be safer against the East because of these weapons."

"Because that gives us more hope that peace can be maintained."

"The advantage of greater security and more hope for maintaining peace."

Protection for the West (Germany) in general:

4

5

"The result is that the West won't be without protection."

"A better protection for West Germany and Western Europe."

"We have a very efficient weapon at our disposal for our protection."

"Its effect is that we are not unprotected against Communist aggression."

"The Americans' atom bombs are also a protection for us."

More strength for the West in case of war:

2

13

"Because the West would have a greater chance in case of war."

"That in case of war the Americans could fight the Russians with the most powerful weapons."

"That in case of war the enemy can be annihilated immediately - of course, you have to take into account that we may be annihilated, too."

"In case of war the West would be in a more advantageous position if it were the first to use atom bombs."

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Other answers:

1%

3%

"Atomic power can be used for peaceful purposes."

"I believe that a third world war might be prevented because these weapons exist - because the nations having them at their disposal are afraid they too might be annihilated."

"For economic reasons, if atomic power could be used for industrial purposes."

No opinion/No answer: $\frac{1}{41\%}$  $\frac{1}{74\%}$ 

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IF More Disadvantages From West Having  
A And H Bombs:"What disadvantages are these, in your opinion?"West  
GermanyWest  
BerlinThe atom bomb means total destruction:

12%

7%

"Everything will be destroyed by the atom bomb."

"The whole world will perish, even tests with atomic weapons are dangerous enough."

"Because everything will be smashed to pieces."

"It's the most dreadful disaster, it means total destruction, no remedy against it."

"The atom bomb means the end of the world."

The atom bomb increases the danger of war:

5

2

"Possession of such bombs increases the danger of war."

"I feel these bombs make the danger of war more acute."

"Because they will bring about another war."

"Only disadvantages, these bombs will precipitate a war."

"Because bombs with such destructive power only lead to war."

The atom bomb should be banned, it's the worst evil of our time:

2

1

"All A and H bombs should be destroyed."

"Production of such bombs should be prohibited to prevent total destruction."

"Atom bombs shouldn't exist at all, then there wouldn't be any quarrelling."

"The atom bomb is the worst affliction of modern man."

Germany will be the loser in any case:

2

1

"Disadvantages for us in any case since we are placed between East and West."

"Because in case of war we'll be the losers anyway."

"Because Germany would be the battle field where such bombs would be dropped."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West West  
Germany BerlinThus Russia is forced to produce atom bombs too:

- 1%

1%

"The fact that the West is in possession of A bombs forces Russia to make them too.""If one of the two opponents has such bombs at his disposal, the other wants them, too, I fear that Russia already possesses these bombs."Other answers:

2

3

"These bombs cause unrest and uneasiness with the individual.""Reunification is hampered through that."No opinion/No answer: $\frac{1}{25\%}$  $\frac{-}{15\%}$ 

\* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

OPINION LEADERS MORE INCLINED TO SEE GREATER ADVANTAGES ...

"Considering everything, do, in your opinion, more advantages or more disadvantages result from the West having atom and hydrogen bombs at its disposal?"

	More advantages	More disadvantages	Undecided, Don't know	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	48%	25%	27%...100%	271
Women	35	23	42	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	37	25	38	506
Beyond elementary	57	20	23	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	34	20	46	99
150 to 299 DM	37	25	38	173
300 to 399 DM	44	24	32	143
400 to 499 DM	43	22	35	86
500 DM and more	48	29	23	93

FEW EVIDENCE FEAR THAT AMERICA MIGHT BE TOO RASH IN USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

"Do you believe that one can rely on America using atom and hydrogen bombs only in an extreme emergency, or do you believe that America might be too rash in using atom and hydrogen bombs?"

West Germany    West Berlin

Would use only in an extreme emergency	67%	94%
Might use rashly	11	2
No opinion	<u>22</u>	<u>4</u>
	100%	100%

CHARGES OF AMERICAN "WAR-MONGERING" SHOW NO EVIDENCE OF INCREASE OVER PAST TWO YEARS ... ..

"Aside from whether both countries want a war or not - whose behavior is more likely to lead to a new world war, in your opinion, Russia's or America's?"

	West Germany		
	Dec 51	Dec 52	Apr/ May 54
	(800)	(786)	(618)
America's	6%	5%	5%
Russia's	43	46	48
Both	22	21	16
Neither	2	6	5
No opinion	27	22	26
	100%	100%	100%

IF Russia:

"And do you believe that the American behavior is very or slightly, or not at all likely to lead to war?"

	West Germany		
	Dec 51	Dec 52	Apr/ May 54
Very likely	3%	1%	2%
Slightly	23	17	16
Not at all	13	23	23
No opinion	4	5	7
	43%	46%	48%

IF American Behavior At All Likely to Lead To War:

"What is it in American behavior that leads to another world war?"

West Germany      West Berlin

American efforts at world domination - worldwide meddling:

6%      1%

"They want to rule the world, and to suppress other nations."

"The only thing that will lead to a new world war is the policy the Americans carry on which aims at world rule."

"America wants to control everything."

"They want to be the leading power and to rule the world, just as Russia does."

"That America strives for world rule."

"They play with fire just like the others, they meddle in everything, they should keep to themselves, they have a finger in every pie."

"America intervenes everywhere."

American meddling in Far East:

4      3

"American meddling in the Indo-Chinese war."

"Because they poke their noses into everything, now they've meddled in the affairs of the Indo-Chinese."

"Their meddling in Eastern Asia."

"Among other things, the Americans conclude treaties and provoke Russia, just think of Pakistan."

"That they've supplied the enemy of Russia with weapons."

(Cont'd on next page)



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America's attitude (toward Russia) is too unyielding:

"America's unyielding attitude toward Russia in all negotiations."

"They don't want to come to terms, they don't display much good will at negotiations with the Russians."

"Because the two countries pursue a different political course, and America insists on its point of view and won't yield."

"The Americans aren't willing to negotiate with the Russians."

"That stubbornness and indecision, that flaring temper of Mr. Dulles which is an indication of his uncertainty."

Business interests of American capitalists - the enormous industrial expansion:

"The Americans have always profited through war, they want to bring about a war to sell their stuff."

"There are some people over there whose only thought is to make profits through war."

"Because they have to make the most of the armament drive in order to stave off unemployment."

"America's economic situation may force it to launch a war some day."

"That enormous industrial expansion must find an outlet some day."

American propaganda - agitation - warmongering:

"International propaganda."

"Because they agitate, maybe they just want to find a convincing argument."

"Their irresponsible warmongering."

"They are too quick to rattle with the sword."

"They are aggressive, some day they may lose their self-control."

America and Russia are both too unyielding:

"That often they are too dogged, neither is willing to yield, in Berlin, for instance, they only talk all the time, they haven't actually done anything yet, this goes for the Yanks, too."

"One side stirs people up against the other, it's the same with Yanks and Russkies."

"You can't talk of behavior, two different ideologies face each other, Capitalism and Communism, both want to rule the world, if an agreement isn't reached, both will be to blame for a future war."

"Both should make concessions."

America threatens to use the atom bomb:

"America threatens too frequently to use its atom and hydrogen bombs, it relies too much on its strength."

"They provoke the Russians, this eternal menacing the others with atomic weapons."

"The Americans lead too comfortable a life, they have never suffered yet, and they want to test their new weapons."

(Cont'd on next page)

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	West Germany	West Berlin
American military activities in Europe:	2%	1%
The American armament drive:	2	1
America's attitude (toward Russia) is too yielding:	*	4
Other answers:	1	2
I consider America's unyielding attitude to be right - in spite of the danger of war which may result from it:	1	4
No opinion/No answer:	$\frac{9}{41\%}$	$\frac{*}{26\%}$

(Cont'd from preceding page)

American military activities in Europe:

"The plans for the European Defense Community may contain the seeds of war."

"The fact that they establish new bases in Europe all the time."

"That the Americans want us to have an army."

"That they want new army contingents to be set up in Europe."

The American armament drive:

"That enormous armament drive."

"That America carries out such a large rearmament program."

"Their eternal rearming, the motive behind all this is mammon."

America's attitude (toward Russia) is too yielding:

"The Americans are too yielding, and the Russians construe this as weakness and fear."

"At times the Yanks should be firmer."

Other answers:

"Their worst mistake was to suppress Germany so rigorously after the war."

"The Americans are in Germany and the Ivans, too. They are awfully close together."

I consider America's unyielding attitude to be right - in spite of the danger of war which may result from it:

"The basically unyielding attitude of America, though they are quite right, considering the present state of affairs."

"The Americans can't put up with all the East is doing, only thus may they be able to avert the Communist menace."

"America tries to prevent the spreading of Communism, it may be that this may cause the Russians to launch a war."

No opinion/No answer:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## CONFIDENTIAL

## V. ARE ATOMIC WEAPONS APPROVED FOR GERMAN DEFENSE?

UNCONDITIONAL OPPOSITION PLUS PRIOR ENEMY USE ADD UP TO PREPONDERANT POSITION ON CONDITIONS JUSTIFYING AMERICAN USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

"What circumstances, in your opinion, would justify America's using atomic weapons?"

IF As Retaliation For Enemy Use Of Atomic Weapons:

"Aside from this, are there any other circumstances which would justify the use of atomic weapons by America?"

Comment Summary

	West Germany	West Berlin
Oppose use of atomic weapons under any circumstances	14%	11%
Use justified only if others use first	26	32
	} 40%      } 43%	
Use justified under specific circumstances	32	44
No opinion	28	13
	100%	100%

Specific Comments

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Atomic weapons must not be used under any circumstances:</u>	14%	11%
"Atomic weapons must under no circumstances be used, for it would mean the end of the world."		
"They shouldn't be used under any circumstances, we can well do without another war as it is."		
"Atomic weapons should never be used."		
"They shouldn't be used at all."		
"From a humane point of view atomic weapons should not be employed, for more will be destroyed than gained by it."		
<u>Only as retaliation if others use them first:</u>	26	32
"Only if the Russians launch an attack with such weapons."		
"Atomic weapons are justified only as retaliatory means since they are barbarous."		
"There are no other reasons in my opinion, if the Russians don't use them first I can't see how we could do it."		
"There are no other reasons than retaliation that could justify the use of atomic weapons."		
"No, there is no other reason than retaliation that gives them the right to use atomic weapons."		
"Like for like."		
<u>In the event of a Russian attack on the West:</u>	17	18
"If the Russians should launch an attack or if they start war anywhere."		
"If Russia should attack any of the EDC countries."		
"They may use atomic weapons if any attack should be launched from the East."		
"A Russian attack must be countered with atomic weapons."		
"In case the Russians should attack a Western country, even if they'd not use atomic weapons."		

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

West  
GermanyUS  
Berlin

(Cont'd from preceding page)

In case the Eastern peril cannot be averted by any other means:

13%

19%

"Only if the danger should become so acute that there would be no alternative, if the Russian threat should become more serious for instance."

"If there is no other way to contain the Russians."

"If the East would outnumber America so greatly that it wouldn't be able to control the situation any longer, then they'd be entitled to use these weapons, against China, for instance."

"They should use the atomic weapons only in case the situation would get critical for the Americans."

"If the Americans would feel menaced to the extreme by the Russians, for the Russians are wholly without mercy and compassion."

As a means to end a future war quickly:

2

5

"To bring a new war to an early end."

"If a future war should be protracted endlessly, they might use these weapons to avoid that everything will be destroyed and to end a war within a short time."

"In order to stop a new war shortly after its outbreak."

"In order to end a war against Russia right away."

"So that a future war would be decided quickly."

In case the enemy employs other barbarous weapons:

1

-

"In case the Russians use some other kind of barbarous weapons."

"In case Russia should use poison gas."

"In case the enemy does something indescribably beastly."

"As a means against germ warfare."

Other answers:

2

4

"If neutral countries should be massively attacked."

"If they want to crush Communism."

"Force has to be paid back in kind."

No opinion/No answer:

28  
103%

13  
102%

⊙ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## CONFIDENTIAL

CLEAR MAJORITY OPPOSITION TO AMERICAN USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS TO STEM ANY NON-ATOMIC RUSSIAN ATTACK ON WEST GERMANY ...

"Supposing Russia would attack West Germany without using atomic weapons: would you personally then agree to America using atom and hydrogen bombs on Russia in order to defend West Germany, or wouldn't you?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Agree to using A and H bombs	22%	35%
Wouldn't agree	60	61
No opinion	18	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF Wouldn't Agree To It:

"For what reasons wouldn't you agree to it?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Because the Russians would retaliate in kind:</u>	16%	14%
"Because it would cause the other side to use atomic weapons as well."		
"Then they also would drop atom bombs."		
"The moment they use them Russia is forced to use them, too."		
"Because then Russia would fight back with atomic weapons."		
"Because Russia would retaliate with atom bombs straight away."		
"For fear of the Russian atom bombs or hydrogen bombs which would then be used as retaliation."		
<u>Because the consequences would be particularly hard on Germany:</u>	12	8
"We would have to suffer the consequences."		
"We would have to suffer from it because the atom bombs would fall on our heads."		
"Then the Russians would use atomic weapons and that means that Germany would be destroyed."		
"Then the Russians would destroy Germany by atom bombs."		
<u>Because their effect would be too disastrous:</u>	11	14
"The consequences would be too horrible."		
"Using them wouldn't mean protection but complete destruction."		
"That shouldn't be done because of the frightful destructive power of these weapons."		
"Because then the damage would be too great."		
"Too much would be destroyed."		
<u>Because it would violate humanitarian principles:</u>	8	14
"Purely for reasons of humanity."		
"I prefer a more humane way of fighting if there must be a war at all."		
"Why should everything be destroyed over there, the Russians are human beings as well as we are."		
"A human being is a human being and shouldn't be killed in such a way."		
"That would be inhuman."		

(Cont'd on next page)



CONFIDENTIAL

West	West
Germany	Berlin

(Cont'd from preceding page)

If the Russians don't use them the Americans shouldn't either:

7%

5%

"If one side doesn't use it the other side shouldn't do it either."

"If one side wouldn't do it the other side wouldn't either, it's all a question of reciprocity."

"Because each side has the same right - if Russia won't use atomic weapons America must not do it either."

"If the Russians don't the Americans also shouldn't use them."

"If the Russians don't bring it into action the Americans shouldn't do it."

Because it's not fair - both should fight each other with equal weapons:

4

7

"Because that's no longer a fair way of fighting."

"If Russia fights a war with the usual weapons one must fight back the same way, that's as was done during the last war."

"Do as you would be done by."

"It wouldn't be a fair fight."

"If the Russians would be so fair not to use them it would be mean to act differently."

Because the use of atomic weapons isn't absolutely essential:

3

4

"Because America is strong enough to fight the Russians, there's no real need for using atomic weapons."

"America defeated us so it will be able to defeat the Russians without using atomic weapons."

"German soldiers are stronger than Russian soldiers, provided, of course, that we have weapons and a well-trained army."

"They ought to be able to defend themselves without atomic weapons."

Because I'm against the use of atomic weapons:

3

1

"I'm against atomic weapons on principle."

"They should never be used."

"Atomic weapons shouldn't be used at all."

"We are against atomic weapons, that's horrible."

Other answers:

1

1

"Because that will mean total war."

"They shouldn't be worse than the Russians."

No opinion/No answer:\*  
65%1  
69%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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## CONFIDENTIAL

OPINION LEADERS NO LESS OPPOSED ON THIS ISSUE ...

"Supposing Russia would attack West Germany without using atomic weapons: would you personally then agree to America using atom and hydrogen bombs on Russian in order to defend West Germany, or wouldn't you?"

	Agree to using A and H bombs	Wouldn't agree	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	27%	60%	13%...100%	271
Women	19	60	21	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	21	60	19	506
Beyond elementary	28	62	10	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	20	54	26	99
150 to 299 DM	23	58	19	173
300 to 399 DM	23	64	13	143
400 to 499 DM	19	69	12	86
500 DM and more	27	67	6	93

NO POPULAR ENDORSEMENT OF AMERICA'S STATIONING OF ATOMIC WEAPONS IN GERMANY ...

"Can you perhaps tell me whether there are any atomic weapons in West Germany at the present time? What weapons?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Yes, American atomic cannons	23%	28%
Yes, guided atomic missiles	4	4
Yes, other atomic weapons	2	1
No opinion	<u>74</u> 103% <sup>a</sup>	<u>70</u> 103% <sup>a</sup>

"Do you approve of America having stationed atomic weapons here in West Germany, or don't you approve?"  
(After all unaware told - "For some time America has had atomic weapons stationed here in West Germany, such as cannons with atomic shells and remote-controlled carrier planes with atomic weapons.)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Approve	35%	64%
Don't approve	39	27
No opinion	<u>26</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%

IF Approve Of Atomic Weapons Stationed in Germany:  
"For what reasons do you approve?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>It helps to increase our security:</u>	18%	30%
"That increases our security, for we have no army of our own, we are absolutely defenseless."		
"Because it serves to build up our security."		
"To guarantee the security of America and of us."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

"Because it allays people's fear of an attack launched by the East."

"Because thus we don't feel left in the cold."

It serves to strengthen our defensive power:

10%      21%

"So that we have something to defend us with in case the Russians should start something."

"We'll be able to beat back an attack more quickly."

"If war should break out, it would be a good thing to have these weapons handy."

"If war should break out, they'll be needing these things."

"Because it's a very good thing if these weapons are available right away in case of a Russian attack."

It's a warning and a deterrent to the Russians:

6      13

"It will act as deterrent."

"It will serve as a warning to the Russians."

"The Russians know about these weapons and will shrink back from an attack."

"It's meant to intimidate the Russians, America is too far off."

"It may be that because of these weapons the Russians will drop any plans for an attack they may have."

We belong to the West so must go along:

2      1

"We belong to the West, after all, we accepted their help in boosting our economy, and now we have to stick by them come rain or shine."

"Either we side with the West, then we have to go along on everything, or we'll be Russianized pretty soon, I mean that the Communists would take over before long."

"Germany has no other choices, we have to stick by the West, for we can't expect anything good to come from the Russian side."

Other answers:

2      1

"Because thus an offensive war against the Russians can be conducted more easily."

"I only feel that not enough weapons have arrived, for the others are ruthless."

"Because the Russians produce such weapons, too."

No opinion/No answer:

\*      1  
38%      67%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IF Don't Approve Of Atomic Weapons Stationed In Germany:

"For what reasons don't you approve?"

West Germany      West Berlin

It means greater danger for Germany:

20%      14%

"Because it's a still greater risk for Germany."

"Because it would make Germany a very worthwhile target."

"It means an increased danger, Germany is much too densely populated."

"It's an imminent danger for our country, enemy attack will concentrate on the place where those weapons are stationed."

"Because I'm against atomic weapons, the risk will become greater because the atomic cannons will attract the enemy forces."

"It means a greater risk for us."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

For fear that Russia might use atomic weapons:

- "Because I think if the Russians hear about it they will station atomic weapons in the East Zone."  
 "I'm against atomic weapons regardless of which side is using them - if there are atomic weapons in Germany then the others will drop atom bombs right here."  
 "Because that means complete destruction for Germany, the enemy will defend himself and use the same weapons as the Americans."  
 "Then the Russians also would have the right to use atomic weapons and to station them in the East Zone."  
 "Because it means a motive for the other side to drop atom bombs here if it comes to war."

5%      4%

Germany doesn't want to have anything to do with it:

- "They and their weapons should stay at home over there, they really should let us alone since they only want us to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them."  
 "I would chase the Americans together with their atomic weapons out of the country."  
 "Because the war has been over for such a long time and there's still no peace treaty - whether America or Russia, they both should beat it out of here."  
 "If they want to start a war they should fight it out between themselves and shouldn't involve our country in it."

4      4

It's a provocation to the Russians:

- "That is a provocation to the Russians."  
 "Because it would involve Germany in another war as the Russians would take that as a provocation."  
 "Because the Russians wouldn't put up with that sort of thing."  
 "I regard that as a provocation to the Russians."

4      3

It increases the danger of war:

- "It's a great danger to peace."  
 "Because it's the best proof that everything will end in a calamity and that for the Americans we are nothing but the basis for a new war."  
 "Because in my opinion the stationing of these weapons isn't a protection against war but rather the opposite, it will bring on war."  
 "If weapons as dangerous as these are stationed on German ground we shouldn't be surprised if one day we would have a war carried into our country."

4      1

I reject war on principle:

- "I reject all weapons on principle."  
 "I'm absolutely against war and things like that will only result in misery."

3      4

Other answers:

- "It's not a fair weapon, it's murderous, I'm not at all in favor of atomic weapons."  
 "They didn't ask us in the first place, if only that wouldn't bring on war."

2      1

No opinion/No answer:

\*      -  
42%      31%

- \* Less than one half of one per cent.  
 @ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## AMONG OPINION LEADERS ALSO APPROVAL VIES WITH DISAPPROVAL ...

"Do you approve of America having stationed atomic weapons here in West Germany, or don't you approve?" (After all unaware told - "For some time America has had atomic weapons stationed here in West Germany, such as cannons with atomic shells and remote-controlled carrier planes with atomic weapons.")

	Approve	Don't approve	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	40%	42%	18%...100%	271
Women	30	38	32	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	32	41	27	506
Beyond elementary	47	32	21	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	27	37	36	99
150 to 299 DM	25	44	31	173
300 to 399 DM	44	36	20	143
400 to 499 DM	42	39	19	86
500 DM and more	42	41	17	93



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VI. DO ATOMIC DEVELOPMENTS UNDERCUT EDC?

EDC SUPPORT POSSIBLY FADING FROM EARLIER HIGH ...

"Have you ever heard or read of the EDC?"

	<u>West Germany</u>				<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 26/ Mar 3, 1954 (634)	Mar 54 (801)	Early Apr 54 (659)	Apr/ May 54 (618)	Feb 26/ Mar 3, 1954 (200)	Apr/ May 54 (207)
Yes	75%	78%	83%	78%	81%	88%
No	<u>25</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>17</u> 100%	<u>22</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>12</u> 100%

"In general, are you for or against West Germany's participation in the EDC, that is, in the West European Defense Community? Very much for it or somewhat for it? Very much against it or somewhat against it?" (After all unaware told - "Under the EDC several West European countries are to unite in a West European defense community in which West Germany is also to participate with German divisions which will be integrated in an overall West European army.")

	<u>West Germany</u>				<u>West Berlin</u>	
	Feb 26/ Mar 3, 1954 (634)	Mar 54 (801)	Early Apr 54 (659)	Apr/ May 54 (618)	Feb 26/ Mar 3, 1954 (200)	Apr/ May 54 (207)
Very much for it	30%	28%	29%	27%	56%	57%
Somewhat for it	27	31	33	26	25	20
Very much against it	13	14	11	17	6	8
Somewhat against it	10	8	13	10	4	4
No opinion	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>19</u> 100%	<u>14</u> 100%	<u>20</u> 100%	<u>9</u> 100%	<u>11</u> 100%

SUPPORT MAXIMUM AMONG OPINION LEADERS ...

	Very much for it	Somewhat for it	Somewhat against it	Very much against it	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	36%	24%	10%	19%	11%...100%	271
Women	20	27	11	15	27	347
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	24	25	10	18	23	506
Beyond elementary	42	27	10	12	9	112
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	24	17	9	15	35	99
150 to 299 DM	17	33	10	17	23	173
300 to 399 DM	35	22	13	17	13	143
400 to 499 DM	29	26	13	17	15	86
500 DM and more	33	31	8	18	10	93

CONFIDENTIAL

**SUGGESTION THAT RECENT ATOMIC DEVELOPMENTS HAVE SOMEWHAT UNDERCUT IMPORTANCE OF EDC IN WEST GERMAN EYES ...**

"Which of the two views comes closest to your opinion?"

Mr. Schulze: In view of the new atomic weapons I'm of the opinion that the present plans for the EDC have lost considerably in importance.

Mr. Maier: In spite of the development of the new atomic weapons I consider the present plans for the EDC to be just as important as before."

	West Germany	West Berlin
EDC has lost in importance	21%	11%
EDC just as important	45	75
No opinion	34	14
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

**OPINION LEADERS MORE INCLINED TO SEE EDC IMPORTANT AS EVER DESPITE ATOMIC DEVELOPMENTS ...**

	EDC has lost importance	EDC just as important	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	25%	54%	21%...100%	271
Women	19	37	44	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23	40	37	506
Beyond elementary	16	65	19	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	25	30	45	99
150 to 299 DM	20	39	41	173
300 to 399 DM	24	47	29	143
400 to 499 DM	19	57	24	86
500 DM and more	21	58	21	93

**SOME SUSCEPTIBILITY TO POSSIBLE RUSSIAN OFFER - PLEDGE AGAINST ATOMIC BOMBING IF AMERICAN BASES ELIMINATED FROM WEST EUROPE ...**

"Supposing Russia would make the following offer to the West European countries: if the West European countries make America give up its bases in West Europe, Russia pledges itself not to drop atom or hydrogen bombs on West Europe. Would you like to see the West European nations accept such an offer, or reject it?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Accept offer	24%	14%
Reject offer	52	78
No opinion	24	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

## STRONG MAJORITY REJECTION OF SUCH A DEAL AMONG OPINION LEADERS ...

"Supposing Russia would make the following offer to the West European countries: if the West European countries make America give up its bases in West Europe, Russia pledges itself not to drop atom or hydrogen bombs on West Europe. Would you like to see the West European countries accept such an offer, or reject it?"

	Accept offer	Reject offer	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	19%	65%	16%...100%	271
Women	27	42	31	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	26	48	26	506
Beyond elementary	14	68	18	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	21	42	37	99
150 to 299 DM	26	45	29	173
300 to 399 DM	25	60	15	143
400 to 499 DM	32	52	16	86
500 DM and more	16	68	16	93

## CONFIDENTIAL

## VII. WHAT ARE REACTIONS TO "MASSIVE RETALIATION" WARNING?

VERY FEW AWARE OF ANY AMERICAN STATEMENTS ABOUT REVISIONS IN DEFENSE PLANS ...

"Have you heard or read that in the past few months statements have been made in American quarters about changes in American defense plans?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Yes	10%	13%
No	79	85
No opinion	11	2
	100%	100%

## PREPONDERANCE APPROVES AMERICAN WARNING ...

"America stated that in the future an attack on a country in the Western camp will not be countered only on local basis, but that America is resolved to employ massive retaliation where and with what means it deems appropriate.

Do you personally approve of this American statement, or do you disapprove of it?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Approve	46%	72%
Disapprove	22	16
No opinion	32	12
	100%	100%

IF Approve Statement On Massive Retaliation:

"Why do you approve of it?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Because this statement increases our security:</u>	16%	29%
"Because now people know that the Americans will come to their rescue immediately in case of an attack."		
"Because it's a guarantee for protection for the West, we are dependent on American support."		
"Because this statement makes us feel more secure and confident."		
"Because we'd be defenseless in case of a Russian attack."		
"It means greater security for Europe, we can't defend ourselves all alone."		

Because the only way to deal with the Russians is to employ a policy of strength:

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>"The day has come to put a stop to those plundering expeditions of the Russians."</u>	13	33
"Because it means to check Bolshevism firmly."		
"The only language the Russians understand is a policy of strength which America has to employ now, America mustn't flinch before those Communists all the time."		
"It's better that way, I mean, if America prevents any further outrages."		
"Because at present the wisest course of action is to employ a policy of strength toward the Russians."		

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

West  
GermanyWest  
Berlin

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because this statement acts as deterrent to Russia:

9%

7%

"Because it will keep the Russians from getting too bold, they know now that America means business."

"Because it will make the Russians shrink from aggression."

"Because the statement will act as a deterrent to the aggressors."

"Because it means the Russians have been warned once and for all what's in the offing, they cannot count on an easy war with the West any longer."

"Because the Russians will come to understand that to attack us means to take a grave risk."

Because this statement will serve to preserve peace and freedom:

4

3

"So that peace will be maintained."

"People all over the world certainly are fed up with war and its consequences, therefore you can't but call it a good thing if there's sort of a police force, I mean, America, which sees to it that peace is maintained."

"Because it means guaranteeing freedom."

"Because nobody can start another war without being punished for it, if they hadn't made this statement, new wars along the lines of Korea might have occurred."

Because the situation needed to be clarified:

1

1

"The situation has to be clarified some time."

"America lost no time in intervening, an early decision will be brought about."

Because we can expect more advantages from American supremacy:

1

1

"I certainly prefer American supremacy to the Russians playing a leading role, the Russians are too radical and inhuman for my taste."

"Because we can expect more good things to come to us from the Americans than from the Russians."

Other answers:

3

2

"As I live in a Western country, I can't but approve of this statement."

"In case of war I certainly would welcome their decision."

"They've done the right thing."

"Military and strategic considerations make this move imperative."

No opinion/No answer:\*  
47%\*  
76%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.



## CONFIDENTIAL

IF Disapprove Statement On Massive Retaliation:  
"Why do you disapprove of it?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Because such a statement increases the danger of another world war:</u>	10%	7%
"Because of bagatelles the world will be plunged into war."		
"Because that would mean another world war."		
"That might lead to war in all parts of the world."		
"Such a statement might not only provoke Russia but might turn a small local conflict into a world war."		
"You can't involve the whole world in a war just because one country is attacked, as it was the case in the last two world wars."		
<u>Because it does not serve the cause of peace:</u>	4	5
"That doesn't serve the cause of peace."		
"That jeopardizes all efforts for peace."		
"America should do actual peace work, not only talk about it even if its powerful position is somewhat weakened by such an effort to maintain peace. It would earn a more respected place in history if it would bring about world peace instead of going all out to defend some country that has been attacked."		
"Retaliation doesn't lead to peace, to achieve a lasting peace greater efforts are needed."		
<u>Because it would increase the danger of Germany being ravaged:</u>	3	3
"Because we too would be endangered then, we would become a theater of operations."		
"Because Germany shouldn't become a battle field."		
"Because we all would most likely perish."		
"Because everything would be reduced to rubble."		
<u>Because I don't trust America:</u>	2	2
"I don't trust the Americans, they don't keep their promises."		
"Because I don't believe the Americans."		
"It's all idle talk, they'll beat it, they won't stop a Russian advance anyhow."		
<u>Other answers:</u>	3	1
"They don't act diplomatically, drastic means are of no use, nothing is achieved that way, we know that by experience."		
"We don't know what kind of measures that will be."		
"Because America only waits for our soldiers to be ready."		
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	* 22%	- 18%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer,

## BUT OPINIONS DIFFER AS TO WHETHER WARNING MEANS USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

"In your opinion, does this statement mean that America would employ also atom and hydrogen bombs in its retaliatory measures, or don't you interpret it this way?"

West Germany West Berlin

Means employment of atomic weapons	42%	52%
Don't interpret it this way	33	36
Don't know	<u>25</u>	<u>12</u>
	100%	100%

## APPROVAL OF AMERICAN WARNING CONTINUES TO PREPONDERATE WHEN MAJOR PRO AND CON ARGUMENT INTRODUCED ...

"Two persons are discussing this American statement.

Mr. Schulze: I approve of this American position as the time has come when Communist aggression must be decisively countered.

Mr. Maier: I don't approve of this American position as a minor Communist aggression may thus develop into a world war.

Which view comes closest to your opinion?"

West Germany West Berlin

Mr. Schulze	45%	68%
Mr. Maier	30	23
Qualified answer	2	-
No opinion, Undecided	<u>23</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%

## MOST APPROVAL - BUT NOT CLEAR MAJORITY - AMONG OPINION LEADERS ...

	Mr. Schulze	Mr. Maier	Qualified answer	No opinion, Undecided	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	51%	32%	3%	14%...100%	271
Women	40	28	2	30	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	41	32	2	25	506
Beyond elementary	59	21	4	16	112
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	39	31	-	30	99
150 to 299 DM	40	30	2	28	173
300 to 399 DM	51	29	1	19	143
400 to 499 DM	48	33	3	16	86
500 DM and more	52	31	5	12	93

MAJORITY CONVINCED AMERICAN WARNING IS NO BLUFF ...

"Do you believe that America will carry out its warning in case of an attack on a country in the Western camp, or don't you?"

	ALL	West Germany		
		Warning means A-weapons	Warning does not mean A-weapons	Don't know what warning implies
Will carry out warning	58%	75%	61%	25%
Won't carry out warning	9	7	17	2
Don't know	<u>33</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>73</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	ALL	West Berlin		
		Warning means A-weapons	Warning does not mean A-weapons	Don't know what warning implies
Will carry out warning	80%	86%	81%	46%
Won't carry out warning	10	7	15	8
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>46</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF Believe America Wouldn't Carry Out Its Warnings:  
 "For what reasons wouldn't America carry out its warning?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>They will be deterred by the consequences:</u>	3%	6%
"I guess they'll shrink from doing it when thinking of the consequences."		
"Too much is at stake, the American government aims at preserving peace in Europe and not at bringing on a new war."		
"They wouldn't do it rashly, for then open war between East and West might break out,"		
"Because they'll come to the conclusion that only more harm will be done, for then a local war will turn into a world-wide war."		
"Because not only the combatants will perish, but also the adjoining countries."		
<u>They will reconsider the planned course of action and will negotiate:</u>	3	2
"They'd think better of it, for they'll find that they may easily overshoot the mark."		
"They'll think the whole thing over once more and will then negotiate first."		
"If there'd be a danger of a new world war breaking out, they'd negotiate first."		
"They'd think the whole thing over first."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West	West
Germany	Berlin

They are afraid:

1%

1%

"Because they are much too afraid to do any such thing."

"To wage war you need people who are willing to risk their lives, and I doubt whether there are such people in America."

"They themselves have cold feet, and the Russians won't start a new war."

They are not interested in Europe (Germany):

1

1

"They don't take such a keen interest in the Western countries."

"The Germans aren't very important for the Americans, I don't quite believe in their help."

"They'll carry out their warning only if the United States proper is attacked."

Other answers:

1

\*

"Such a situation will never arise."

"They still have enough of the last war."

No opinion/No answer:9%10%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## CONFIDENTIAL

## VIII. WHO IS TO BLAME FOR FAILURE TO OUTLAW ATOMIC WARFARE?

MAJORITY OF WEST GERMANS STILL UNAWARE OF ANY AMERICAN EFFORTS TO PREVENT THE USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY FOR WAR ...

"Have you heard or read of any efforts aimed at preventing the use of atomic energy for war? - Who made these efforts?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Yes, America	12%	29%
Yes, Russia	7	9
Yes, both	9	11
Other countries	9	7
Don't know	63	44
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF Russia Not Mentioned:

"And can you perhaps tell me whether Russia has shown an interest in an international ban of atomic weapons or has made any efforts towards an agreement on a ban of atomic weapons?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Yes, it has	12%	27%
No, it hasn't	6	12
No opinion	66	41
	<u>84%</u>	<u>80%</u>

MANY SEE AMERICA AS AT LEAST PARTLY TO BLAME FOR NO AGREEMENT ON BANNING ATOMIC WEAPONS ...

"In your opinion, who is most to blame that an agreement on a ban of atomic weapons has not yet come about: America or Russia?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
America	7%	4%
Russia	30	64
Both	25	12
No opinion	38	20
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF America or Both America And Russia To Blame:

"Why is America (also) to blame, in your eyes?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Because America doesn't want to relinquish its advantage:</u>	9%	4%
"America doesn't want to give up its superiority with regard to atomic weapons."		
"America had atomic weapons, Russia didn't have them - so America didn't want to give up this advantage."		
"The Americans don't want to give away their would-be superiority so easily."		
"It doesn't want to risk its dominant position."		
"Because it thinks its atomic weapons are better than those of the others."		

(Cont'd on next page)



## CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West	West
Germany	Berlin

Because America didn't show enough willingness to negotiate:

8%	3%
----	----

"Its attitude is too stubborn, it doesn't show any willingness to compromise."

"They won't give in."

"Their way of negotiating is too one-sided."

"They also won't yield."

"Because they are as stubborn as the Russians."

Because America distrusts Russia:

5%	4%
----	----

"America won't trust the Russians."

"Because America doesn't trust the Russians in any way."

"Because America doesn't trust Russia."

"Because they fear the Russians and distrust them."

Because America is not interested in the ban of atomic weapons:

3	1
---	---

"They are not really interested in it."

"If they had been interested they could have stopped the production of atom bombs."

"Probably they both aren't too interested."

"Perhaps none of them honestly intended to reach this agreement."

Because America wants to make money out of the armament industry:

1	-
---	---

"If an agreement would come about, the sword rattling and the armament race would have to be stopped and those big industry bosses in America who form the present government are not at all interested therein."

"They want to find some use for that stuff because otherwise all the money would just go down the drain."

"America invested so much money in the production of the atom bombs that it simply can't afford to scrap them now."

Other answers:

2	2
---	---

"Because America thought that Russia didn't have atomic weapons yet."

"Russia wouldn't be so full of distrust if America wouldn't make such vigorous efforts to bring about the EDC."

"Because Russia didn't accept America's proposals - America had to refuse Russia's suggestion to stop atomic production as it didn't provide for a disarmament."

No opinion/No answer:

6	2
34%	16%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"In your opinion, should America have done more or not in order to reach an agreement on an international ban of atomic weapons?"

West Germany    West Berlin

Yes, should have done more	24%	17%
No	29	64
No opinion	47	19
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

PREPONDERANCE APPROVE AND UNAWARE OF DISADVANTAGES IN ATOMIC WEAPON BAN WITHOUT FURTHER DISARMAMENT ...

"Let's suppose that observance of an international agreement on a ban of atomic weapons would be guaranteed. Which of the following views comes closest to your own opinion in that case?"

An international agreement on a ban of atomic weapons should be reached as soon as possible, even if an understanding on a general disarmament of all other military weapons hasn't yet been achieved.

One should ban atomic weapons only if at the same time an agreement on a general disarmament of all other military weapons can be reached."

West Germany    West Berlin

Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament	47%	51%
Ban of atomic weapons only if agreement on general disarmament	28	40
No opinion	25	9
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF Ban Of Atomic Weapons Even Without General Disarmament:

"Do you see any disadvantages for the West if an international agreement on a ban of atomic weapons came about without a general disarmament of all other military weapons being achieved at the same time?"

West Germany    West Berlin

Yes, disadvantages	4%	2%
No, no disadvantages	37	48
No opinion	6	1
	<u>47%</u>	<u>51%</u>

OPINION LEADERS NO MORE AWARE OF WESTERN DISADVANTAGES IN PURELY  
ATOMIC DISARMAMENT ...

"Do you see any disadvantages for the West if an international agreement on a ban of atomic weapons came about without a general disarmament of all other military weapons being achieved at the same time?"

	Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament and see no disadvantages	Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament and see disadvantages	Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament and no opinion on disadvantages	Ban of atomic weapons only if agreement on general disarmament	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>						
Men	42%	4%	4%	34%	16%	271
Women	34	4	7	23	32	347
<b>Education:</b>						
Elementary school	49	10	3	29	28	506
Beyond elementary	49	10	5	24	12	112
<b>Income:</b>						
Up to 149 DM	28	4	5	23	40	99
150 to 299 DM	32	4	5	29	30	173
300 to 399 DM	39	3	9	29	20	143
400 to 499 DM	48	2	8	30	12	86
500 DM and more	46	8	3	30	13	93

## CONFIDENTIAL

## IX. IS AMERICA DOING WHAT IT SHOULD TOWARD PEACEFUL USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY?

PREVAILING OPINION THAT AMERICA NOT DOING EVERYTHING IT SHOULD TOWARD PEACEFUL USE OF ATOMIC ENERGY ...

"Do you know whether any efforts are being made towards utilizing atomic energy for peaceful purposes?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Yes	56%	77%
No	27	15
No opinion	17	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"In your opinion, does America do everything it should do in order to utilize atomic energy for peaceful purposes, or do you feel it should do more?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Does everything it should do	21%	55%
Should do more	40	27
No opinion	39	18
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

LARGE PREPONDERANCE HOLD THAT PRIMARY EMPHASIS IN AMERICAN ATOMIC EFFORTS AT PRESENT TIME SHOULD BE TOWARD PEACEFUL PURPOSES ...

"In your opinion, should America at the present time direct its efforts more towards developing atomic energy for military purposes or towards developing it for peaceful purposes?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
More toward military purposes	10%	15%
More toward peaceful purposes	50	39
Towards both aims equally intensively	24	41
No opinion	16	5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF America Should Direct Efforts More Toward Peaceful Purposes:

"Why not for military purposes?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>Because developing atomic energy for military purposes leads to war:</u>	23%	12%
"Developing atomic power for military purposes leads to war, but we don't want another war."		
"More and more atom bombs are being produced, that costs a lot of money, it means they'll put them to use some day, no doubt, thus they'll endanger peace."		
"Developing atomic energy for military purposes might mean that a war is around the corner."		
"Developments along these lines increase the danger of war."		
"If efforts are directed towards developments in the military field, we'll soon have another war."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because of the disastrous effect of atomic weapons:

"Because mankind and nature will be destroyed if atomic power is developed for military purposes."

"Developing atomic energy in the military field means extermination of mankind, while developing it for peaceful purposes would turn out to be a great boon to people."

"It means extermination and death, we should try to prevent it."

"Because whole countries can be destroyed through atomic weapons."

"Extermination would be total."

13% 16%

Because developing atomic energy for peaceful purposes is preferable:

8 6

"Peaceful purposes are far more important than military purposes."

"Atomic energy should be used for commercial purposes, that's far better than to use it as an instrument of destruction."

"It would be much wiser to use this power for peaceful purposes."

"I think that using atomic power for peaceful purposes would be of greater value to us."

Because it would lead to an atomic race:

1 2

"Because the opponents will do the same, thus increasing the danger of war."

"It means an eternal race ending in a war."

"The enemy must then also start rearming."

Because atomic weapons aren't to be used:

1 3

"Because atomic weapons aren't to be used, anyway."

"Because atomic weapons are to be prohibited."

"Atomic weapons are not essential for waging war."

Other answers:

3 3

"It would give America too overwhelming a superiority."

"We are fed up with military forces here in Germany."

"The Americans should slowly get used to the idea of living in peace with other nations, and should abandon the idea of making profits through war."

No opinion/No answer:

2 1  
51% 43%

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.



CONFIDENTIAL

OPINION LEADERS SOMEWHAT MORE INCLINED TO SEE MILITARY PURPOSES  
EQUALLY IMPORTANT ...

"In your opinion, should America at the present time  
direct its efforts more towards developing atomic  
energy for military purposes or towards developing  
it for peaceful purposes?"

	Military purposes	Peaceful purposes	Towards both aims equally inten- sively	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	14%	45%	29%	12%...100%	271
Women	7	53	21	19	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	9	50	22	19	506
Beyond elementary	11	46	37	6	112
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	8	55	10	27	99
150 to 299 DM	11	51	17	21	173
300 to 399 DM	8	45	36	11	143
400 to 499 DM	9	51	32	8	86
500 DM and more	14	44	33	9	93

Comparison Of Population Subgroups On Questions Posed  
In the Present Study

**I. WHAT IS AMERICA'S STRENGTH IN ATOMIC WEAPONS  
AND SHOULD TESTS BE CONTINUED?**

**"As far as you know, which countries at present  
have atom and hydrogen bombs?"**

	America	Russia	England	France	Other countries	Don't know	No. of cases
<b>West Germans Generally:</b>	84%	71%	21%	1%	1%	16%...194	618**
<b>Sex:</b>							
Men	90	83	30	1	1	9 ...214	271
Women	78	62	14	*	2	22 ...178	347
<b>Education:</b>							
Elementary school	80	68	19	1	1	19 ...188	506
Beyond elementary	98	88	31	1	2	3 ...223	112
<b>Income:</b>							
Up to 149 DM	62	50	7	-	3	37 ...159	99
150 to 299 DM	83	68	18	1	2	16 ...188	173
300 to 399 DM	89	77	22	-	1	11 ...200	143
400 to 499 DM	93	81	27	1	-	7 ...209	86
500 DM and more	92	83	32	2	1	8 ...218	93
<b>Age:</b>							
18 to 24 years	90	78	24	-	-	10 ...202	68
25 to 34 years	90	77	23	1	2	9 ...202	137
35 to 44 years	81	72	20	1	1	19 ...194	142
45 to 54 years	79	68	21	2	2	19 ...191	126
55 years and over	80	66	17	-	1	20 ...184	143
<b>Party Preference:</b>							
SPD	92	80	19	-	-	8 ...199	106
CDU/CSU	83	68	21	1	3	17 ...193	168
FDP	94	85	35	3	-	6 ...223	34
Other parties	87	81	22	-	6	10 ...206	31
No party	82	72	22	2	1	17 ...196	188
No answer	69	55	16	-	-	30 ...170	82
<b>Occupation:</b>							
Professionals	91	82	54	-	-	9 ...236	11
Businessmen	96	87	39	-	-	4 ...226	46
White-collar workers	98	93	42	2	2	2 ...239	41
Skilled laborers	94	87	34	-	1	7 ...223	91
Semi-skilled laborers	85	76	18	3	2	13 ...197	62
Farmers	83	65	20	-	2	15 ...185	40
Housewives	78	62	12	*	1	22 ...175	239
Unemployed	70	70	10	-	-	30 ...180	10
Pensioners; retired	68	59	13	-	2	32 ...174	53
<b>Origin:</b>							
Natives	83	71	22	1	1	16 ...194	506
Expellees, Refugees	84	71	19	2	4	16 ...196	109
<b>Religion:</b>							
Catholics	82	68	21	1	2	18 ...192	278
Protestants	83	71	21	1	1	17 ...194	307
<b>City Size:</b>							
Up to 1,999	74	61	17	1	2	24 ...179	177
2,000 to 24,999	84	72	19	1	2	16 ...194	206
25,000 to 99,999	88	72	19	-	-	12 ...191	65
100,000 and over	89	80	29	1	1	10 ...210	170
<b>Land:</b>							
Bavaria	74	62	13	1	2	26 ...178	111
Hesse	82	78	16	-	-	18 ...194	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	89	74	19	1	2	11 ...196	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	84	75	27	1	2	15 ...204	169
Schleswig/Holstein	87	78	24	-	3	11 ...203	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	89	77	3	-	-	11 ...180	35

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

② Some respondents gave more than one answer.

\*\* Returns cited for population groups for whom few cases are available in a representative sample are intended to be merely suggestive and should be interpreted with care.

## CONFIDENTIAL

06224

"In your opinion, which country is at present stronger in atomic weapons - Russia or America?"

	Russia	America	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	10%	51%	15%	24%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	9	59	14	18	271
Women	11	45	15	29	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	10	49	14	27	506
Beyond elementary	6	62	20	12	112
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	12	41	10	37	99
150 to 299 DM	7	50	16	27	173
300 to 399 DM	12	56	14	18	143
400 to 499 DM	8	51	20	21	86
500 DM and more	10	63	13	14	93
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	16	52	13	19	68
25 to 34 years	8	62	11	19	137
35 to 44 years	8	51	14	27	142
45 to 54 years	11	48	16	25	126
55 years and over	10	44	19	27	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	17	49	13	21	106
CDU/CSU	11	56	14	19	168
FDP	3	73	9	15	34
Other parties	7	61	16	16	31
No party	7	47	17	29	188
No answer	7	44	15	34	82
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	-	55	27	18	11
Businessmen	15	55	17	13	46
White-collar workers	8	73	12	7	41
Skilled laborers	12	58	15	15	91
Semi-skilled laborers	8	56	18	18	62
Farmers	7	58	13	22	40
Housewives	11	43	14	32	239
Unemployed	-	50	10	40	10
Pensioners, ret.	7	38	17	38	53
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	11	50	14	25	506
Expellees, Refugees	4	60	16	20	109
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	11	50	16	23	278
Protestants	9	52	12	27	307
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	7	56	12	25	177
2,000 to 24,999	11	52	12	25	206
25,000 to 99,999	8	54	12	26	65
100,000 and over	12	45	21	22	170
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	15	47	9	29	111
Hesse	5	53	13	29	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	11	51	14	24	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	10	46	18	26	169
Lower Saxony	6	54	14	26	95
Schleswig/Holstein	5	70	11	14	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	11	72	6	11	35

"Are you for or against America continuing these tests for the development of atom and hydrogen bombs?" (After those unaware told - "America has recently carried out new tests with atomic weapons.")

06225

IF Against Continuance of Tests:

"Supposing Russia would continue its atomic tests for the development of atom and hydrogen bombs, would you even then be against America continuing its tests, or would you be for it in that case?"

	Unquali- fiedly for	Quali- fiedly for	Quali- fiedly against	Unquali- fiedly against	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	37%	25%	6%	4%	28%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	45	25	7	2	21	271
Women	31	25	5	5	34	347
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	33	26	6	3	32	506
Beyond elementary	57	20	4	6	13	112
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	27	25	4	3	41	99
150 to 299 DM	33	25	4	3	35	173
300 to 399 DM	42	23	8	3	24	143
400 to 499 DM	36	32	6	5	21	86
500 DM and more	53	26	6	2	13	93
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	33	30	7	7	23	68
25 to 34 years	43	28	3	4	22	137
35 to 44 years	42	19	8	-	31	142
45 to 54 years	34	29	5	3	29	126
55 years and over	32	24	6	5	33	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	36	34	10	3	17	106
CDU/CSU	44	22	3	2	29	168
FDP	59	23	6	3	9	34
Other parties	48	33	6	3	10	31
No party	34	21	6	5	34	188
No answer	22	28	4	2	44	82
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	55	18	9	9	9	11
Businessmen	43	28	13	9	7	46
White-collar workers	54	34	-	-	12	41
Skilled laborers	45	27	10	-	18	91
Semi-skilled laborers	43	23	5	3	26	62
Farmers	43	27	-	-	30	40
Housewives	29	24	5	5	37	239
Unemployed	30	30	-	10	30	10
Pensioners; ret.	27	22	4	4	43	53
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	36	25	6	3	30	506
Expellees, Refugees	47	24	6	5	18	109
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	37	26	4	2	31	278
Protestants	37	25	6	4	28	307
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	40	23	3	1	33	177
2,000 to 24,999	40	21	6	4	29	206
25,000 to 99,999	33	18	9	5	35	65
100,000 and over	33	35	6	5	21	170
<u>Land:</u>						
Bavaria	38	34	5	1	22	111
Hesse	25	29	18	4	24	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	48	29	2	2	19	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	33	26	9	3	29	169
Lower Saxony	31	16	3	6	44	95
Schleswig/Holstein	67	19	-	3	11	37
Rheinland/Pfals	28	17	-	6	49	35

## 11. ARE A AND H BOMBS TOO DESTRUCTIVE TO BE USED IN WARFARE?

"If a new world war broke out - which naturally nobody desires, do you consider it more likely that atom and hydrogen bombs would be used or do you consider it more likely that both sides would avoid using atom and hydrogen bombs?"

	More likely that A and H bombs would be used	More likely that A and H bombs would not be used	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany</u>				
Generally:	33%	49%	18%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	31	56	13	271
Women	34	43	23	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	32	48	20	506
Beyond elementary	35	55	10	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	36	38	26	99
150 to 299 DM	30	52	18	173
300 to 399 DM	34	51	15	143
400 to 499 DM	31	55	14	86
500 DM and over	34	54	12	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	41	50	9	68
25 to 34 years	29	57	14	137
35 to 44 years	34	46	20	142
45 to 54 years	33	45	22	126
55 years and over	33	47	20	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	32	56	12	106
CDU/CSU	34	48	18	168
FDP	32	62	6	34
Other parties	36	61	3	31
No party	32	47	21	188
No opinion	36	37	27	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	64	27	9	11
Businessmen	32	57	11	46
White-collar workers	32	66	2	41
Skilled laborers	33	58	9	91
Semi-skilled laborers	27	52	21	62
Farmers	38	40	22	40
Housewives	34	42	24	239
Unemployed	40	20	40	10
Pensioners;ret.; etc.	17	62	21	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	34	48	18	506
Expellees, Refugees	29	54	17	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	35	49	16	278
Protestants	31	49	20	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	34	45	21	177
2,000 - 24,999	29	56	15	206
25,000 - 99,999	31	52	17	65
100,000 and over	37	44	19	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	33	52	15	111
Hesse	28	56	16	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	38	49	13	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	28	52	20	169
Lower Saxony	14	57	29	95
Schleswig Holstein	52	40	8	37
Rheinland Pfalz	72	17	11	35



"Some people held the view that atom and hydrogen bombs will not be used in a new world war, just as poison gas wasn't used in the last war, since the destructive power of atomic weapons is frightful and therefore neither side will employ them. How do you feel about this?"

	Feel that A and H bombs will be employed	Feel that A and H bombs will not be employed	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany</u>				
<u>Generally</u>	38%	42%	20%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	38	40	14	271
Women	37	38	25	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	37	41	22	506
Beyond elementary	43	48	9	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	38	34	28	99
150 to 299 DM	37	42	21	173
300 to 399 DM	39	43	18	143
400 to 499 DM	36	51	13	86
500 DM and more	42	46	12	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	43	35	22	68
25 to 34 years	36	51	13	137
35 to 44 years	37	46	17	142
45 to 54 years	38	41	21	126
55 years and over	36	35	29	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	37	51	12	106
CDU/CSU	41	41	18	168
FDP	41	50	9	34
Other parties	45	45	10	31
No party	38	41	21	188
No answer	29	32	39	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	64	27	9	11
Businessmen	32	61	7	46
White-collar workers	47	51	2	41
Skilled laborers	45	47	8	91
Semi-skilled laborers	42	40	18	62
Farmers	40	33	27	40
Housewives	34	39	27	239
Unemployed	40	30	30	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	28	45	27	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	37	42	21	506
Expellees, Refugees	43	41	16	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	37	44	19	278
Protestants	37	41	22	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	37	36	27	177
2,000 to 24,999	39	45	16	206
25,000 to 99,999	28	44	28	65
100,000 and over	41	44	15	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	34	47	19	111
Hesse	29	47	24	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	52	31	17	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	36	46	18	169
Lower Saxony	33	41	26	95
Schleswig Holstein	40	49	11	37
Rheinland/Pfals	46	14	40	35

## CONFIDENTIAL

"If in the future atom and hydrogen bombs of an even greater destructive power would be produced, do you believe that this would tend to increase or reduce the general danger of a new world war?"

	Increase	Reduce	No influence	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	31%	28%	16%	25%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	26	36	20	18	271
Women	35	22	12	31	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	31	26	15	28	506
Beyond elementary	27	40	20	13	112
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	27	20	15	38	99
150 to 299 DM	35	21	16	28	173
300 to 399 DM	25	32	16	27	143
400 to 499 DM	32	34	14	20	86
500 DM and more	34	41	19	6	93
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	38	28	19	15	60
25 to 34 years	35	29	17	19	137
35 to 44 years	29	28	18	25	142
45 to 54 years	31	29	13	27	126
55 years and over	25	26	14	35	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	37	32	13	10	106
CDU/CSU	30	30	16	24	168
FDP	29	44	15	12	34
Other parties	33	45	3	19	31
No party	31	23	19	27	188
No opinion	23	22	16	39	82
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	27	37	9	27	11
Businessmen	26	39	24	11	46
White-collar workers	27	58	5	10	41
Skilled laborers	32	37	18	13	91
Semi-skilled laborers	35	23	23	19	62
Farmers	25	20	20	35	40
Housewives	34	21	13	32	239
Unemployed	10	30	20	40	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	19	34	11	36	53
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	30	28	16	26	506
Expellees, Refugees	30	30	16	24	109
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	32	25	17	26	278
Protestants	30	29	16	25	307
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up - 1,999	24	28	13	35	177
2,000 - 24,999	32	27	20	21	206
25,000 - 99,999	26	26	20	28	65
100,000 and over	38	31	12	19	170
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	33	24	20	23	111
Hesse	40	27	11	22	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	34	25	16	25	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	35	30	14	21	169
Lower Saxony	16	30	13	41	95
Schleswig Holstein	32	49	5	14	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	26	9	31	34	35

## 111. IF A AND H BOMBS USED - WHERE MOST LIKELY?

"In your opinion, on which countries would atom and hydrogen bombs most likely be dropped in a war between East and West which involved atomic weapons?"

IF Germany Not Mentioned As Most Likely Target:

"And how about Germany: Do you consider it very likely, a slight possibility, or unlikely that in case of such a war atom bombs would be dropped on West Germany also?"

	Most likely	Very likely	A slight possibility	Unlikely	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany</u>						
Generally:	41%	20%	9%	13%	17%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	39	19	12	18	12	271
Women	42	22	7	8	21	347
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	42	20	7	12	19	506
Beyond elementary	38	22	15	14	11	112
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	46	17	7	11	19	99
150 to 299 DM	39	23	6	10	22	173
300 to 399 DM	37	23	10	15	15	143
400 to 499 DM	42	23	14	13	5	86
500 DM and more	45	19	11	14	11	93
<u>Age:</u>						
14 to 24 years	49	23	10	12	6	68
25 to 34 years	41	17	12	16	14	137
35 to 44 years	40	23	9	12	16	140
45 to 54 years	40	23	7	10	20	126
55 years and over	39	18	7	12	24	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	45	24	8	13	10	106
CDU/CSU	41	20	13	13	13	168
FDP	50	17	15	9	9	34
Other parties	51	10	10	23	6	31
No party	39	19	6	14	22	188
No answer	33	28	4	7	28	82
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	28	27	9	18	18	11
Businessmen	37	20	2	28	13	46
White-collar workers	37	22	19	15	7	41
Skilled laborers	38	24	16	15	7	91
Semi-skilled laborers	42	16	10	16	16	62
Farmers	47	7	13	13	20	40
Housewives	42	21	6	8	23	239
Unemployed	40	30	10	-	20	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	39	23	6	15	17	53
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	42	21	8	12	17	506
Expellees, Refugees	39	18	12	17	14	109
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	39	21	9	14	17	278
Protestants	41	20	9	11	19	307
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	48	15	7	12	18	177
2,000 to 24,999	43	17	8	16	16	206
25,000 to 99,999	31	38	5	8	18	65
100,000 and over	34	24	13	12	17	170
<u>Land:</u>						
Bavaria	41	22	10	12	15	111
Hesse	35	22	7	18	18	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	59	9	6	14	12	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	34	19	11	15	21	169
Lower Saxony	44	21	10	5	20	95
Schleswig/Holstein	32	27	11	19	11	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	46	37	-	3	14	35

IV. WHAT ARE REACTIONS TO PART PLAYED BY ATOMIC WEAPONS  
IN WESTERN DEFENSE?

"Do you have the impression that America relies too heavily on its atomic weapons in its defense plans, or do you believe that America should rely more on its atomic weapons?"

	Relies too heavily on atomic weapons	Should rely more on atomic weapons	Just right as they act now	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	27%	10%	26%	37%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	31	14	31	24	271
Women	24	7	22	47	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	26	10	23	41	506
Beyond elementary	30	12	40	18	112
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	29	8	14	49	99
150 to 299 DM	28	11	21	40	173
300 to 399 DM	21	11	32	36	143
400 to 499 DM	30	5	36	29	86
500 DM and more	32	15	29	24	93
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	34	12	22	32	68
25 to 34 years	24	14	30	32	137
35 to 44 years	30	10	25	35	142
45 to 54 years	26	11	24	39	126
55 years and over	25	6	26	43	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	32	13	25	30	106
CDU/CSU	26	11	24	39	168
FDP	20	15	53	12	34
Other parties	32	10	35	23	31
No party	30	11	25	34	188
No answer	18	1	17	64	82
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	36	18	37	9	11
Businessmen	35	15	33	17	46
White-collar workers	29	20	29	22	41
Skilled laborers	38	16	24	22	91
Semi-skilled laborers	28	11	32	29	62
Farmers	30	5	30	35	40
Housewives	24	6	21	49	239
Unemployed	30	10	20	40	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	13	8	26	53	53
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	27	9	25	39	506
Expellees, Refugees	30	13	28	29	109
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	29	9	24	38	278
Protestants	23	11	28	38	307
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	22	7	27	44	177
2,000 to 24,999	31	11	24	34	206
25,000 to 99,999	15	12	31	42	65
100,000 and over	32	11	26	31	170
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	33	10	23	34	111
Hesse	27	9	31	33	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	29	13	26	32	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	25	14	24	37	169
Lower Saxony	18	7	23	52	95
Schleswig/Holstein	27	11	40	22	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	37	3	23	37	35

"Considering everything, do, in your opinion, more advantages or more disadvantages result from the West having atom and hydrogen bombs at its disposal?"

	More advantages	More dis- advantages	Undecided Don't know	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	41%	24%	35%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	48	25	27	271
Women	35	23	42	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	37	25	38	506
Beyond elementary	57	20	23	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	34	20	46	99
150 to 299 DM	37	25	38	173
300 to 399 DM	44	24	32	143
400 to 499 DM	43	22	35	86
500 DM and more	48	29	23	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	41	31	28	68
25 to 34 years	38	28	34	137
35 to 44 years	45	22	33	142
45 to 54 years	32	25	43	126
55 years and over	46	19	35	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	36	37	27	106
CDU/CSU	51	21	28	168
FDP	47	26	27	34
Other parties	58	23	19	31
No party	36	25	39	188
No answer	28	10	62	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	55	27	18	11
Businessmen	50	24	26	46
White-collar workers	58	20	22	41
Skilled laborers	46	33	21	91
Semi-skilled laborers	42	31	27	62
Farmers	40	18	42	40
Housewives	35	24	41	239
Unemployed	40	20	40	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	40	11	49	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	40	25	35	506
Expellees, Refugees	45	19	36	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42	23	35	278
Protestants	39	24	37	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	42	18	40	177
2,000 to 24,999	38	29	33	206
25,000 to 99,999	40	25	35	65
100,000 and over	43	24	33	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	36	32	32	111
Hesse	35	38	27	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	44	33	23	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	42	21	37	169
Lower Saxony	38	14	48	95
Schleswig Holstein	57	16	27	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	37	20	43	35



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"Do you believe that one can rely on America using atom and hydrogen bombs only in an extreme emergency, or do you believe that America might be too rash in using atom and hydrogen bombs?"

	Would use only in an extreme emergency	Might use rashly	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	67%	11%	22%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	69	13	18	271
Women	64	10	26	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	65	11	24	506
Beyond elementary	78	10	12	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	58	13	29	99
150 to 299 DM	60	11	29	173
300 to 399 DM	72	10	18	143
400 to 499 DM	79	8	13	86
500 DM and more	75	15	10	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	58	18	24	68
25 to 34 years	74	13	13	137
35 to 44 years	71	9	20	142
45 to 54 years	68	10	22	126
55 years and over	58	10	32	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	73	15	12	106
CDU/CSU	71	11	18	168
FDP	79	15	6	34
Other parties	91	6	3	31
No party	61	11	28	188
No answer	48	9	43	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	91	-	9	11
Businessmen	69	20	11	46
White-collar workers	88	7	5	41
Skilled laborers	70	15	15	91
Semi-skilled laborers	66	13	21	62
Farmers	55	17	28	40
Housewives	61	10	29	239
Unemployed	70	10	20	10
Pensioners; ret.,; etc.	71	4	25	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	64	12	24	506
Expellees, Refugees	77	9	14	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	65	11	24	278
Protestants	68	11	21	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	67	7	26	177
2,000 to 24,999	70	13	17	206
25,000 to 99,999	49	14	37	65
100,000 and over	70	12	18	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	64	22	14	111
Hesse	51	22	27	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	67	10	23	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	71	8	21	169
Lower Saxony	71	4	25	95
Schleswig Holstein	84	5	11	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	43	6	51	35

## CONFIDENTIAL

"Aside from whether both countries want a war or not - whose behavior is more likely to lead to a new world war, in your opinion, Russia's or America's?"

	Russia alone	America alone	Russia & America equally	Russia most, America some	Neither	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany</u>							
Generally:	30%	5%	16%	18%	5%	26%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	27	6	20	23	6	18	271
Women	33	4	13	14	4	32	347
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	30	5	15	17	5	28	506
Beyond elementary	29	5	20	24	4	18	112
<u>Income:</u>							
Up to 149 DM	26	4	14	22	2	32	99
150 to 299 DM	31	5	19	14	5	26	173
300 to 399 DM	36	3	14	20	4	23	143
400 to 499 DM	31	5	14	15	7	28	86
500 DM and more	27	9	17	24	6	17	93
<u>Age:</u>							
18 to 24 years	25	6	15	25	6	23	68
25 to 34 years	28	6	15	23	3	25	137
35 to 44 years	35	8	18	12	4	23	142
45 to 54 years	27	2	14	17	7	33	126
55 years and over	32	3	17	18	3	27	14
<u>Party Preferences:</u>							
SPD	27	5	23	22	7	16	106
CDU/CSU	36	7	10	18	6	23	168
FDP	41	6	15	26	3	9	34
Other parties	39	3	10	32	-	16	31
No party	24	6	20	14	4	32	188
No answer	31	-	15	13	2	29	82
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	28	18	9	36	-	9	11
Businessmen	25	13	30	13	1	15	46
White-collar workers	32	2	17	29	5	15	41
Skilled laborers	26	6	15	25	7	21	91
Semi-skilled laborers	37	7	18	11	8	19	62
Farmers	28	7	20	15	5	25	40
Housewives	33	4	13	14	4	32	239
Unemployed	-	-	30	30	10	30	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	28	-	13	23	4	32	53
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	30	6	16	17	5	26	506
Expellees, Refugees	31	1	14	24	4	26	109
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	27	5	17	16	8	27	278
Protestants	33	5	15	18	2	27	307
<u>City Size:</u>							
Up to 1,999	31	4	16	18	5	26	177
2,000 to 24,999	30	7	15	19	2	27	206
25,000 to 99,999	23	5	14	23	3	32	65
100,000 and over	31	4	18	15	9	23	170
<u>Land:</u>							
Bavaria	21	7	24	18	5	25	111
Hesse	31	7	13	18	2	29	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	34	7	14	23	1	21	84
North Rhine / Westphalia	31	5	17	15	7	25	169
Lower Saxony	35	2	9	18	3	33	95
Schleswig Holstein	35	-	8	30	3	24	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	20	3	17	26	-	34	35

## V. ARE ATOMIC WEAPONS APPROVED FOR GERMAN DEFENSE?

06234

"Supposing Russia would attack West Germany without using atomic weapons: would you personally then agree to America using atom and hydrogen bombs on Russia in order to defend West Germany, or wouldn't you?"

	Agree to using A and H bombs	Wouldn't agree to using A and H bombs	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	22%	60%	18%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	27	60	13	271
Women	19	60	21	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	21	60	19	506
Beyond elementary	28	62	10	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	20	54	26	99
150 to 299 DM	23	58	19	173
300 to 399 DM	23	64	13	143
400 to 499 DM	19	69	12	86
500 DM and more	27	67	6	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	28	56	16	68
25 to 34 years	20	66	14	137
35 to 44 years	25	50	17	142
45 to 54 years	26	57	17	126
55 years and over	18	62	20	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	19	72	9	106
CDU/CSU	27	60	13	168
FDP	35	56	9	34
Other parties	39	58	3	31
No party	20	59	21	188
No answer	12	55	33	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	37	45	10	11
Businessmen	28	68	4	46
White-collar workers	25	68	7	41
Skilled laborers	20	69	12	91
Semi-skilled laborers	36	48	16	62
Farmers	20	60	20	40
Housewives	17	61	22	239
Unemployed	20	50	30	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	25	58	17	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	21	61	18	506
Expellees, Refugees	26	60	14	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	22	59	19	278
Protestants	23	61	16	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	28	50	22	177
2,000 to 24,999	18	70	12	206
25,000 to 99,999	21	48	31	65
100,000 and over	22	65	13	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	25	59	16	111
Hesse	20	58	22	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	19	70	11	84
Notrh Rhine/Westphalia	20	66	14	169
Lower Saxony	20	58	22	95
Schleswig Holstein	30	62	8	37
Rheinland/Pfals	32	34	34	35

"Can you perhaps tell me whether there are any atomic weapons in West Germany at the present time? (What weapons?)"

	Yes, American atomic cannons	Yes, guided atomic missiles	Yes, other atomic weapons	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	23%	4%	2%	74%..103%	618
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	36	7	2	60 ..105%	271
Women	12	2	2	84 ..100%	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20	3	2	77 ..102%	506
Beyond elementary	36	7	2	60 ..105%	112
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	10	1	2	87 ..100%	99
150 to 299 DM	16	3	2	82 ..103%	173
300 to 399 DM	27	4	2	68 ..101%	143
400 to 499 DM	25	3	1	74 ..103%	86
500 DM and more	40	4	2	57 ..103%	93
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	24	3	1	75 ..103%	68
25 to 34 years	26	4	1	71 ..102%	137
35 to 44 years	26	3	2	71 ..102%	142
45 to 54 years	25	3	2	72 ..102%	126
55 years and over	13	6	2	82 ..103%	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	24	2	3	71 ..100%	106
CDU/CSU	20	5	1	77 ..103%	168
FDP	53	9	3	41 ..106%	34
Other parties	13	6	3	81 ..103%	31
No party	26	4	2	71 ..103%	108
No answer	9	1	-	90 ..100%	82
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	36	-	9	55 ..100%	11
Businessmen	46	13	4	44 ..107%	46
White-collar workers	39	5	-	61 ..105%	41
Skilled laborers	38	4	2	60 ..104%	91
Semi-skilled laborers	21	5	2	74 ..102%	62
Farmers	15	8	-	85 ..108%	40
Housewives	14	1	2	84 ..101%	239
Unemployed	20	-	-	80 ..100%	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	15	4	2	81 ..102%	53
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	23	5	2	73 ..103%	506
Expellees, Refugees	23	1	-	77 ..101%	109
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	22	6	1	74 ..103%	278
Protestants	21	2	1	78 ..102%	307
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	20	4	2	77 ..103%	177
2,000 to 24,999	20	3	1	78 ..102%	206
25,000 to 99,999	20	2	2	78 ..102%	65
100,000 and over	30	6	2	64 ..102%	170
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	23	2	-	76 ..101%	111
Hesse	20	7	2	75 ..104%	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	24	-	2	74 ..100%	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	27	6	2	68 ..103%	169
Lower Saxony	21	2	2	77 ..102%	95
Schleswig Holstein	16	3	3	81 ..103%	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	26	9	-	74 ..109%	35

"Do you approve of America having stationed atomic weapons here in West Germany, or don't you approve?"

	Approve	Don't approve	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	35%	39%	26%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	40	42	18	271
Women	30	38	32	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	32	41	27	506
Beyond elementary	47	32	21	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	27	37	36	99
150 to 299 DM	25	44	31	173
300 to 399 DM	44	36	20	143
400 to 499 DM	42	39	19	86
500 DM and more	42	41	17	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	30	41	29	68
25 to 34 years	35	42	23	137
35 to 44 years	40	37	23	142
45 to 54 years	35	39	26	126
55 years and over	31	40	29	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	35	48	17	106
CDU/CSU	37	38	25	168
FDP	62	26	12	34
Other parties	55	35	10	31
No party	31	39	30	188
No answer	18	42	40	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	46	18	36	11
Businessmen	44	46	10	46
White-collar workers	53	32	15	41
Skilled laborers	41	49	10	91
Semi-skilled laborers	37	37	26	62
Farmers	35	42	23	40
Housewives	28	40	32	239
Unemployed	30	30	40	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	32	32	36	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	34	41	25	506
Expellees, Refugees	37	36	27	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	31	40	29	278
Protestants	38	37	25	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	40	28	32	177
2,000 to 24,999	30	50	20	206
25,000 to 99,999	31	31	28	65
100,000 and over	36	43	21	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	29	47	24	111
Hesse	27	44	29	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	32	54	14	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	33	43	24	169
Lower Saxony	41	23	36	95
Schleswig Holstein	37	41	22	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	29	17	54	35



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## VI. DO ATOMIC DEVELOPMENTS UNDERCUT EDC?

"Have you ever heard or read of the EDC?"

	Yes	No	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	78%	22%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>			
Men	88	12	271
Woman	71	29	347
<u>Education:</u>			
Elementary school	74	26	506
Beyond elementary	96	4	112
<u>Income:</u>			
Up to 149 DM	65	35	99
150 to 299 DM	75	25	173
300 to 399 DM	84	16	143
400 to 499 DM	85	15	86
500 DM and more	87	13	93
<u>Age:</u>			
18 to 24 years	84	16	68
25 to 34 years	86	14	137
35 to 44 years	76	24	142
45 to 54 years	79	21	126
55 years and over	69	31	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>			
SPD	84	16	106
CDU/CSU	81	19	168
FDP	88	12	34
Other parties	90	10	31
No party	73	27	188
No answer	67	33	82
<u>Occupation:</u>			
Professionals	100	-	11
Businessmen	91	9	46
White-collar workers	98	2	41
Skilled laborers	87	13	91
Semi-skilled laborers	84	16	62
Farmers	73	27	40
Housewives	69	31	239
Unemployed	90	10	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	68	32	53
<u>Origin:</u>			
Natives	77	23	506
Expellees, Refugees	83	17	109
<u>Religion:</u>			
Catholics	79	21	278
Protestants	77	23	307
<u>City Size:</u>			
Up to 1,999	72	28	177
2,000 to 24,999	76	24	206
25,000 to 99,999	83	17	65
100,000 and over	85	15	170
<u>Land:</u>			
Bavaria	72	28	111
Hesse	73	27	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	74	26	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	83	17	169
Lower Saxony	78	22	95
Schleswig Holstein	81	19	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	83	17	35

"In general, are you for or against West Germany's participation in the EDC, that is, the West European Defense Community? Very much for it or somewhat for it? Very much against or somewhat against it?"

	Very much for it	Somewhat for it	Somewhat against it	Very much against it	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany</u>						
Generally:	27%	26%	10%	17%	20%..10 %	610
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	36	24	10	19	11	271
Women	20	27	11	15	27	347
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	24	25	10	18	23	506
Beyond elementary	42	27	10	12	9	112
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	26	15	9	15	35	99
150 to 299 DM	17	33	10	17	23	173
300 to 399 DM	35	22	13	17	13	143
400 to 499 DM	29	26	13	17	15	86
500 DM and more	33	31	8	18	10	93
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	18	25	22	22	13	60
25 to 34 years	25	32	13	15	15	137
35 to 44 years	33	26	8	13	20	142
45 to 54 years	29	26	7	17	21	126
55 years and over	28	20	8	18	26	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	20	23	13	34	10	106
CDU/CSU	33	32	7	11	17	169
FDP	46	18	12	18	6	34
Other parties	39	26	6	19	10	31
No party	27	21	10	15	27	188
No answer	13	31	17	6	33	82
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	46	18	27	-	9	11
Businessmen	41	30	7	15	7	46
White-collar workers	46	27	12	7	8	41
Skilled laborers	32	22	13	25	8	91
Semi-skilled lab.	26	22	10	24	18	62
Farmers	25	30	17	10	18	40
Housewives	20	28	10	15	27	239
Unemployed	30	10	-	30	30	10
Pensioners;ret.;etc.	24	23	4	19	30	53
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	25	27	10	18	20	506
Expellees, Refugees	38	22	10	12	18	109
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	27	26	10	17	20	278
Protestants	27	26	11	14	22	307
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	26	30	7	11	26	177
2,000 to 24,999	30	22	9	19	20	206
25,000 to 99,999	25	26	20	15	14	65
100,000 and over	27	25	12	19	17	170
<u>Land:</u>						
Bavaria	25	20	14	18	23	111
Hesse	16	29	11	20	24	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	24	25	13	23	15	84
North/Rhine Westphalia	29	26	9	18	18	169
Lewer Saxony	30	31	7	6	26	95
Schleswig/Holstein	57	22	5	8	8	37
Rheinland/Pfals	20	20	17	20	23	35

"Which of the two views comes closest to your opinion?"

Mrs. Schulze: In view of the new atomic weapons I'm of the opinion that the present plans for the EDC have lost considerably in importance.

Mrs. Maier: In spite of the development of the new atomic weapons I consider the present plans for the EDC to be just as important as before.

	EDC has lost importance	EDC just as important	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	21%	45%	34%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	25	54	21	271
Women	19	37	44	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	23	40	37	506
Beyond elementary	16	65	19	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	25	30	45	99
150 to 299 DM	20	39	41	173
300 to 399 DM	24	47	29	143
400 to 499 DM	19	57	24	86
500 DM and more	21	58	21	93
<u>Age:</u>				
15 to 24 years	40	28	32	68
25 to 34 years	29	42	29	137
35 to 44 years	13	55	32	142
45 to 54 years	18	45	37	126
55 years and over	17	45	38	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	36	38	26	106
CDU/CSU	16	54	30	168
FDP	12	73	15	34
Other parties	29	55	16	31
No party	19	43	38	108
No answer	23	23	54	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	36	46	18	11
Businessmen	28	61	11	46
White-collar workers	22	54	24	41
Skilled laborers	26	54	20	91
Semi-skilled laborers	24	45	31	62
Farmers	20	50	30	40
Housewives	18	37	45	239
Unemployed	20	30	50	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	15	42	43	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	21	45	34	506
Expellees, Refugees	25	43	32	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	19	45	36	278
Protestants	22	44	34	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	17	42	41	177
2,000 to 24,999	23	45	32	206
25,000 to 99,999	34	34	32	65
100,000 and over	18	52	30	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	30	36	34	111
Hesse	25	42	33	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	25	51	24	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	18	49	33	169
Lower Saxony	11	41	48	95
Schleswig Holstein	19	62	19	37
Rheinland Pfalz	43	29	28	35

- 62 -  
CONFIDENTIAL

"Supposing Russia would make the following offer to the West European countries: if the West European countries make America give up its bases in West Europe, Russia pledges itself not to drop atom or hydrogen bombs on West Europe. Would you like to see the West European nations accept such an offer, or reject it?"

	Accept offer	Reject offer	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	24%	52%	24%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	19	65	16	271
Women	27	42	31	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	26	48	26	506
Beyond elementary	14	68	18	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	21	42	37	99
150 to 299 DM	26	45	29	173
300 to 399 DM	25	60	15	143
400 to 499 DM	32	52	16	86
500 DM and more	16	68	16	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	26	53	21	68
25 to 34 years	27	55	18	137
35 to 44 years	21	56	23	142
45 to 54 years	27	47	26	126
55 years and over	19	49	32	143
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	28	59	13	106
CDU/CSU	23	51	26	168
FDP	17	77	6	34
Other parties	29	58	13	31
No party	24	48	28	188
No answer	21	44	35	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	37	45	18	11
Businessmen	22	63	15	46
White-collar workers	14	66	20	41
Skilled laborers	22	67	11	91
Semi-skilled laborers	27	57	16	62
Farmers	25	55	30	40
Housewives	28	41	31	239
Unemployed	-	50	50	10
Pensioners; ret.; etc.	24	51	25	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Native	26	50	24	506
Expellees, Refugees	17	60	23	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	25	48	27	279
Protestants	21	55	24	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	19	50	31	177
2,000 to 24,999	24	53	23	206
25,000 to 99,999	29	48	23	65
100,000 and over	27	53	20	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	21	56	23	111
Hesse	20	49	31	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	28	55	17	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	28	51	21	169
Lower Saxony	18	48	34	95
Schleswig Holstein	19	62	19	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	23	43	34	35

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## VII. WHAT ARE REACTIONS TO "MASSIVE RETALIATION" WARNING?

"Have you heard or read that in the past few months statements have been made in American quarters about changes in American defense plans?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	10%	79%	11%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	15	78	7	271
Women	7	80	13	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	8	80	12	506
Beyond elementary	22	74	4	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	6	78	16	99
150 to 299 DM	9	84	7	173
300 to 399 DM	12	74	14	143
400 to 499 DM	7	83	10	86
500 DM and more	17	81	2	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	13	83	4	68
25 to 34 years	9	82	9	137
35 to 44 years	11	76	13	142
45 to 54 years	10	79	11	126
55 years and over	10	79	11	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	14	81	5	106
CDU/CSU	8	79	13	168
FDP	23	68	9	34
Other parties	6	88	6	31
No party	11	78	11	188
No answer	2	84	14	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	27	73	-	11
Businessmen	17	76	7	46
White-collar workers	7	83	10	41
Skilled laborers	12	80	8	91
Semi-skilled laborers	8	84	8	62
Farmers	12	78	10	40
Housewives	9	79	12	239
Unemployed	10	60	30	10
Pensioners; ret.	8	79	13	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	11	80	9	506
Expellees, Refugees	9	74	17	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	10	76	14	278
Protestants	10	81	9	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	10	80	10	177
2,000 to 24,999	9	78	13	206
25,000 to 99,999	8	80	12	65
100,000 and over	14	78	8	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	9	82	9	111
Hesse	13	76	11	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	9	79	12	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	13	72	15	169
Lower Saxony	8	82	10	95
Schleswig/Holstein	5	84	11	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	11	86	3	35



## CONFIDENTIAL

"In your opinion, does this statement mean that America would employ also atom and hydrogen bombs in its retaliatory measures, or don't you interpret it this way?"

	Means employment of atomic weapons	Don't interpret it this way	Don't know	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	42%	33%	25%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	45	41	14	271
Women	41	26	33	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	41	31	28	506
Beyond elementary	48	39	13	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	42	24	34	99
150 to 299 DM	45	27	28	173
300 to 399 DM	42	33	25	143
400 to 499 DM	38	47	15	86
500 DM and more	44	41	15	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	37	35	28	68
25 to 34 years	43	40	17	137
35 to 44 years	45	30	25	142
45 to 54 years	41	29	30	126
55 years and over	43	31	26	143
<u>Party Preferences:</u>				
SPD	48	37	15	106
CDU/CSU	46	31	23	168
FDP	41	50	9	34
Other parties	45	45	10	31
No party	42	30	28	188
No answer	31	24	45	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	64	18	18	11
Businessmen	39	57	4	46
White-collar workers	34	59	7	41
Skilled laborers	44	40	16	91
Semi-skilled laborers	55	31	14	62
Farmers	48	27	25	40
Housewives	38	25	37	239
Unemployed	40	30	30	10
Pensioners; ret.	42	26	32	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	41	33	26	506
Expellees, Refugees	47	32	21	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42	32	26	278
Protestants	42	32	26	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	40	29	31	177
2,000 to 24,999	42	34	24	206
25,000 to 99,999	41	25	34	65
100,000 and over	45	38	17	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	42	35	23	111
Hesse	33	36	31	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	54	25	21	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	43	37	20	169
Lower Saxony	38	27	35	95
Schleswig/Holstein	43	33	24	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	49	14	37	35

"Two persons are discussing this American statement.

Mr. Schulze: I approve of this American position as the time has come when Communist aggression must be decisively countered.

Mr. Maier: I don't approve of this American position as a minor Communist aggression may thus develop into a world war.

"Which view comes closest to your opinion?"

	Mr. Schulze	Mr. Maier	Qualified answer	No opinion, Undecided	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	45%	30%	2%	23%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	51	32	3	14	271
Women	40	28	2	30	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	41	32	2	25	506
Beyond elementary	59	21	4	16	112
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	39	31	-	30	99
150 to 299 DM	40	30	2	28	173
300 to 399 DM	51	29	1	19	143
400 to 499 DM	48	33	3	16	86
500 DM and more	52	31	5	12	93
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	33	38	1	28	68
25 to 34 years	48	36	1	15	137
35 to 44 years	56	25	1	18	142
45 to 54 years	40	24	6	30	126
55 years and over	40	31	1	28	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	43	40	1	16	106
CDU/CSU	50	30	1	19	168
FDP	62	23	6	9	34
Other parties	68	19	-	13	31
No party	44	27	3	26	188
No answer	23	33	2	42	82
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	64	9	18	9	11
Businessmen	56	35	-	9	46
White-collar workers	59	24	5	12	41
Skilled laborers	45	42	3	10	91
Semi-skilled laborers	57	27	-	16	62
Farmers	33	38	2	27	40
Housewives	36	28	2	34	239
Unemployed	50	20	-	30	10
Pensioners; ret.	53	21	-	26	53
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	43	31	2	24	506
Expellees, Refugees	53	28	1	18	109
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	39	35	1	25	278
Protestants	49	25	3	23	307
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	39	30	1	30	177
2,000 to 24,999	48	31	2	19	206
25,000 to 99,999	37	27	2	34	65
100,000 and over	50	30	4	16	170
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	41	34	-	25	111
Hesse	40	33	-	27	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	43	34	5	18	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	44	34	2	20	169
Lower Saxony	55	18	3	24	95
Schleswig/Holstein	59	19	3	19	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	37	20	-	43	35

## CONFIDENTIAL

## VIII. WHO IS TO BLAME FOR FAILURE TO OUTLAW ATOMIC WARFARE?

"Have you heard or read of any efforts aimed at preventing the use of atomic energy for war? - Who made these efforts?"

	Yes, America	Yes, Russia	Yes, both	Other coun- tries	Don't know	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	12%	7%	9%	9%	63%..100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	15	9	15	9	52	271
Women	10	3	6	9	72	347
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	10	5	8	8	69	506
Beyond elementary	23	7	22	11	37	112
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	7	2	8	4	79	99
150 to 299 DM	13	5	7	8	67	173
300 to 399 DM	13	6	10	10	61	143
400 to 499 DM	14	6	14	7	59	86
500 DM and more	14	11	16	11	48	93
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	9	3	6	14	68	68
15 to 34 years	9	8	12	8	63	137
35 to 44 years	16	6	9	7	62	142
45 to 54 years	12	6	9	10	63	126
55 years and over	14	4	13	8	61	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	15	3	8	10	64	106
CDU/CSU	18	7	7	9	59	168
FDP	9	6	29	15	41	34
Other parties	10	10	16	3	61	31
No party	10	8	19	9	64	148
No answer	7	1	10	5	77	82
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	18	9	18	18	37	11
Businessmen	13	13	22	7	45	46
White-collar workers	22	10	15	10	43	41
Skilled laborers	17	10	11	11	51	91
Semi-skilled laborers	11	5	5	9	70	62
Farmers	5	2	5	13	75	40
Housewives	10	4	7	9	70	239
Unemployed	20	-	40	-	40	10
Pensioners; ret.	13	6	11	4	66	53
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	12	6	9	9	64	506
Expellees, Refugees	12	5	16	6	61	109
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	13	5	9	10	63	278
Protestants	12	6	10	7	65	307
<u>City Size:</u>						
Up to 1,999	7	8	6	10	69	177
2,000 to 24,999	12	4	12	8	64	206
25,000 to 99,999	12	5	12	3	68	65
100,000 and over	18	5	12	11	54	170
<u>Land:</u>						
Bavaria	8	5	9	11	66	111
Hesse	9	2	22	7	60	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	9	2	9	14	66	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	15	7	9	8	61	168
Lower Saxony	8	13	4	8	67	95
Schleswig/Holstein	2	3	24	6	46	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	8	3	8	9	72	35

"In your opinion, who is most to blame that an agreement on a ban of atomic weapons has not yet come about: America or Russia?"

	America	Russia	Both	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	7%	30%	25%	38%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	7	34	34	25	347
Women	6	27	19	48	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	6	28	25	41	506
Beyond elementary	10	37	25	28	112
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	6	32	19	43	99
150 to 299 DM	6	25	30	39	173
300 to 399 DM	8	36	23	33	143
400 to 499 DM	2	35	23	40	86
500 DM and more	10	26	29	35	93
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	4	37	21	38	68
25 to 34 years	12	27	30	31	137
35 to 44 years	7	33	21	39	142
45 to 54 years	6	25	28	41	126
55 years and over	3	32	24	41	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	9	34	27	30	106
CDU/CSU	5	38	18	39	168
FDP	9	41	29	21	34
Other parties	13	45	23	19	31
No party	5	23	34	38	188
No answer	4	16	18	62	82
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	9	27	27	37	11
Businessmen	13	33	35	19	46
White-collar workers	2	42	27	29	41
Skilled laborers	7	33	37	23	91
Semi-skilled laborers	8	40	31	21	62
Farmers	5	17	35	43	40
Housewives	6	26	19	49	239
Unemployed	-	50	20	30	10
Pensioners; ret.	6	28	21	45	53
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	6	30	25	39	506
Expellees, Refugees	9	32	26	33	109
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	8	30	25	37	278
Protestants	5	30	24	41	307
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	7	25	21	47	177
2,000 to 24,999	7	31	28	34	206
25,000 to 99,999	3	28	23	46	65
100,000 and over	6	35	28	31	170
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	7	30	29	34	111
Hesse	5	31	31	33	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	6	31	33	30	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	8	29	23	40	169
Lower Saxony	5	27	19	49	95
Schleswig/Holstein	8	43	19	30	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	-	28	26	46	35

"In your opinion should America have done more or not in order to reach an agreement on an international ban of atomic weapons?"

	Yes, should have done more	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	24%	29%	47%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	30	42	28	271
Women	20	19	61	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	24	26	50	506
Beyond elementary	25	43	32	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	25	22	53	99
150 to 299 DM	22	23	55	173
300 to 399 DM	26	36	38	143
400 to 499 DM	21	36	43	86
500 DM and more	32	33	35	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	28	28	44	68
25 to 34 years	27	26	47	137
35 to 44 years	18	39	43	142
45 to 54 years	27	25	48	126
55 years and over	23	27	50	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	30	29	41	106
CDU/CSU	16	34	50	168
FDP	23	59	18	34
Other parties	29	36	35	31
No party	30	24	46	188
No answer	19	16	65	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	9	55	36	11
Businessmen	48	35	17	46
White-collar workers	22	39	39	41
Skilled laborers	31	42	27	91
Semi-skilled laborers	19	36	45	62
Farmers	17	33	50	40
Housewives	24	18	58	239
Unemployed	10	50	40	10
Pensioners; ret.	17	26	57	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	25	29	46	506
Expellees, Refugees	23	28	49	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	24	27	49	278
Protestants	23	31	46	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	19	29	52	177
2,000 to 24,999	27	30	43	206
25,000 to 99,999	17	31	52	65
100,000 and over	30	28	42	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	32	26	42	111
Hesse	29	31	40	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	18	46	36	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	27	24	49	169
Lower Saxony	17	22	61	95
Schleswig/Holstein	19	51	30	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	32	14	54	35



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"Let's suppose that observance of an international agreement on a ban of atomic weapons would be guaranteed. Which of the following views comes closest to your opinion in that case?"

An international agreement on a ban of atomic weapons should be reached as soon as possible, even if an understanding on a general disarmament of all other military weapons hasn't yet been achieved.

One should ban atomic weapons only if at the same time an agreement on a general disarmament of all other military weapons can be reached.

IF Ban Of Atomic Weapons Even Without General Disarmament:  
"Do you see any disadvantages for the West if an international agreement on a ban of atomic weapons came about without a general disarmament of all other military weapons being achieved at the same time?"

	Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament and see no disadvantages	Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament and see disadvantages	Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament and no opinion on disadvantages	Ban of atomic weapons only if agreement on general disarmament	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germans Generally:	37%	4%	6%	28%	25%	618
Sex:						
Men	42	4	4	34	16	271
Women	34	4	7	23	32	347
Education:						
Elementary school	49	10	3	22	16	506
Beyond elementary	49	10	5	24	12	112
Income:						
Up to 149 DM	28	4	5	23	40	99
150 to 299 DM	32	4	5	29	30	173
300 to 399 DM	40	3	8	29	20	143
400 to 499 DM	48	2	8	30	12	86
500 DM and more	46	8	3	30	13	93
Age:						
18 to 24 years	35	6	1	32	26	68
25 to 34 years	41	6	9	29	16	137
35 to 44 years	35	5	8	27	25	142
45 to 54 years	33	2	3	33	29	126
55 years and over	40	3	6	22	29	143
Party Preference:						
SPD	36	2	7	41	14	106
CDU/CSU	40	5	7	25	23	168
FDP	41	6	9	32	12	34
Other parties	39	6	6	39	10	31
No party	32	5	4	29	30	188
No answer	39	4	5	9	43	82
Occupation:						
Professionals	37	-	9	27	27	11
Businessmen	53	4	4	26	13	46
White-collar workers	46	12	5	30	7	41
Skilled laborers	39	5	5	39	12	91
Semi-skilled laborers	42	2	3	34	19	62
Farmers	33	2	7	25	33	40
Housewives	30	4	8	26	32	239
Unemployed	20	10	-	30	40	10
Pensioners; ret.	43	2	2	19	34	53

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	Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament and see no disadvantages	Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament and see disadvantages	Ban of atomic weapons even without general disarmament and no opinion on disadvantages	Ban of atomic weapons only if agreement on general disarmament	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Origins:</u>						
Natives	37%	4%	6%	28%	25%	506
Expellees, Refugees	37	4	5	28	26	109
<u>Religions:</u>						
Catholics	36	4	7	28	25	278
Protestants	37	4	6	27	26	307
<u>City Sizes:</u>						
Up to 1,999	35	5	3	25	32	177
2,000 to 24,999	31	5	3	31	24	206
25,000 to 99,999	40	-	8	22	31	65
100,000 and over	44	5	5	29	17	170
<u>Land:</u>						
Bavaria	43	6	2	24	25	111
Hesse	36	2	-	31	31	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	21	5	11	45	18	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	42	4	7	27	20	169
Lower Saxony	31	1	2	23	43	95
Schleswig/Holstein	38	8	5	27	22	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	54	-	20	12	14	35

CONFIDENTIAL

## CONFIDENTIAL

IX. IS AMERICA DOING WHAT IT SHOULD TOWARD PEACEFUL USE OF  
ATOMIC ENERGY?

"Do you know whether efforts are being made towards  
utilizing atomic energy for peaceful purposes?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	56%	27%	17%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	64	25	11	271
Women	50	29	21	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	49	31	20	506
Beyond elementary	85	11	4	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	36	35	29	99
150 to 299 DM	46	36	18	173
300 to 399 DM	62	25	13	143
400 to 499 DM	70	22	8	86
500 DM and more	75	14	11	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	59	25	16	68
25 to 34 years	62	25	13	137
35 to 44 years	56	29	15	142
45 to 54 years	54	32	14	126
55 years and over	49	27	24	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	60	32	8	106
CDU/CSU	55	23	22	168
FDP	85	9	6	34
Other parties	67	23	10	31
No party	54	30	16	188
No answer	43	34	23	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	82	9	9	11
Businessmen	76	17	7	46
White-collar workers	85	10	5	41
Skilled laborers	67	22	11	91
Semi-skilled laborers	52	32	16	62
Farmers	35	37	28	40
Housewives	49	31	20	239
Unemployed	50	30	20	10
Pensioners; ret.	45	36	19	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	55	27	18	506
Expellees, Refugees	62	28	10	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	55	28	17	278
Protestants	55	28	17	307
<u>City Sizes:</u>				
Up to 1,999	47	32	21	177
2,000 to 24,999	56	30	14	206
25,000 to 99,999	51	29	20	65
100,000 and over	67	19	14	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	53	23	24	111
Hesse	62	18	20	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	61	21	18	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	60	26	14	169
Lower Saxony	50	37	13	95
Schleswig/Holstein	68	24	8	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	40	54	6	35

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"In your opinion, does America do everything it should do in order to utilize atomic energy for peaceful purposes, or do you feel it should do more?"

	Does everything it should do	Should do more	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	21%	40%	39%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	23	46	31	271
Women	19	35	46	347
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	20	39	41	506
Beyond elementary	25	45	30	112
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	15	44	41	99
150 to 299 DM	18	34	48	173
300 to 399 DM	24	42	34	143
400 to 499 DM	27	36	37	86
500 DM and more	20	52	28	93
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	21	45	34	68
25 to 34 years	16	50	34	137
35 to 44 years	23	32	45	142
45 to 54 years	24	39	37	126
55 years and over	21	36	43	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	19	54	27	106
CDU/CSU	25	32	43	168
FDP	29	62	9	34
Other parties	42	35	23	31
No party	16	40	44	188
No answer	11	32	57	82
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	18	64	18	11
Businessmen	24	63	13	46
White-collar workers	29	44	27	41
Skilled laborers	20	53	27	91
Semi-skilled laborers	29	31	40	62
Farmers	22	25	53	40
Housewives	17	36	47	239
Unemployed	30	40	30	10
Pensioners; ret.	17	34	49	53
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	19	41	40	506
Expellees, Refugees	23	38	39	109
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	20	40	40	278
Protestants	20	39	41	307
<u>City Size:</u>				
Up to 1,999	23	30	47	177
2,000 to 24,999	18	45	37	206
25,000 to 99,000	18	28	54	65
100,000 and over	22	49	29	170
<u>Land:</u>				
Bavaria	21	43	36	111
Hesse	38	22	40	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	16	54	30	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	19	46	35	169
Lower Saxony	23	22	55	95
Schleswig/Holstein	25	32	43	37
Rheinland/Pfalz	8	52	40	35

"In your opinion, should America at the present time direct its efforts more towards developing atomic energy for military purposes or towards developing it for peaceful purposes?"

	More toward Military purposes	More toward Peaceful purposes	Towards both aims equally intensively	No. opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	10%	50%	24%	16%...100%	618
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	14	45	29	12	271
Women	7	53	21	19	347
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	9	50	22	19	506
Beyond elementary	11	46	37	6	112
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	8	55	10	27	99
150 to 299 DM	11	51	17	21	173
300 to 399 DM	8	45	36	11	143
400 to 499 DM	19	51	32	8	86
500 DM and more	14	44	33	9	93
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	9	58	21	12	68
25 to 34 years	9	52	30	9	137
35 to 44 years	15	44	24	17	142
45 to 54 years	10	52	21	17	126
55 years and over	6	46	24	24	143
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	10	53	27	10	106
CDU/CSU	11	49	24	16	168
FDP	21	41	35	3	34
Other parties	26	45	26	3	31
No party	7	50	24	19	188
No answer	4	50	17	29	82
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	9	36	46	9	11
Businessmen	13	61	22	4	46
White-collar workers	12	46	37	5	41
Skilled laborers	14	50	23	13	91
Semi-skilled laborers	18	43	26	13	62
Farmers	-	53	30	17	40
Housewives	5	52	23	20	239
Unemployed	20	30	20	30	10
Pensioners; ret.	11	41	23	25	53
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	9	50	24	17	506
Expellees, Refugees	12	46	29	13	109
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	10	49	23	18	278
Protestants	9	49	25	17	307
<u>City Size:</u>					
Up to 1,999	10	46	22	22	177
2,000 to 24,999	11	48	25	16	206
25,000 to 99,999	5	51	27	17	65
100,000 and over	10	55	25	10	170
<u>Land:</u>					
Bavaria	9	60	17	14	111
Hesse	4	60	16	20	45
Wuerttemberg/Baden	8	51	29	12	84
North Rhine/Westphalia	12	49	25	14	169
Lower Saxony	7	44	23	26	95
Schleswig/Holstein	30	38	24	8	37
Rheinland/Pfals	3	43	37	17	35



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Office of Research & Evaluation  
U.S. Information Agency

SEP 20 1954

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CURRENT TRENDS IN WEST GERMAN OPINIONS  
ON MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES

With Reactions to Bonn-Moscow Overtures and the  
Geneva Conference

Report No. 200

Series No. 2

June 28, 1954

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EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

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The present report is the latest in a regular series of guidance studies of West German reactions to major political developments. The survey was conducted between June 7th and June 16th, 1954 and is based upon a 599 case representative probability sampling of the West German population 16 years of age and over.

As usual, interviewing was conducted under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Evaluation Staff.

In the interest of speed in reporting upon the results they are presented without discussion, with but capsule headings to point up major indications. Complete tabulations of population sub-group comparisons on the issues posed in the present study can be found in an appendix. On a few more significant issues comparative figures by sex, education, and income level have been cited in the text to point up the views of opinion leading elements as versus less influential segments of the West German population.

## H E A D L I N E   S U M M A R Y

### I. Reactions to Recent Bonn-Moscow Overtures

- ... THREE TO ONE MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA
- ... CLOSE TO THREE TO ONE MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF PFLEIDERER PROPOSAL
- ... APPROVAL OF PFLEIDERER PROPOSAL ALSO PREPONDERATES AMONG OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS OF WEST GERMAN POPULATION
- ... WEST GERMANS WITH OPINIONS PREPONDERANTLY REJECT VIEW PROPOSAL UNWISELY TIMED
- ... AMERICAN OPPOSITION LIKELY TO HAVE SOME EFFECT IN DIMINISHING SUPPORT FOR PROPOSAL
- ... FEW FOR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA IF EAST ZONE RECOGNITION THE PRICE

### II. Reactions to the Geneva Conference

- ... MAJORITY AWARE OF GENEVA CONFERENCE
- ... OPINIONS DIVIDE ON WHETHER CONFERENCE IMPORTANT TO GERMANY
- ... OPINIONS LUKEWARM TO NEGATIVE ON WESTERN SUCCESS AT CONFERENCE
- ... VERY FEW SEE AMERICA TO BLAME FOR GENEVA DIFFICULTIES
- ... LARGE MAJORITY SEE NO DECREASE IN AMERICAN INTEREST IN GERMANY DESPITE RECENT PREOCCUPATION WITH ASIA



III. Views on the Desirability of a Further Conference  
With the Russians

- ... LARGE MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF ANOTHER FOUR POWER CONFERENCE ON GERMANY -  
DESPITE PREPONDERANT PESSIMISM AS TO ITS PROBABLE FRUITFULNESS
- ... OPINION LEADERS EVEN MORE DESIROUS OF CONFERENCE THOUGH EVEN MORE  
PESSIMISTIC AS TO OUTCOME
- ... MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR CONFERENCES PERSISTS IN FACE OF CONTRARY  
ARGUMENTS
- ... OPINION LEADERS NO LESS WEDDED TO CONFERENCES IN FACE OF CONTRARY  
ARGUMENTS

IV. American Prestige Trend and Extent  
of Present Confidence in American Leadership

- ... ONLY SLIGHT DIMINUTION OF AMERICAN PRESTIGE FROM JANUARY HIGH
- ... AMERICAN PRESTIGE HIGHEST AMONG OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS
- ... MAJORITY ACKNOWLEDGE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP OF WESTERN WORLD AND  
SEE AMERICAN WELL FITTED FOR ROLE

V. Trends in Communist vs Western Strength,  
Neutralism and Fear of War

- ... SHARP RISE IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECENT COMMUNIST SUCCESSES
- ... OPINION LEADERS SEE MORE COMMUNIST THAN WESTERN SUCCESSES IN  
RECENT MONTHS
- ... LESSENER MAJORITY EXPRESS CONFIDENCE IN ULTIMATE WESTERN VICTORY
- ... DISTINCT UPSWING IN NEUTRALIST SENTIMENTS OVER PAST MANY MONTHS
- ... WESTERN ALLEGIANCE MAXIMUM AMONG OPINION LEADERS ...
- ... RISE IN WAR EXPECTATIONS, THOUGH MAJORITY STILL BELIEVE NO WORLD WAR  
IN NEXT FEW YEARS

VI. Trends in EDC Support, National Army Preference,  
and Reactions to Possible French Failure to Pass EDC

- ... DROP FROM EARLIER HIGH, BUT MAJORITY STILL FOR EDC
- ... EDC SUPPORT HIGHEST AMONG OPINION LEADERS
- ... PREPONDERANT PREFERENCE REMAINS A NATIONAL ARMY, AND SOME EUROPEAN  
ARMY SUPPORTERS THINKING ONLY IN TERMS OF A COALITION
- ... PREPONDERANCE IN FAVOR OF DISREGARDING FRANCE IN FUTURE DEFENSE  
PLANNING IF NO RATIFICATION OF EDC
- ... OPINION LEADERS EVEN MORE FOR DISREGARDING FRANCE IN EVENT OF NO  
RATIFICATION
- ... PREPONDERANCE WOULD INTERPRET FRENCH FAILURE TO RATIFY EDC AS REJECTION  
OF GERMAN REMILITARIZATION IN ANY FORM

VII. Trends in European Integration Sentiments

- ... EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STILL MAJORITY ASPIRATION
- ... SUPPORT HIGHEST AMONG OPINION LEADERS

VIII. Trends in Extent of SatisfactionWith Present Regime and Chancellor Adenauer's Handling of Saar Issue

- ... GENERAL SATISFACTION WITH ADENAUER CONTINUES HIGH
- ... HOWEVER, DISSATISFACTION AND UNCERTAINTY MARKED AS TO ADENAUER'S HANDLING OF SAAR ISSUE
- ... SAAR CONCESSIONS TO FRANCE TO PROMOTE EDC PREPONDERANTLY OPPOSED, BUT CONCESSIONS TO FURTHER EUROPEAN INTEGRATION GATHER GREATER SUPPORT

IX. Trend on Recognition of East Zone Regime

- ... INCREASED PREPONDERANCE OF OPINION THAT OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF EAST ZONE REGIME NOT INEVITABLE
- ... SLIGHT PREPONDERANCE FOR RECOGNITION IF SUCH WOULD RESULT IN REAL PROGRESS IN INTERZONAL TRAFFIC AND TRADE
- ... MAJORITY FOR RECOGNITION IF SUCH WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVE FATE OF EAST ZONE POPULATION

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I. Reactions to Recent Bonn-Moscow Overtures**THREE TO ONE MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA ...**

"Can you perhaps tell me whether at the present time diplomatic relations exist between the West German Federal Government and Russia?"

**West Germany**

No, they do not	40%
Yes, they do	5
Don't know	55
	<u>100%</u>

IF "Yes, they do" or "Don't know" - INFORMATION:

"The West German Federal Government doesn't maintain diplomatic relations with Russia at the present time."

"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

For it	58%
Against it	18
No opinion	24
	<u>100%</u>

**CLOSE TO THREE TO ONE MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF PFLEIDERER PROPOSAL ...**

"Have you heard of a proposal made by a Bundestag delegate according to which a group of delegates is to travel to Moscow? Who made this proposal?"

**West Germany**

Yes, know who (Pfleiderer)	20%
Yes, don't know who	15
No, not heard of it	65
	<u>100%</u>

"Would you be for or against this proposal for a group of delegates to travel to Moscow in order to establish contact with Russian quarters?"

For it	53%
Against it	19
No opinion	28
	<u>100%</u>

IF For the Proposal:

"Why would you be for it?"

**West Germany**

Because it would promote (direct) negotiations and normalize relations:

17%

"Because I'm always for negotiations."

"If the parties don't get together, negotiations can't take place."

"Though up till now all negotiations on the German problem between the Western Powers and the Russians have failed, it may be that we will score a success by getting in touch with Moscow."

"Then they would be able to negotiate with the Russians themselves."

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West Germany

"Because then we would attend to our interests ourselves."  
"Russia is a world power, after all, and therefore we should maintain a mission over there as there will always be problems to be clarified."  
"As the West German Federal Republic definitely is a state now, it should maintain diplomatic relations with all countries."

Because it might relax tensions and encourage a rapprochement:

9%

"Because maybe the generally existing tensions may be relaxed through such a move."  
"The general atmosphere might thus become more cordial."  
"In order to demonstrate Germany's good will."  
"For the very reason of a rapprochement."  
"Because personal contact may develop from such a move, feelings of hatred should have no place in the world any more."

Because it might promote reunification:

7

"Because the reunification of Germany may be accomplished thus."  
"So that the reunification of Germany may come about sooner."  
"I am in favor of this proposal as we'd thus have the chance of sending out a feeler regarding German reunification."  
"Maybe we could achieve a few things, maybe even the reunification of Germany."  
"Perhaps we could then go home again."

Because it might insure peace:

6

"To preserve peace."  
"So that there will be peace at last."  
"So that the whole business will be put off, I mean another war."  
"If the parties negotiate, there will be no war, and war is what must be avoided."  
"To work towards preventing any future war."

Because it might help solve the POW problem:

5

"To help our POWs."  
"To seek a solution of the POW problem."  
"Perhaps something could be achieved which may help our POWs."  
"I take it that Russia might then perhaps release the German POWs."

Because it might result in economic advantages:

5

"For economic reasons and because the Federal Republic gets economic profits out of it."  
"Because we need the East to trade with."  
"Our trade needs the Eastern market."  
"To establish trade relations with Russia."

Because it might be important to gather information:

3

"To find out at last what the Russians really want."  
"Perhaps they could learn something over there."  
"Because you have to find out what the Russians think of us."  
"That other people might see what things are like over there."

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Other answers:

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- "That an agreement be reached before the EDC comes into effect."
- "Because just now something might be achieved - since the Russians and the Americans don't come to an agreement."
- "It's best to achieve one's purpose right in the enemy's camp."
- "Because Germany's participation in the EDC would make any contact with Russia impossible as it would regard us as its enemy from that very moment."
- "It might lead to results which could be useful for another Four Power conference."

No opinion/No answer:1  
59%IF Against the Proposal:"Why would you be against it?"Because nothing would be accomplished thereby:

8%

- "Because from previous experience you know that nothing can be gained by it."
- "A delegate of the Bundestag can't possibly accomplish more than a Federal Chancellor and there's really no money for pleasure trips like this one."
- "Dulles and Eden haven't been successful with the Russians and Pfleiderer wouldn't be either."
- "Nothing will come of it."
- "Because they wouldn't accomplish anything in Moscow."

Because the time for such a trip has not yet come:

4

- "I believe that the time for such a step hasn't yet come."
- "I believe it's still too early, because of the Geneva conference."
- "One should wait and see how things are going to turn out in Geneva because otherwise we might stab the Western Powers in the back."
- "A peace treaty has to come first."

Because it would lower our prestige:

2

- "That might considerably lower our prestige with people in the East Zone."
- "We would be disliked for it by the Western Powers, I heard over the radio that they're not in favor of such an action."
- "Because just now at the time of the Geneva conference it would like fawning on the East."
- "They should leave that to Adenauer, this is not an opportunity to make money but something where our honor is at stake."

Other answers:

4

- "I trust Adenauer and he's very much against it."
- "If West Germany does something like that on its own accord that's like stabbing the Americans in the back."

No opinion/No answer:1  
19%

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APPROVAL OF PFLEIDERER PROPOSAL ALSO PREPONDERATES AMONG OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS OF WEST GERMAN POPULATION ...

"Would you be for or against this proposal for a group of delegates to travel to Moscow in order to establish contact with Russian quarters?"

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	60%	20%	20%	261
Women	46	18	36	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	51	16	33	491
Beyond elementary	60	30	10	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	39	11	50	90
150 to 299 DM	52	16	32	190
300 to 399 DM	60	17	23	133
400 to 499 DM	52	25	23	61
500 DM and more	65	26	9	95

WEST GERMANS WITH OPINIONS PREPONDERANTLY REJECT VIEW PROPOSAL UNWISELY TIMED ...

"Aside from whether you are for or against this proposal, do you consider it to be wise that this proposal was made now, or don't you?"

West Germany

Wise	33%
Not wise	18
No opinion	49
	100%

IF Consider Proposal Wise at this Time:

"Why was it, in your opinion, wise to make this proposal now?"

West Germany

An attempt has to be made to come to an understanding with the Russians:

12%

"Because we must try to achieve an understanding with the Russians."

"Well, you know, whether the proposal is made now or later on, such a move is always wise as you keep hoping for a rapprochement and maybe some day the whole German problem will be settled."

"One should try time and again to come to terms with Russia, especially by using diplomatic channels."

"Well, you can't deny that Germany is a much smaller country than Russia, and therefore we should try to achieve an understanding with the Russians as soon as possible."

"Because the Russians won't make the first move."

"Negotiations simply must be started some fine day."

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The earlier contact is established, the better:

"You can't start early enough with a thing like that."

"The sooner, the better."

"So that we will get somewhere as soon as possible."

"They should tackle this job as soon as possible."

"It's high time for us to sit down and talk things over with the Russians."

An opportune moment has arrived:

"Because the time is ripe for such a move, the situation is rather tense now, maybe tensions could be relaxed in that way."

"Because conditions are more favorable right now, once Germany will be a member of the European Defense Community, Russia will be our enemy."

"Because at present a certain loose contact exists owing to the Geneva conference, relations might be cemented."

"Just because the Geneva conference has failed and no definite commitments were made, therefore the field is wide-open and that's favorable for us."

"I'm sure Mr. Pfleiderer had a reason for choosing this particular moment, it's because no definite fronts have been established yet, and thus there exists a chance to come to an understanding."

We may gain economic advantages through such a move:

"Because we would profit as far as our trade is concerned."

"As long as there is no war, you may establish trade relations."

"If the delegates could achieve something through which inter-zonal trade would be promoted, this would be quite a good thing, for a few order over some million D-Marks would come in pretty handy."

Other answers:

"Because Stalin is dead, and his successors may show a more sensible attitude."

"So that people will realize that there still are some clear-headed people in Germany, these conferences cost a lot of money, after all."

"So that we can find out how the majority of the government feels."

"Above all, to find out how the Russians will behave towards us."

No opinion/No answer:

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IF Consider Proposal Not Wise at this Time:

"Why was it, in your opinion, not wise to make this proposal now?"

West Germany

One should have waited for the outcome of the Geneva conference:

54

"They should have waited for the outcome of the Geneva conference."

"It was a little premature, they should have waited for the outcome of the Geneva conference, if Russia will give the Western Powers the cold shoulder there again, the German delegates won't get anywhere in Russia, either."

"Because this proposal was made while the Geneva conference was under way, and nobody can tell what attitude Russia will show towards us after the conference has ended."

"Because one should have waited for the results of the Geneva conference in order to avoid a double-barreled effort for the same goal, I mean, talking the reunification issue over with the Russians."

The proposal was made prematurely - at an inopportune moment:

3

"It was premature, for we still are powerless and thus we can't impress the Russians."

"The right moment hasn't arrived yet, the Russians must explain first how they think the unification issue will develop."

"Because right at present, the Bolsheviks are about to get the upper hand in Indo-China."

"Because at the present time other problems are more important, I'm thinking of Asia, the EDC treaty, and atomic control."

An impression of internal strife will be produced - only the government is entitled to shape foreign policy:

3

"It makes people think that there are two trends in German politics, and this is neither true nor would it be a good thing."

"Maybe it's an election campaign maneuver, but if it is not, it would have been better to have avoided any semblance of internal strife."

"Only one body can be the exponent of our foreign policy, and that's the government."

"I feel that such a thing can be done only by those at the top, they should direct any such efforts."

An understanding with the Russians is unattainable:

2

"Because it's absolutely no use, the Russians give us the cold shoulder, they don't try to enter into negotiations with us, therefore we shouldn't do such a thing, either."

"Because Russian policy is just one concentrated effort to stall for time, in the end they will only try to extend their rule."

"Well, because these people won't get anywhere with the Russians, that's a sure bet."

"Because everything is futile, anyway."

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06262

West Germany

It looks like weakness on the part of Germany:

"It looks as if we would humble ourselves before the Russians."

"Because people may think we were grovelling before the Russians."

"It will make the Russians think that we are dependent on them."

The proposal was made belatedly:

"Because such a proposal should have been made at an earlier date, before the Berlin conference."

"I don't consider the moment to be opportune, one should have started such an action earlier."

Other answers:

"It's rather an election campaign maneuver devised by the FDP, international negotiations may be disturbed by it."

"It's not wise in that the proposal should be talked over with the Western Powers first, Germany isn't yet a sovereign country, therefore it is dependent on the Western Powers."

"Because the occupation powers might get sore."

"Because I don't like the Russians."

No opinion/No answer:

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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**AMERICAN OPPOSITION LIKELY TO HAVE SOME EFFECT IN DIMINISHING SUPPORT FOR PROPOSAL ...**

"In your opinion, would America be for or against West Germany establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

	West Germany
Would be for it	12%
Would be against it	54
Would not care	10
No opinion	24
	<u>100%</u>

"Would you be for diplomatic relations with Russia even if America is against it, or would you under those circumstances be against it?" (Asked of respondents who expressed themselves for establishing diplomatic relations with Russia.)

Even then for it	34%
Then against it	16
No opinion	8
	<u>58%</u>

**FEW FOR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA IF EAST ZONE RECOGNITION THE PRICE ...**

"Would you be for diplomatic relations with Russia even if that would mean that West Germany would in the end have to recognize the present East Zone government, or would you under these circumstances be against it?" (Asked of respondents who expressed themselves for establishing diplomatic relations with Russia.)

	West Germany
Even then for it	13%
Then against it	35
No opinion	10
	<u>58%</u>

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## II. Reactions to the Geneva Conference

### MAJORITY AWARE OF GENEVA CONFERENCE ...

"Have you heard or read that for some time a conference has been going on between America, England, France, Russia and Red-China? Can you tell me where this conference is going on?"

	West Germany
Yes, know where	54%
Yes, don't know where	12
No, don't know	34
	100%

### OPINIONS DIVIDE ON WHETHER CONFERENCE IMPORTANT TO GERMANY ...

"In your opinion, what importance has this Geneva-conference for Germany?" (CARD)  
(Asked of respondents expressing awareness of conference.)

Very great importance	6%
Great importance	14
Some importance	8
Only slight importance	14
No importance at all	12
No opinion	12
	66%

IF Conference of Very Great Importance, Great Importance, or Some Importance,

"Why, do you think, is this conference of importance for Germany?"

West Germany

Because the outcome of the conference will affect Germany either directly or indirectly:

13%

"Though Germany isn't directly affected, we'll share in the consequences of this conference."

"All that they'll hatch out together, will turn out to be either an advantage or a disadvantage for us."

"If they should reach an agreement, it's possible they will settle the German problem, too!"

"It may be that the Great Four will come to terms, and in that way the German problem might be taken up once more."

"Because the Korean problem is under discussion at this conference, and as conditions in Korea are similar to ours over here, we might achieve results, too."

"Because we're in the middle of things, we may be crushed as between two mill-stones through an agreement that may be reached, though it isn't apparent at first sight."

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Because it is vital for preserving world peace:

"Because those issues that are to be decided at Geneva are important for the whole world, this conference offers a chance to find out whether the Russians sincerely desire peace, or not."

"Those Asian problems cast a shadow over the whole world, therefore, an amiable settlement of these problems would bring peace to the whole world."

"As long as they negotiate, there will be no war, all this is interrelated."

"I guess it's important, I feel if all nations would get together, they could preserve peace with a little good will."

"Because peace is at stake."

Because the outcome of the conference will have repercussions on the reunification of Germany and on the Saar issue:

"The reunification of Germany also depends on the outcome of the conference."

"Because through this conference the reunification of Germany may be achieved."

"All Foreign Ministers are present in Geneva, they are going to discuss the Saar issue, for instance, and also that business about the Russian Zone in Germany."

"The reunification of Germany may be connected with the outcome of the conference."

Because the outcome of the conference will influence integration plans of the West (EDC):

"Because the EDC issue is influenced through the conference,"

"Because those groups in France that are in favor of ratifying the EDC-treaty are thus bolstered."

"As Russia always opposes the West, the solidarity of the West will become even more closely knit."

Because it will influence the fight against Communism:

"The hour of decision has arrived, it's whether the West is strong enough to face the East in order to prevent a further advance of Communism."

"Because it's important to stem the Communist tide, to build up a front against Communism."

Other reasons:

"It's important in that it will clearly define the stand of the East and the West."

"Because it will teach the Western powers a lesson, they will realize that it's absolutely futile to negotiate with the Communists."

"If the EDC would come about, we'd have to side with the West in case of a clash and that means we'd have to pull the chestnuts out of the fire."

No opinion/No answer:

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IF Conference of Only Slight Importance, or 'No Importance at All :

"Why is this conference of no importance for Germany?"

West Germany

Because the agenda does not include the Germany question, nor do German delegates participate:

18%

"They don't discuss the German problem in this conference, there is no German delegation present."

"Because the Germany question is not on the agenda."

"They don't deal with the German problem in this conference."

"They don't discuss the German problem, therefore, this conference is of no importance for us."

"Because we have no say in this conference."

"Item No. 1 of this conference is Indochina, we have nothing to do with this meeting."

Because, as in all conferences, in this meeting too no positive results for Germany will be achieved:

6

"This conference will close without having achieved any result, the way we are used to. The Russians and Chinese are not willing to settle things peacefully, under such circumstances the good intentions of the Western powers are of little value."

"Because nothing will come out of it, they'll make nothing but speeches as they did in Berlin."

"Because no party will give in, nothing will be achieved for us."

"The great powers will separate without having achieved the slightest success. Such a conference is all baloney, and the Russians will laugh up their sleeves."

Other answers:

1

"Because Germany is still too unimportant a political factor."

No opinion/No answer:

$\frac{1}{26\%}$

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OPINIONS LUKEWARM TO NEGATIVE ON "ESTER" SUCCESS AT  
CONFERENCE ...

"To the extent that you have followed the Geneva-conference, how well, in your opinion, have the Western powers fared?" (CARD) (Asked of respondents expressing awareness of conference.)

	West Germany
Very well	*%
Well	4
Fairly well	14
Not too well	13
Badly	7
Very badly	4
No opinion	24
	66%

VERY FEW SEE AMERICA TO BLAME FOR GENEVA DIFFICULTIES ...

IF Not Too Well, Badly, or Very Badly:  
"Who is chiefly to blame, in your opinion: America, France or England?"

America	3%
France	10
England	1
No opinion	10
	24%

"Why is France chiefly to blame?"

West Germany

5%

Because of its political instability:

"Owing to their continuously changing governments and to the unstable course of their foreign policy they don't have the right kind of support in Geneva."

"France doesn't know anymore what it really wants, it doesn't show any willingness to cooperate, the Russians know that and therefore, their demands get more and more exorbitant."

"The everlasting succession of weak government in Paris which can't do anything without being overthrown by the other side."

"There's a lot of Communist infiltration which is to blame for the instability of their demands."

"In France nothing is certain, I mean France is the weakest spot in Western Europe and therefore most inviting for the Communists to try their luck on it."

"It's not quite right to say they are to blame but a government that is so shaky that it can be toppled over by the weakest rumor is bound to have a great deal of trouble in Geneva and will always be forced to act on the defensive."

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UNCLASSIFIED

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Because of its policy in Indochina:

"Because France should at last give up its policy of exploitation in Indochina and in other countries - those nations want to be free after all."

"Because they are going to lose the war in Indochina, a loser never gets much out of negotiations."

"Because they deliberately started a war although being neither willing nor able to fight it to the end."

"Because it doesn't make any concessions in Indochina, they have no business over there, the country belongs to the people living there."

Other answers:

1

"Because they're incompetent."

"Because the French shirk responsibility and hate the Germans."

"Because they haven't come to terms with America, I cannot but blame both sides."

No opinion/Don't know:\*  
10%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Why is America chiefly to blame?"

(Comments only listed as too few to categorize.)

"Because Mr. Dulles left the conference all too soon thus bringing the conference to a deadlock."

"Because Mr. Dulles left the conference so soon."

"The departure of Mr. Dulles created the impression that he was very doubtful about pushing through his demands and as if, already before the conference is closed, he gave up all hope to achieve an understanding."

"The tactics Dr. Dulles employs in negotiations seem to be too tough, he ought to show a more yielding attitude."

"Because they want to gain their point at any cost, they aren't ready to compromise. The East shows the same stubbornness."

"America disapproves of the Communist proposals, it doesn't want to give way in Asia. Asia belongs to the Asiatics."

"It always complies with the Russian demands. America, alike us, is afraid of the Russians."

"Because of America's power policy: America would like to solve all problems by sabre-rattling."

"They should furnish more help to the French."

"America meddles with too many things thus being unable to settle them all successfully."

"Because Mr. Dulles as the chief representative of the Western powers doesn't seem to measure up with the Russians."

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LARGE MAJORITY SEE NO DECREASE IN AMERICAN INTEREST IN GERMANY  
DESPITE PRESENT PREOCCUPATION WITH ASIA ...

"In the event that you have followed American efforts  
in Eastern Asia lately, do you feel that America's  
interest in Germany and its problems has decreased  
in any way, or hasn't it?

## West Germany

Has decreased	8%
Has not decreased	64
No opinion	28
	<u>100%</u>



06272

III. Views on the Desirability of a Further Conference  
With the Russians

LARGE MAJORITY IN FAVOR OF ANOTHER FOUR POWER CONFERENCE ON GERMANY  
DESPITE PREPONDERANT PESSIMISM AS TO ITS PROBABLE FRUITFULNESS ...

"Supposing Russia would propose another Four Power conference on the German question to be held soon after the Geneva conference has ended, would you like to see the Western Powers accept this proposal, or would you prefer to see them not accept it?"

West Germany	
Like to see it accepted	67%
Wouldn't like to see it accepted	14%
No opinion	19%
	<u>100%</u>

IF Like to See it Accepted:

"In your opinion, how good would the chances be at such a Four Power conference for achieving a reunification under conditions acceptable to us?"

Very good	1%
Good	5
Fair	20
Poor	27
Very poor	10
No opinion	4
	<u>67%</u>

OPINION LEADERS EVEN MORE DESIROUS OF CONFERENCE THOUGH EVEN MORE PESSIMISTIC AS TO OUTCOME ...

	Like to see it accepted	Wouldn't like to see it accepted	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	70%	17%	13%...100%	261
Women	65	11	24	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	65	13	22	491
Beyond elementary	80	15	5	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	46	15	39	90
150 to 299 DM	61	13	26	190
300 to 399 DM	79	13	8	133
400 to 499 DM	85	10	5	61
500 DM and more	72	20	8	95

	Good & very good	Fair	Poor	Very poor	No opinion	Wouldn't like to see it accepted	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	6%	22%	27%	11%	4%	30%...100%	261
Women	6	17	27	10	5	35	338
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	6	20	25	9	5	35	491
Beyond elementary	5	18	38	16	4	19	108
<u>Income:</u>							
Up to 149 DM	8	11	15	5	7	54	90
150 to 299 DM	7	19	22	7	6	39	190
300 to 399 DM	5	26	36	8	4	21	133
400 to 499 DM	5	24	33	23	-	15	61
500 DM and more	4	20	30	15	3	28	95

## MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR CONFERENCES PERSISTS IN FACE OF CONTRARY ARGUMENTS ...

"Two people are discussing Western policy towards the Communists. Which of the two views comes closest to your opinion?"

Mr. Schulze: I am for the West negotiating with the Communist Powers time and again and in doing so it should also be conciliatory, then the Communists will show a conciliatory attitude, too, and a serious conflict will never occur.

Mr. Maier: One should finally stop these never ending negotiations with the Communists as nothing comes of them anyway, and as they are interpreted as weakness by the Communists; one should finally decisively oppose Communist threats and attacks and should make it plain to them that things can't go on like that."

West Germany

Mr. Schulze	55%
Mr. Maier	30
No opinion	15
	<u>100%</u>

## OPINION LEADERS NO LESS WEDDED TO CONFERENCES IN FACE OF CONTRARY ARGUMENTS ...

	Mr. Schulze	Mr. Maier	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	55%	36%	9%...100%	261
Women	56	25	19	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	56	29	15	491
Beyond elementary	54	33	13	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	44	29	27	90
150 to 299 DM	54	30	16	190
300 to 399 DM	60	32	8	133
400 to 499 DM	65	28	7	61
500 DM and more	61	28	11	95

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IV. American Prestige Trend and Extent  
of Present Confidence In American Leadership

ONLY SLIGHT DIMINUTION OF AMERICAN PRESTIGE FROM JANUARY HIGH ...

"What prestige does America enjoy with you personally?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			
	Late Nov. 1953 (635)	Early Dec. 1953 (1008)	Jan. 1954 (909)	June 1954 (599)
High to very high	42%	47%	55%	48%
Mediocre to fair	40	34	29	39
Low to very low	10	7	6	6
No opinion	8	12	10	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

"Has anything occurred lately that has lowered American prestige in your eyes?"

	<u>West Germany</u>
Yes	7%
No	84
No opinion	9
	<u>100%</u>

IF Yes  
"What was it?"

West Germany

American foreign policy:

4%

"I consider Eisenhower's policy to be rather ill-advised."

"Korea, I can't understand that the Americans didn't get a more satisfactory result there."

"That they didn't help the French in the battle of Dien Bien Phu in Indochina."

"America's sending arms to Indochina - the Russians do it as well, but America should keep out of it."

"The foreign secretary's departure from Geneva."

"As to their foreign policy I didn't like the way they sometimes threatened other nations."

The behavior of American soldiers:

2

"The soldiers' behavior - I get annoyed about the way their troops use up such an amount of gasoline quite unnecessarily."

"The American soldiers' behavior was and still is bad - they don't do credit to their country."

"Outrages by drunken soldiers."

"Outrages by occupation soldiers - they should keep a better discipline among their troops."

America's interfering with German affairs:

"That America turns the Palatinate into a fortress."

"Land requisitioning, installing explosive chambers in bridges."

Other answers:

"The McCarthy affair."

No opinion/No answer:

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2  
8%

## AMERICAN PRESTIGE HIGHEST AMONG OPINION LEADING ELEMENTS ...

"What prestige does America enjoy with you personally?"

	High or very high	Fair or mediocre	Low or very low	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	53%	35%	8%	4%..100%	261
Women	43	42	3	10	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	44	41	7	0	491
Beyond elementary	63	32	3	2	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	41	30	0	21	90
150 to 299 DM	46	41	7	6	190
300 to 399 DM	45	45	8	2	133
400 to 499 DM	51	41	5	3	61
500 DM and more	64	33	2	1	93

## MAJORITY ACKNOWLEDGE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP OF WESTERN WORLD AND SEE AMERICA WELL-FITTED FOR JOB ...

"Which country has at present the political leadership of the Western world?"

	West Germany
England	4%
France	*
America	77
Some other country	1
No opinion	18
	<u>100%</u>

\* Less than one per cent.

IF America:

"In your opinion, is America very well, well, fairly, or not at all fitted for this?"

Very well fitted	13%
Well fitted	39
Fairly well fitted	18
Not at all fitted	2
No opinion	5
	<u>77%</u>

"Has your confidence in America's fitness for political leadership of the Western world increased or diminished recently?"

Increased	9%
Diminished	8
Unchanged	65
No opinion	18
	<u>100%</u>

V. Trends in Communist vs Western Strength,  
Neutrality and Fear of War

**SHARP RISE IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECENT COMMUNIST SUCCESSES ...**

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success lately: the Communist Powers or the Western Powers?"

	<u>West Germany</u>			
	April 51 (791)	Dec 52 (786)	Nov 53 (635)	June 54 (599)
Communist Powers	31%	24%	8%	26%
Western Powers	37	28	46	29
Both the same	14	23	23	18
No opinion	18	25	23	27
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF Communist Powers Have Had More Success Lately:

"Why are you of this opinion? In what respect have the Communist Powers had more success?"

West Germany

Because Communist control has increased in Asia:

15%

"Half of Korea is in their hands, Indo-China will follow soon, and China, too, is open to Russian influences."

"China, Indo-China, East Germany, the whole Balkan became Communistic."

"The events in Korea and Indo-China have shown this, America lost all its prestige at these places."

"Because they got the whole of Asia under their control."

"America failed in Korea as well as in Indo-China."

"The success of the Viet Nams can't be denied."

"Having overrun the Eastern states they turned them into Communist satellites, they were successful in Korea and East Asia, too. Red China, too, became powerful."

Because they've been cleverer:

4

"The Russians are cleverer."

"I consider Molotov to be the shrewdest diplomat on the scene."

"Because they demonstrate more skill in putting the West off thus stalling for time for themselves. The way they handle things seems to be more skillful than that of the Western Powers."

"The Russians achieved everything they wanted to up till now."

Because they thwart the Western Powers in conferences:

3

"In all conferences the Americans have been the losers."

"In all conferences the Americans had to dance to the Russians' piping."

"They prevented the Western Powers from gaining their point in the past conferences."

"Mr. Dulles left the Geneva conference and went home because he was stuck, I guess."

"The Berlin conference didn't bring us any positive results and it looks as if in the Geneva conference we would fail again in forcing the Communists to their knees."

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Because they are unified, the West is not:

2%

"The Communist Powers are united while the Western Powers are split."

"The Communist Powers represent a monolith while the Western Powers can't come to terms."

"I'm thinking of the poor unity among the Western Powers, obligations and special interests of the individual Western nations weaken their striking power, I'm thinking of Indo-China."

Because the Western Powers have shown too yielding an attitude towards the Russians:

1

"Because the Russians, that is the Communist Powers, were offered too many chances to gain ground, and the Communists jumped at these chances, I'm thinking of Korea, Asia, Germany."

"Because all the others knuckled under."

"The Communist Powers' present strength results from the American attitude towards them in 1947, if the Americans would then have faced Russia so energetically as they do it now, things wouldn't have taken such an unfavorable turn."

Because they have a strong, centralized government:

1

"Because the Communist peoples are subject to a central power, dictators can afford to be reckless, they can act more quickly than other governors."

"A Bolshevist country has the possibility to realize its plans by force and arbitrary laws, irrespective of persons or things. That has been the Communist practice up till now, and they'll go on making use of it."

Other answers:

2

"By their tactic to infiltrate the nations with Communist elements. Such elements also exist in West Germany even if underground."

"Because their government consists of workers."

No opinion/No answer:

1  
29%

IF the Western Powers Have Had More Success Lately:

"Why are you of this opinion? In what respect have the Western Powers had more success lately?"

Because there is freedom and a decent living in the West:

6%

"Because they are more cultured, they've decent clothing, enough to eat and can do and speak as they like."

"In the Western countries you are free, we live better here than in the East sector of Berlin."

"Conditions in the West are more orderly, contrary to the East Zone the disturbances they had over there - workers are more free over here."

"The 17th of June '53 in the East Zone, Yugoslavia, Phillipine Islands - discontentment in the East bloc countries, they all want to have a better life such as that of people in the Western countries."

"They are better in every respect - just take their way of living, I can't tell you all of it only that they were more successful."

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Because the West has won more support:

"By their economic aid program they won more nations over on their side, they achieved good cooperation and corresponding opinions among the other West European countries."

"USA has done more for the West European nations, and thus determined their political course."

"The Western Powers won the Germans over on their side, that was shown by the results of the last elections."

"Because they provide people with better living conditions, and, therefore, win those nations which want to reach a higher cultural standard over on their side."

Because the West has increased its economic strength:

"You see the general economic recovery of the Western countries."

"Just think of our economy, of our economic recovery and the loans."

"It can well be seen that we've got on, I mean the West is better off, don't know any examples for it."

"For instance, if judging by Germany's situation - greater economic success."

Because the Western Powers are wiser - no longer taken in:

"Because the Western Powers are no longer being taken in by Communist promises."

"Because they checked the Communists and wouldn't be taken in any more by empty promises."

"Because they don't yield any more."

"At the conferences help up till now the Western Powers were more successful."

Communism is losing ground and influence:

"In the last elections the Communists didn't get nearly as many votes as the parties which are all for the West."

"The number of members of the Communist party is decreasing in all countries."

"In Germany for instance Communism is done for and in the other European countries it's losing ground as well - in Indo-China things don't look so good at the moment but the table will be turned there, I'm sure."

"There are always so many people running away from the Russian Zone."

Because I feel it to be so - no special reason:

"It's a matter of feeling with me."

"I don't know really, but I feel it."

"That's just my opinion, I don't know whether I'm right or not."

Other answers:

"Because Communists are never any good."

"Because you never hear anything good of the East, if you listen to 'Otto Schaedlich' in the radio on wednesdays it sounds wonderfully promising but all that stuff isn't true."

No opinion/No answer:

• Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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OPINION LEADERS. SEE MORE COMMUNIST THAN WESTERN SUCCESSES IN RECENT MONTHS ...

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success lately: the Communist Powers or the Western Powers?"

	Communist Powers	Western Powers	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases
<b>Sex:</b>					
Men	38%	26%	19%	17%...100%	261
Women	17	31	16	36	338
<b>Education:</b>					
Elementary school	22	31	17	30	491
Beyond elementary	46	18	23	13	108
<b>Income:</b>					
Up to 149 DM	18	27	13	42	90
150 to 299 DM	19	35	17	29	190
300 to 399 DM	30	28	18	24	133
400 to 499 DM	24	38	20	18	61
500 DM and more	44	19	25	12	95

LESSENER MAJORITY EXPRESS CONFIDENCE IN ULTIMATE WESTERN VICTORY ...

"According to your view, who has the better chance finally to win the upper hand in the East/West struggle: the Communist Powers or the Western Powers?"

	West Germany			
	Apr 51 (791)	Dec 52 (786)	Nov 53 (635)	June 54 (599)
Communist Powers	8%	7%	4%	7%
Western Powers	64	66	66	58
Both equal chances	8	7	6	11
Undecided	20	20	24	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%

DISTINCT UPSWING IN NEUTRALIST SENTIMENTS OVER PAST MANY MONTHS ...

"Do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East or not be on either side?"

	West Germany										
	Apr/ May 52 (800)	May 52 (791)	Sept 52 (1591)	Oct 52 (1582)	Nov 52 (1193)	Dec 52 (1193)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	May/ June 53 (740)	Late June 53 (761)	Jul 53 (625)	June 54 (599)
West	34%	35%	58%	53%	57%	65%	71%	72%	69%	67%	60%
East	*	1	*	-	1	*	*	*	*	1	1
Neither side	46	43	31	39	30	28	18	20	22	24	30
No opinion	20	21	11	8	12	7	11	8	9	8	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S., do you think West Germany should take any side or not take a side? Which side?"

	West Germany	
	Sept 1952 (1591)	June 1954 (599)
Side with Russia	4%	4%
Side with the U.S.	52	44
Not take side	37	46
No opinion	11	10
	100%	100%

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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WESTERN ALLEGIANCE MAXIMUM AMONG OPINION LEADERS ... UNCLASSIFIED

"Do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side?"

	West	East	Neither side	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	63%	1%	31%	5%...100%	261
Women	59	1	28	12	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	59	1	30	10	491
Beyond elementary	67	2	25	6	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	49	3	31	17	90
150 to 299 DM	58	-	31	11	190
300 to 399 DM	62	1	32	5	133
400 to 499 DM	76	-	23	1	61
500 DM and more	70	3	24	3	95

"And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S., do you think West Germany should take any side or not take a side? Which side?"

	Side with Russia	Side with the U.S.	Not take side	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	*	47%	47%	6%...100%	261
Women	-	42	46	12	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	*	42	48	10	491
Beyond elementary	-	54	37	9	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	-	40	44	16	90
150 to 299 DM	1	44	46	9	190
300 to 399 DM	-	41	54	5	133
400 to 499 DM	2	57	38	3	61
500 DM and more	-	50	42	8	95

RISE IN WAR EXPECTATIONS THOUGH MAJORITY STILL BELIEVE NO WORLD WAR IN NEXT FEW YEARS ...

"Do you believe that there will be a world war in the next 3 or 4 years or not?"

	West Germany.	
	Dec 1953 (500)	June 1954 (599)
There will be a war	10%	22%
War will be avoided	69	55
War will be avoided if .....	10	8
No opinion	11	15
	100%	100%

UNCLASSIFIED

VI. Trends in EDC Support, National Army Preference, and Reactions to Possible French Failure to Pass EDC

DROP FROM EARLIER HIGH, BUT MAJORITY STILL FOR EDC ...

"Have you ever heard or read of the EDC?"

		<u>West Germany</u>			
		Feb 26-March 3 1954 (634)	March 1954 (801)	April 1954 (659)	June 1954 (599)
Yes		75%	78%	83%	76%
No		25	22	17	24
		100%	100%	100%	100%

"In general, are you for or against West Germany's participation in the EDC, that is, the West European Defense Community? Very much for it or somewhat for it? Very much against it or somewhat against it?"

(After all unaware told - Under the EDC several West European countries are to unite in a West European Defense Community in which West Germany also is to participate with German divisions which will be integrated in an overall West European army.)

		<u>West Germany</u>			
	Feb 26-Mar 3 1954 (634)	March 1954 (801)	April 1954 (659)	May 1954 (618)	June 1954 (599)
Very much for it	30%	28%	29%	27%	27%
Somewhat for it	27	31	33	26	26
Very much against it	13	14	11	10	15
Somewhat against it	10	8	13	17	15
No opinion	20	19	14	20	17
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

EDC SUPPORT HIGHEST AMONG OPINION LEADERS ...

"In general, are you for or against West Germany's participation in the EDC, that is, the West European Defense Community? Very much for it or somewhat for it? Very much against it or somewhat against it?"

	Very much or somewhat for it	Very much or somewhat against it	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	59%	30%	11%...100%	261
Women	47	30	23	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	32	20	491
Beyond elementary	74	19	7	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	42	25	33	90
150 to 299 DM	54	29	17	190
300 to 399 DM	44	40		133
400 to 499 DM	59	30		61
500 DM and more	71	23		95

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PREPONDERANT PREFERENCE REMAINS A NATIONAL ARMY AND SOME EUROPEAN ARMY SUPPORTERS THINKING ONLY IN TERMS OF A COALITION ...

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe: Which way would you consider preferable?"

"A West German National Army should be established which would participate in the defense of West Europe."

"German divisions should be integrated in a general West European Army."

	<u>West Germany</u>					
	Feb 1952 (794)	Dec 1952 (1196)	June 1953 (740)	Nov 1953 (635)	March 1954 (801)	June 1954 (599)
National Army	43%	47%	42%	49%	40%	47%
European Army	25	22	28	24	30	24
No opinion	<u>32</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>29</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

IF European Army:

"Speaking of such a general West European Army, would you prefer if it would be a federation of individual armies which will operate jointly in the form of a coalition army and in which each country would have the right to decide independently about its own troops

or

would you prefer if each country would provide troops which in the form of divisions would be integrated in a general West European Army, with no participating country having the right to decide independently about its troops

	June 1954
Coalition Army with independent decisions	9%
Integrated Army without independent control	14
No opinion	<u>1</u>
	24%

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PREPONDERANCE IN FAVOR OF DISREGARDING FRANCE IN FUTURE DEFENSE  
PLANNING IF NO RATIFICATION OF EDC ...

"If France should not agree to the EDC, what should  
West Germany then do? (CARD)

West Germany

A - West Germany should give up all plans and efforts for Germany's remilitarization	15%
B - West Germany should make renewed efforts to induce France to give its approval	18
C - West Germany should try to achieve an agreement with American and other West European countries on our remilitarization without regard to France	41
No opinion	<u>26</u> 100%

OPINION LEADERS EVEN MORE FOR DISREGARDING FRANCE IN EVENT OF  
NO RATIFICATION ...

	A	B	C	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	15%	17%	52%	16%...100%	261
Women	14	18	32	36	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	16	17	36	31	491
Beyond elementary	9	20	65	6	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	8	19	29	44	90
150 to 299 DM	15	19	36	30	190
300 to 399 DM	18	14	43	25	133
400 to 499 DM	18	12	54	16	61
500 DM and more	12	25	56	7	95

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PREPONDERANCE WOULD INTERPRETE FRENCH FAILURE TO RATIFY EDC AS REJECTION OF GERMAN REMILITARIZATION IN ANY FORM ...

"Supposing France would not agree to the EDC, would you then feel that France disapproves of any form of a West German remilitarization, or do you think it only means that France is against our participation in the EDC but would agree to West Germany's military participation in the West European defense in some other form?"

West Germany

Means disapproval of West Germany's remilitarization in any form	45%
--	-----

Means disapproval of the EDC, but possibly West Germany's remilitarization in some other form	10
---	----

No opinion	$\frac{37}{100\%}$
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EUROPEAN INTEGRATION STILL MAJORITY ASPIRATION ...

"Are you in general for or against making efforts towards uniting West Europe?"

West Germany			
	Sept 1952 (1591)	Mar 1954 (801)	June 1954 (599)
For	73%	75%	74%
Against	9	5	6
No opinion	18	20	20
	100%	100%	100%

"This is one of the many suggestions made for forming a West European union.

All West European countries should unite and form a common government which would decide about all questions that concern West Europe as a whole. However, each country would keep the right to decide on things that concern it alone.

Would you like to see West Germany be part of such a West European government, or would you be against it?"

West Germany		
	Sept 1952 (1591)	June 1954 (599)
For	74%	72%
Against	11	8
No opinion	15	20
	100%	100%

IF For:

"In the interest of West Europe as a whole, such a West European government may have to make decisions that would sometimes be unfavorable to West Germany and sometimes to other countries. In view of this, would you be for or against West Germany taking part in such a government?"

For	63%	57%
Against	4	7
No opinion	7	8
	74%	72%

SUPPORT HIGHEST AMONG OPINION LEADERS ...

	For, even if sometimes dis- advantageous	Against in ge- neral or if dis- advantageous	Undecided gener- ally or under such circumstances	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>				
<u>Generally:</u>	57%	15%	28%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	65	19	16	261
Women	51	11	38	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	54	13	33	491
Beyond elementary	71	19	10	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	47	12	41	90
150 to 299 DM	52	12	36	190
300 to 399 DM	59	19	22	133
400 to 499 DM	67	10	23	61
500 DM and more	74	16	10	95

VIII. Trends in Extent of Satisfaction With Present Regime and Chancellor Adenauer's Handling of Saar Issue

GENERAL SATISFACTION WITH ADENAUER CONTINUES HIGH ...

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?  
(IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied?)  
(IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or merely dissatisfied?)"

	West Germany				
	August 1952 (1195)	Early June 1953 (740)	Late June 1953 (761)	July 1953 (625)	June 1954 (599)
Very satisfied	11%	19%	19%	16%	36%
Fairly satisfied	47	50	57	54	37
Dissatisfied	18	14	12	13	10
Very dissatisfied	5	3	2	2	3
No opinion	19	14	10	13	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

HOWEVER DISSATISFACTION AND UNCERTAINTY MARKED AS TO ADENAUER'S HANDLING OF SAAR ISSUE ...

"By and large, are you satisfied or dissatisfied about the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer handles the Saar issue?"

	West Germany	
	March 1954 (801)	June 1954 (599)
Satisfied	34%	30%
Dissatisfied	18	23
Undecided	48	47
	100%	100%

IF Satisfied:  
"Why are you satisfied?"

West Germany  
11%

Because I have confidence in Adenauer:

- "I feel that Adenauer will also settle this question, I have confidence in him, that's all I can say."
- "I'm sure Adenauer knows what he is doing, I place confidence in his political leadership."
- "Adenauer knows his business, one can place limitless confidence in him."
- "He is the most capable of all politicians and will settle things satisfactorily."
- "He has got the power, he'll handle things all right, we have reason to be satisfied with him."

Because he is trying to negotiate a peaceful and fair solution:

- "Because the Federal Chancellor is working on a peaceful solution that won't lower our prestige."
- "Because he tries to reach a solution through negotiation the Saar problem can only be settled by peaceful means."

(Cont'd on next page)

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"He seeks a peaceful and fair solution of the Saar problem."

"Because Adenauer doesn't ignore the demands of France but tries to reach a solution in cooperation with the French."

"He keeps trying to find a solution for this problem, he resumes negotiations on this question again and again."

Because he makes efforts to win the Saar back for Germany:

3%

"The Saar belongs to Germany, and Adenauer makes efforts to reunite it with the motherland."

"The Saar has to be reunited with Germany, that's what Adenauer wants to achieve."

"Adenauer stands up for our interests on the Saar issue, he insists that France returns the Saar District or that the Saar people are given the possibility to decide for themselves through a plebiscite."

"Adenauer wants the Saar to stay German."

"I feel that in all negotiations on this issue Adenauer has Germany's interests in mind and that will have its repercussions."

Because he does all he can, he can't act differently:

3

"Considering the circumstances, he does all he can do in this matter."

"He has no chance to handle this issue differently."

"I wouldn't know how to manage things better."

"He can't act differently, he must go along on everything France demands but I've got the feeling that he will arrange everything to our favor."

Because in the Saar issue he works for a United Europe:

1

"Adenauer though not willing to give something away, is always ready to make concessions to the French in order to reach the greater goal, the unification of Europe."

"The outcome might be painful for many people but it mustn't divert us from our aim of a United Europe."

Other reasons:

1

"Adenauer handles this issue in a level-headed manner, he isn't prejudiced by nationalistic ideas, but on the other hand he is ready to use the Saar as a bargaining object."

"I'm satisfied with a government that attends to the interests of the refugees, I know nothing about politics, before elections I go to some party rallies where I can learn what is right."

No opinion/No answer:

5  
30%

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IF Dissatisfied:  
"Why are you dissatisfied?"

West Germany

8%

Because he makes too many concessions to France:

- "Because he makes too many concessions to the French, the Saar is German and can only be controlled by us."
- "Adenauer shouldn't make any concessions to the French, the is and has always been German."
- "The Saar is German and belongs to Germany. Adenauer should be tougher in order to have the Saar returned to us at any cost."
- "He is too complying towards France. One shouldn't treat Germans like Negroes in the colonies."
- "Adenauer ought to leave no stone unturned to have the Saar restored to Germany but he doesn't do everything in his power."

The Saar must remain German territory:

8

- "The Saar Basin belongs to Germany and has to be considered as such, it mustn't be bargained away."
- "The Saar District belongs to Germany, this fact should be the basis for all negotiations on this matter."
- "The Saar is German, that means one can't bargain about it."
- "Because I'm of the opinion that the Saar has to remain German."
- "The Saar is German territory that can't be sold off."

Because the negotiations neither progress nor do they show any results:

2

- "Because no progress has been achieved in this matter."
- "Though the Saar territory belongs to us, Adenauer didn't succeed in restoring it to Germany so that we could make use of its resources again."
- "The fact that the Saar District has been handed over to France and the negotiations on its return to Germany didn't yield any results up to now make me dissatisfied with the way Adenauer handles this affair."

He shouldn't tie up the Saar issue with the EDC-treaty:

1

- "Adenauer wants to push the EDC-treaty through at any cost, even if he has to pay for it with the Saar."
- "I think that Adenauer is, above all, interested in the EDC, and that in certain cases he would even be ready to sacrifice the Saar though, in my eyes, this German territory mustn't be given up, whatever the circumstances may be."
- "He should insist more emphatically on the Saar to be returned to Germany, he shouldn't use it as a bargaining object in the EDC business."

(Cont'd on next page)

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because the public is not sufficiently informed  
on the Saar issue:

1%

"Adenauer keeps mum about new developments, the whole matter is rather obscure."

"More details of the negotiations on the Saar question should be made known to the public."

"The whole business is highly mysterious, while the basic facts are quite clear: the Saar District is German and not French, that means that negotiations can only be conducted on Saar coal but not on the fate of the people."

Other reasons:

2

"He deals with the problem in a one-sided way, that is, from a West German point of view, he ought to ask the Saar people about it."

"The Saar people aren't pro-German, he should let them have their way."

No opinion/No answer:

1  
23%

SAAR CONCESSION TO FRANCE TO PROMOTE EDC PREPONDERANTLY OPPOSED,  
BUT CONCESSION TO FURTHER EUROPEAN INTEGRATION GATHER GREATER  
SUPPORT ...

"Supposing Federal Chancellor Adenauer would make concessions towards France on the Saar issue in order to induce France to agree to the EDC: would you be for or against Federal Chancellor Adenauer making concession on the Saar issue for this reason?"

	<u>West Germany</u>	
	March 1954 (801)	June 1954 (599)
For	25%	21%
Against	48	50
No opinion	27	29
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

IF "Against":

"If through these concessions of Federal Chancellor Adenauer on the Saar issue the union of West European countries would be considerably furthered, would you be even then against these concessions, or would you under these circumstances be for them?"

	June 1954
Even then against them	34%
Under these circumstances for them	13
No opinion	<u>3</u> 50%
<u>Total</u> for under such circumstances	34%
<u>Total</u> against	34
<u>Total</u> no opinion	<u>32</u> 100%

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IX. Trend on Recognition of East Zone Regime

INCREASED PREPONDERANCE OF OPINION THAT OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF EAST ZONE REGIME NOT INEVITABLE ...

"Do you believe that, in the end, the East Zone government will have to be recognized as the official, though not as the legitimate government of East Germany, or are you of the opinion that one can go along without such a recognition?"

	West Germany	
	April 1954 (659)	June 1954 (599)
Recognition necessary in the end	22%	19%
Can go along without recognition	38	50
No opinion	40	31
	100%	100%

SLIGHT PREPONDERANCE FOR RECOGNITION IF SUCH WOULD RESULT IN REAL PROGRESS IN INTERZONAL TRAFFIC AND TRADE ...

IF Can Go Along Without Recognition:

"Supposing real progress in things such as interzonal traffic and interzonal trade could only be achieved through an official recognition of the East Zone government, would you even then be against an official recognition of the East Zone government or would you under such circumstances be for an official recognition of the East Zone government?"

	West Germany
Even then against it	30%
Under such circumstances for recognition	17
No opinion	3
	50%
<u>Total for under such circumstances</u>	36%
<u>Total against</u>	30
<u>Total no opinion</u>	34
	100%

MAJORITY FOR RECOGNITION IF SUCH WOULD SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVE FATE OF EAST ZONE POPULATION ...

"If conditions would substantially improve for the East Zone population through an official recognition of the East Zone government, would you then be for or against such an official recognition of the present East Zone government?"

	West Germany
For it	62%
Against it	21
No opinion	17
	100%

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I. Reactions to Recent Bonn-Moscow Overtures

"Can you perhaps tell me whether at the present time diplomatic relations exist between the West German Federal Government and Russia?"

	Yes, they do	No, they do not	Don't know	No. of cases
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	5%	40%	55%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	6	57	37	261
Women	5	27	68	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	5	35	60	491
Beyond elementary	6	63	31	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	5	25	70	90
150 to 299 DM	4	31	65	190
300 to 399 DM	5	38	57	133
400 to 499 DM	5	47	48	61
500 DM and more	6	74	20	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	3	31	66	68
25 to 34 years	2	48	50	122
35 to 44 years	6	44	50	139
45 to 54 years	6	36	58	131
55 years and over	6	38	56	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	6	41	53	106
CDU/CSU	5	44	51	207
FDP	5	62	33	40
Other parties	4	60	36	25
No party	4	30	66	153
No answer	6	28	66	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	-	56	44	18
Businessmen	8	54	38	39
White-collar workers	3	67	30	40
Skilled laborers	5	62	33	61
Semi-skilled laborers	2	40	58	55
Farmers	8	37	55	60
Housewives	5	24	71	247
Unemployed	14	57	29	14
Pensioners; retired	2	55	43	46
Students	-	62	38	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	5	41	54	263
Protestants	5	39	56	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	6	41	53	487
Expellees, Refugees	1	37	62	110

"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

IF FOR IT

"Would you be for diplomatic relations with Russia even if America would be against it, or would you under these circumstances be against it?"

	For it even if US against	Against it if US against	Against it un- qualified	Undecided generally or under such cir- cumstances	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>					
<u>Generally:</u>	34%	16%	18%	32%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	39	20	15	26	261
Women	29	13	21	37	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	31	15	19	35	491
Beyond elementary	46	20	18	16	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	22	10	15	53	90
150 to 299 DM	27	20	22	31	190
300 to 399 DM	43	17	14	26	133
400 to 499 DM	33	18	20	29	61
500 DM and more	47	18	19	16	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	31	15	20	34	68
25 to 34 years	41	17	17	25	122
35 to 44 years	34	22	17	27	139
45 to 54 years	33	14	21	32	131
55 years and over	28	12	18	42	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	50	10	16	24	106
CDU/CSU	28	19	25	28	207
FDP	53	15	15	17	40
Other parties	40	32	12	16	25
No party	29	18	13	40	153
No answer	22	7	18	53	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	33	22	17	28	18
Businessmen	36	18	18	28	39
White-collar workers	45	33	12	10	40
Skilled laborers	52	12	12	24	61
Semi-skilled laborers	33	18	20	29	55
Farmers	23	17	22	38	60
Housewives	29	13	19	39	247
Unemployed	29	21	36	14	14
Pensioners; ret.	41	15	18	26	46
Students	25	25	25	25	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	30	20	15	35	263
Protestants	34	14	21	31	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	35	15	19	31	487
Expellees, Refug.	28	22	15	35	110



"Would you be basically for or against establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

"Would you be for diplomatic relations with Russia even if that would mean that West Germany would in the end have to recognize the present East Zone Government, or would you under these circumstances be against it?"

	For it even if means re- cognizing East Zone Government	Against it if means recognizing Eastern Government	Against it un- qualified	Undecided generally or under such cir- cumstances	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>					
<u>Generally:</u>	13%	35%	18%	34%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	14	46	15	25	261
Women	12	27	21	40	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary School	12	31	19	38	491
Beyond elementary	15	53	18	14	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	12	17	15	56	90
150 to 299 DM	12	31	22	35	190
300 to 399 DM	16	41	14	29	133
400 to 499 DM	11	44	20	25	61
500 DM and more	13	52	19	16	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	10	34	20	36	68
25 to 34 years	11	48	17	24	122
35 to 44 years	16	39	17	28	139
45 to 54 years	11	33	21	35	131
55 years and over	13	24	18	45	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	19	40	16	25	106
CDU/CSU	9	37	25	29	207
FDP	20	45	15	20	40
Other parties	20	52	12	16	25
No party	12	35	13	40	153
No answer	10	12	18	60	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	6	72	17	5	18
Businessmen	18	38	18	26	39
White-collar workers	8	70	12	10	40
Skilled laborers	18	44	12	26	61
Semi-skilled laborers	5	40	20	35	55
Farmers	7	33	22	38	60
Housewives	12	26	19	43	247
Unemployed	14	36	36	14	14
Pensioners; ret.	24	26	18	32	46
Students	25	25	25	25	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	15	34	15	36	263
Protestants	11	35	21	33	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	13	34	19	34	487
Expellees, Refug.	11	41	15	33	110

"Have you heard of a proposal made by a Bundestag delegate according to which a group of delegates is to travel to Moscow? (Who made this proposal?)"

	Yes, know who	Yes, don't know who	No, not heard of it	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	20%	15%	65%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	29	21	50	261
Women	13	11	76	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	15	15	70	491
Beyond elementary	44	14	42	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	14	12	74	90
150 to 299 DM	15	13	72	190
300 to 399 DM	19	17	64	133
400 to 499 DM	22	16	62	61
500 DM and more	42	18	40	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	14	10	76	68
25 to 34 years	10	26	64	122
35 to 44 years	22	20	58	139
45 to 54 years	17	18	65	131
55 years and over	20	16	64	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	17	27	56	106
CDU/CSU	17	11	72	207
FDP	50	15	35	40
Other parties	36	20	44	25
No party	21	14	65	153
No answer	10	10	80	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	34	22	44	18
Businessmen	41	13	46	39
White-collar workers	40	25	35	40
Skilled laborers	26	17	57	61
Semi-skilled laborers	13	14	73	55
Farmers	8	20	72	60
Housewives	13	11	76	247
Unemployed	22	28	50	14
Pensioners; retired	37	17	46	46
Students	25	25	50	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	16	17	67	263
Protestants	23	14	63	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	19	16	65	487
Expellees, Refugees	25	11	64	110

"Would you be for or against this proposal for a group of delegates to travel to Moscow in order to establish contact with Russian quarters?"

<u>West Germans generally:</u>	For it 53%	Against it 19%	No opinion 28%...100%	No. of cases 599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	60	20	20	261
Women	46	18	36	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	51	16	33	491
Beyond elementary	60	30	10	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	39	11	50	90
150 to 299 DM	52	16	32	190
300 to 399 DM	60	17	23	133
400 to 499 DM	52	25	23	61
500 DM and more	65	26	9	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	44	18	38	68
25 to 34 years	60	20	20	122
35 to 44 years	58	20	22	139
45 to 54 years	54	17	29	131
55 years and over	44	18	38	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	67	12	21	106
CDU/BSU	47	24	29	207
FDP	70	20	10	40
Other parties	60	24	16	25
No party	50	17	33	153
No answer	41	12	47	68
<u>Occupations:</u>				
Professionals	61	33	6	18
Businessmen	69	23	8	39
White-collar workers	58	30	12	40
Skilled laborers	72	15	13	61
Semi-skilled laborers	51	14	35	55
Farmers	37	20	43	60
Housewives	47	15	38	247
Unemployed	36	43	21	14
Pensioners; ret.	61	22	17	46
Students	63	12	25	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	50	17	33	263
Protestants	54	19	27	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	51	19	30	487
Expellees, Refug.	59	16	25	119

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"Aside from whether you are for or against this proposal, do you consider it to be wise that this proposal was made now, or don't you?"

	Wise	Not wise	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>				
<u>Generally:</u>	33%	18%	49%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	44	22	34	261
Women	25	15	60	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	32	14	54	491
Beyond elementary	40	35	25	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	25	15	60	90
150 to 299 DM	33	15	52	190
300 to 399 DM	35	15	50	133
400 to 499 DM	36	23	41	61
500 DM and more	40	27	33	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	32	13	55	68
25 to 34 years	37	20	43	122
35 to 44 years	37	18	45	139
45 to 54 years	38	15	47	131
55 years and over	22	22	56	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	42	11	47	106
CDU/CSU	30	25	45	207
FDP	45	25	30	40
Other parties	48	20	32	25
No party	29	15	56	153
No answer	25	9	66	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	50	22	28	18
Businessmen	33	31	36	39
White-collar workers	33	40	27	40
Skilled laborers	54	13	33	61
Semi-skilled laborers	46	7	47	55
Farmers	25	18	57	60
Housewives	26	12	62	247
Unemployed	36	36	28	14
Pensioners; ret.	30	35	35	46
Students	50	12	38	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	30	19	51	263
Protestants	34	18	48	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	31	18	51	487
Expellees, Refug.	39	19	42	110

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"In your opinion, would America be for or against West Germany establishing diplomatic relations with Russia?"

	Would be for it	Would be against it	Would not care	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>					
<u>Generally:</u>	12%	54%	10%	24% ... 100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	16	61	7	16	261
Women	9	48	11	32	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	11	51	10	28	491
Beyond elementary	17	67	5	11	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	9	41	15	35	90
150 to 299 DM	13	49	9	29	190
300 to 399 DM	15	52	12	21	133
400 to 499 DM	10	67	8	15	61
500 DM and more	14	75	4	7	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	16	46	13	25	68
25 to 34 years	14	60	2	24	122
35 to 44 years	10	58	12	20	139
45 to 54 years	11	52	8	29	131
55 years and over	12	51	12	25	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	10	65	10	15	106
CDU/CSU	15	55	8	22	207
FDP	10	80	7	3	40
Other parties	16	56	4	24	25
No party	12	46	11	31	153
No answer	4	36	15	45	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	5	78	-	17	18
Businessmen	8	69	5	18	39
White-collar workers	15	65	10	10	40
Skilled laborers	18	52	9	21	61
Semi-skilled laborers	11	55	5	29	55
Farmers	11	57	10	22	60
Housewives	11	46	12	31	247
Unemployed	22	57	7	14	14
Pensioners; ret.	11	63	11	15	46
Students	-	62	25	13	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	11	51	9	29	263
Protestants	13	55	10	22	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	11	56	10	23	487
Expellees, Refug.	16	45	8	31	110

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"In your opinion, what importance has this Geneva-conference for Germany?" (CARD)

	Very great impor- tance	Great impor- tance	Some impor- tance	Only slight impor- tance	No impor- tance at all	No opin- ion	Not aware of Geneva conference	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany</u>								
<u>Generally:</u>	6%	14%	8%	14%	12%	12%	34%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>								
Men	8	19	11	17	17	8	20	261
Women	4	10	6	12	7	15	46	338
<u>Education:</u>								
Elementary school	5	12	8	12	10	12	41	491
Beyond elementary	10	22	7	23	22	10	6	108
<u>Income:</u>								
Up to 149 DM	4	7	3	11	11	15	49	90
150 to 299 DM	3	14	7	14	9	11	42	190
300 to 399 DM	3	14	11	17	8	11	36	133
400 to 499 DM	10	16	8	16	10	12	28	61
500 DM and more	12	20	13	17	21	10	7	95
<u>Age:</u>								
18 to 24 years	3	21	4	19	9	12	32	68
25 to 34 years	5	16	9	19	9	9	33	122
35 to 44 years	5	16	10	14	12	12	31	139
45 to 54 years	8	10	8	12	14	13	35	131
55 years and over	6	10	7	10	13	13	41	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>								
SPD	8	19	10	10	11	11	31	106
CDU/CSU	5	14	7	18	7	13	36	207
FDP	7	13	5	30	25	5	15	40
Other parties	12	16	16	8	16	12	20	25
No party	3	12	9	12	17	11	36	153
No answer	6	10	3	7	6	16	52	68
<u>Occupation:</u>								
Professionals	11	33	-	6	33	11	6	18
Businessmen	8	20	13	13	20	13	13	39
White-collar workers	12	23	5	17	18	10	15	40
Skilled laborers	2	15	16	19	15	8	25	61
Semi-skilled laborers	5	11	4	22	11	14	33	55
Farmers	3	10	5	12	13	14	43	60
Housewives	4	11	6	12	6	13	48	247
Unemployed	-	21	7	22	14	7	29	14
Pensioners; retired	13	13	15	9	19	11	20	46
Students	13	13	12	37	12	13	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>								
Catholics	7	10	8	12	11	10	42	263
Protestants	4	18	8	16	11	14	29	313
<u>Origin:</u>								
Natives	5	13	8	14	12	12	36	487
Expellees, Refugees	6	17	7	16	10	14	30	110

"To the extent that you have followed the Geneva conference, how well, in your opinion, have the Western Powers fared?"

	Very well	Well	Fairly well	Not too well	Badly	Very badly	No opi- nion	Not aware of Geneva conference	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>									
<u>Generally:</u>	%	4%	14%	13%	7%	4%	24%	34%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>									
Men	1	5	20	16	11	6	21	20	261
Women	*	3	10	10	3	2	26	46	338
<u>Education:</u>									
Elementary school	*	3	12	12	5	3	24	41	491
Beyond elementary	1	5	22	15	15	8	28	6	108
<u>Income:</u>									
Up to 149 DM	1	1	7	7	7	3	25	49	90
150 to 299 DM	-	5	12	10	3	4	24	42	190
300 to 399 DM	-	2	18	13	4	4	23	36	133
400 to 499 DM	2	5	16	19	10	2	18	28	61
500 DM and more	1	4	22	19	15	6	26	7	95
<u>Age:</u>									
18 to 24 years	-	7	13	9	4	5	30	32	68
25 to 34 years	1	2	18	15	6	5	20	33	122
35 to 44 years	-	4	17	11	9	3	25	31	139
45 to 54 years	1	2	10	17	6	6	23	35	131
55 years and over	1	4	12	9	8	2	23	41	138
<u>Party Preferences:</u>									
SPD	-	4	18	12	4	6	25	31	106
CDU/CSU	-	4	16	13	5	1	25	36	207
FDP	2	10	15	12	18	15	13	15	40
Other parties	4	-	28	16	8	-	24	20	25
No party	-	3	10	13	10	5	23	36	153
No answer	1	-	6	7	4	3	27	52	68
<u>Occupation:</u>									
Professionals	-	-	11	28	22	5	28	6	18
Businessmen	5	3	15	8	15	10	31	13	39
White-collar workers	-	5	18	15	15	7	25	15	40
Skilled laborers	-	5	23	23	6	2	16	25	61
Semi-skilled laborers	-	2	7	13	7	4	34	33	55
Farmers	-	5	15	7	2	7	21	43	60
Housewives	*	3	9	11	4	2	23	48	247
Unemployed	-	7	29	14	7	7	7	29	14
Pensioners; ret.	-	4	26	11	13	6	20	20	46
Students	-	25	25	12	-	13	25	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>									
Catholics	1	4	15	10	4	3	21	42	263
Protestants	*	4	13	14	8	5	27	29	313
<u>Origin:</u>									
Natives	*	4	13	12	7	4	24	36	487
Expellees, Refug.	1	5	17	13	5	4	25	30	110

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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"In the event that you have followed American efforts in Eastern Asia lately, do you feel that America's interest in Germany and its problems has decreased in any way, or hasn't it?"

	Has decreased	Has not decreased	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	8%	64%	28%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	10%	76%	14%	261
Women	6	54	40	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	7	60	33	491
Beyond elementary	9	82	9	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	6	51	43	90
150 to 299 DM	8	56	36	190
300 to 399 DM	6	70	24	133
400 to 499 DM	8	77	15	61
500 DM and more	12	80	8	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	9	68	23	68
25 to 34 years	7	70	23	122
35 to 44 years	7	66	27	139
45 to 54 years	7	61	32	131
55 years and over	8	59	33	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	9	62	29	106
CDU/CSU	4	75	21	207
FDP	12	75	13	40
Other parties	16	76	8	25
No party	8	54	38	153
No answer	9	44	47	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	11	78	11	18
Businessmen	5	80	15	39
White-collar worker	12	75	13	40
Skilled laborers	13	67	20	61
Semi-skilled laborers	-	73	27	55
Farmers	2	66	32	60
Housewives	7	54	39	247
Unemployed	-	93	7	14
Pensioners; retired	20	56	24	46
Students	-	87	13	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	5	64	31	263
Protestants	10	64	26	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	8	64	28	487
Expellees, Refugees	6	65	29	110

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III. Views on the Desirability of a Further Conference  
With the Russians

"Supposing Russia would propose another Four Power conference on the German question to be held soon after the Geneva-conference has ended, would you like to see the Western powers accept this proposal, or would you prefer to see them not accept it?"

	Like to see it accepted	Wouldn't like to see it accepted	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	67%	14%	17%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	70	17	13	261
Women	65	11	24	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	65	13	22	491
Beyond elementary	80	15	5	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	46	15	39	90
150 to 299 DM	61	13	26	190
300 to 399 DM	79	13	8	133
400 to 499 DM	85	10	5	61
500 DM and more	72	20	8	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	70	9	21	68
25 to 34 years	74	11	15	122
35 to 44 years	72	16	12	139
45 to 54 years	64	20	16	131
55 years and over	58	10	32	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	78	9	13	106
CDU/CSU	68	13	19	207
FDP	75	22	3	40
Other parties	80	16	4	25
No party	58	16	26	153
No answer	60	12	28	68
<u>Occupations:</u>				
Professionals	83	17	-	18
Businessmen	72	23	5	39
White-collar workers	80	15	5	40
Skilled laborers	82	11	7	61
Semi-skilled laborers	65	11	24	55
Farmers	48	20	32	60
Housewives	64	11	25	247
Unemployed	57	36	7	14
Pensioners; retired	74	11	15	46
Students	87	13	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	67	8	25	263
Protestants	68	17	15	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	65	14	21	487
Expellees, Refugees	74	12	14	110

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"In your opinion, how good would the chances be at such a Four Power conference for achieving a reunification under conditions acceptable to us?" (CARD)

	Good & very good	Fair	Poor	Very poor	No opinion	Wouldn't like to see it accepted	No. of cases
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	6%	20%	27%	10%	4%	33%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	6	22	27	11	4	30	261
Women	6	17	27	10	5	35	338
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	6	20	25	9	5	35	491
Beyond elementary	5	18	38	16	4	19	108
<u>Income:</u>							
Up to 149 DM	8	11	15	5	7	54	90
150 to 299 DM	7	19	22	7	6	39	190
300 to 399 DM	5	26	36	8	4	21	133
400 to 499 DM	5	24	33	23	-	15	61
500 DM and more	4	20	30	15	3	28	95
<u>Age:</u>							
18 to 24 years	6	26	25	10	3	30	68
25 to 34 years	4	24	30	10	6	26	122
35 to 44 years	5	21	35	8	3	20	139
45 to 54 years	7	16	21	15	5	36	131
55 years and over	6	14	23	9	6	42	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	10	22	33	10	3	22	106
CDU/CSU	4	21	31	8	4	32	207
FDP	2	25	33	13	2	25	40
Other parties	8	24	28	16	4	20	25
No party	5	16	21	10	6	42	153
No answer	6	19	16	12	7	40	68
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	-	44	33	6	-	17	18
Businessmen	5	10	36	16	5	28	39
White-collar workers	2	25	40	8	5	20	40
Skilled laborers	8	21	30	15	8	18	61
Semi-skilled laborers	4	20	27	11	3	35	55
Farmers	-	25	18	3	2	52	60
Housewives	7	16	27	9	5	36	247
Unemployed	22	14	7	14	-	43	14
Pensioners; retired	7	22	19	17	9	26	46
Students	12	12	50	13	-	13	8
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	7	17	29	9	5	33	263
Protestants	6	21	25	11	5	32	313
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	5	19	27	9	5	35	487
Expellees, Refugees	6	22	28	13	5	26	110



"Two people are discussing Western policy towards the Communists. Which of the two views comes closest to your opinion?"

Herr Schulze: I am for the West negotiating with the Communist powers time and again and in doing so it should also be conciliatory, then the Communists will show a conciliatory attitude, too, and a serious conflict will never occur.

Herr Maier: One should finally stop these never ending negotiations with the Communists as nothing comes of them anyway, and as they are interpreted as weakness by the Communists, one should finally decisively oppose Communist threats and attacks and should make it plain to them that things can't go on like that.

Herr Schulze      Herr Maier      No      No.  
Opinion      of cases

<u>West Germans</u>				
<u>Generally:</u>	55%	30%	15%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	55	36	9	261
Women	56	25	19	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	56	29	15	491
Beyond elementary	54	33	13	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	44	29	27	90
150 to 299 DM	54	30	16	190
300 to 399 DM	60	32	8	133
400 to 499 DM	65	28	7	61
500 DM and more	61	28	11	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	62	28	10	68
25 to 34 years	58	30	12	122
35 to 44 years	54	31	15	139
45 to 54 years	55	33	12	131
55 years and over	52	27	21	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	74	18	8	106
CDU/CSU	57	31	12	207
FDP	55	35	10	40
Other parties	52	40	8	25
No party	43	37	20	153
No answer	50	21	29	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	56	27	17	18
Businessmen	64	23	13	39
White-collar workers	58	37	5	40
Skilled laborers	67	28	5	61
Semi-skilled laborers	44	42	14	55
Farmers	52	31	17	60
Housewives	55	26	19	247
Unemployed	36	57	7	14
Pensioners; ret.	50	37	13	46
Students	88	12	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	60	22	18	263
Protestants	51	36	13	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	56	29	15	487
Expellees, Refug.	54	33	13	110

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IV. American Prestige Trend and Extent  
of Present Confidence in American Leadership

"What prestige does America enjoy with you personally?"

	High or very high	Fair or mediocre	Low or very low	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	48%	39%	6%	7%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	53	35	8	4	261
Women	43	42	5	10	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	44	41	7	8	491
Beyond elementary	63	32	3	2	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	41	30	8	21	90
150 to 299 DM	46	41	7	6	190
300 to 399 DM	45	45	8	2	133
400 to 499 DM	51	41	5	3	61
500 DM and more	64	33	2	1	95
<u>Age:</u>					
1 <sup>st</sup> to 24 years	40	45	6	9	68
25 to 34 years	51	41	3	5	122
35 to 44 years	45	43	6	6	139
45 to 54 years	48	35	10	7	131
55 years and over	51	34	6	9	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	42	46	8	4	106
CDU/CSU	59	35	3	3	207
FDP	60	33	5	2	40
Other parties	48	40	12	-	25
No party	40	40	7	13	153
No answer	31	42	9	18	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	72	28	-	-	18
Businessmen	51	39	5	5	39
White-collar workers	63	33	2	2	40
Skilled laborers	44	44	10	2	61
Semi-skilled laborers	46	36	11	7	55
Farmers	35	51	7	7	60
Housewives	45	41	5	9	247
Unemployed	65	21	14	-	14
Pensioners; retired	48	28	11	13	46
Students	63	25	-	12	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	47	40	5	8	263
Protestants	47	39	7	7	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	46	40	7	7	487
Expellees, Refugees	53	35	3	9	110

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"Which country has at present the political leadership of the Western world?"

	England	France	America	Some other country	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	4%	*%	77%	1%	18%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	5	1	86	-	8	261
Women	4	-	68	2	26	338
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	4	1	74	1	20	491
Beyond elementary	6	-	88	-	6	108
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	6	1	56	-	37	90
150 to 299 DM	6	1	71	2	20	190
300 to 399 DM	1	-	85	2	12	133
400 to 499 DM	5	2	85	-	8	61
500 DM and more	3	-	94	-	3	95
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	3	1	77	-	19	68
25 to 34 years	5	1	82	2	10	122
35 to 44 years	2	-	85	-	13	139
45 to 54 years	3	1	75	1	20	131
55 years and over	9	-	64	1	26	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	4	-	82	-	14	106
CDU/CSU	3	1	81	1	14	207
FDP	7	-	88	-	5	40
Other parties	4	-	92	4	-	25
No party	5	-	70	*	25	153
No answer	7	1	55	1	36	68
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	11	-	83	-	6	18
Businessmen	-	-	85	-	15	39
White-collar workers	2	-	88	2	8	40
Skilled laborers	2	2	90	-	6	61
Semi-skilled laborers	7	2	76	2	13	55
Farmers	2	-	85	-	13	60
Housewives	2	-	69	12	27	247
Unemployed	-	-	93	-	7	14
Pensioners; retired	22	-	61	-	17	46
Students	25	-	63	-	12	8
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	4	1	74	1	20	263
Protestants	5	*	78	1	16	313
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	5	1	74	1	19	487
Expellees, Refugees	3	-	83	1	13	110

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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"Which country has at present the political leadership of the Western world?"

IF AMERICA

"In your opinion, is America very well, well, fairly or not at all fitted for this?"

	Very well fitted	Well fitted	Fairly well fitted	Not at all fitted	No Opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>							
<u>Generally:</u>	13%	39%	18%	2%	5%	23%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>							
Men	17	46	18	3	2	14	261
Women	10	33	18	1	6	32	338
<u>Education:</u>							
Elementary school	12	37	18	2	5	26	491
Beyond elementary	21	45	19	1	2	12	108
<u>Income:</u>							
Up to 149 DM	11	27	8	3	7	44	90
150 to 299 DM	11	35	17	2	6	29	190
300 to 399 DM	13	43	25	3	1	15	133
400 to 499 DM	23	41	14	-	7	15	61
500 DM and more	16	54	20	1	3	6	95
<u>Age:</u>							
18 to 24 years	11	47	13	3	3	23	68
25 to 34 years	14	43	18	1	6	18	122
35 to 44 years	11	43	25	2	4	15	139
45 to 54 years	15	32	21	3	4	25	131
55 years and over	13	33	12	1	5	36	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>							
SPD	8	41	25	4	4	18	106
CDU/DSU	19	48	12	*	2	19	207
FDP	8	45	30	2	3	12	40
Other parties	28	24	24	4	12	8	25
No party	11	31	18	3	7	30	153
No answer	6	22	18	2	7	45	68
<u>Occupation:</u>							
Professionals	22	38	11	6	6	17	18
Businessmen	13	44	23	-	5	15	39
White-collar workers	15	58	15	-	-	12	40
Skilled laborers	20	41	24	3	2	10	61
Semi-skilled laborers	13	45	9	4	5	24	55
Farmers	8	47	24	3	3	15	60
Housewives	12	31	18	1	7	31	247
Unemployed	14	36	36	7	-	7	14
Pensioners; ret.	13	31	13	4	-	39	46
Students	25	38	-	-	-	37	8
<u>Religion:</u>							
Catholics	14	40	15	2	3	26	263
Protestants	12	38	21	2	5	22	313
<u>Origin:</u>							
Natives	12	37	18	2	5	26	487
Expellees, Refug.	17	43	19	1	3	17	110

\* Less than one half of one per cent.



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"Has your confidence in America's fitness for political leadership of the Western world increased or diminished recently?"

	In- creased	Diminished	Un- changed	No opinion	No. of cases
	9%	8%	65%	18%...100%	
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>					599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	12	10	70	8	261
Women	6	6	62	26	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	7	7	65	21	491
Beyond elementary	18	14	61	7	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	9	6	53	32	90
150 to 299 DM	7	6	65	22	190
300 to 399 DM	6	8	75	11	133
400 to 499 DM	10	8	72	10	61
500 DM and more	17	17	63	3	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	9	9	57	25	68
25 to 34 years	7	13	66	14	122
35 to 44 years	7	7	73	13	139
45 to 54 years	8	8	67	17	131
55 years and over	13	5	59	23	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	8	12	64	16	106
CDU/CSU	12	4	71	13	207
FDP	10	20	70	-	40
Other parties	4	12	76	8	25
No party	7	7	60	26	153
No answer	4	9	53	34	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	22	11	56	11	18
Businessmen	13	8	64	15	39
White-collar workers	12	20	58	10	40
Skilled laborers	10	16	62	12	61
Semi-skilled laborers	7	9	68	16	55
Farmers	8	7	72	13	60
Housewives	6	7	63	24	247
Unemployed	14	-	86	0	14
Pensioners; retired	9	-	76	15	46
Students	13	12	63	12	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	9	7	62	22	263
Protestants	8	9	68	15	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	8	8	65	19	487
Expellees, Refugees	12	7	67	14	110

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V. Trends in Communist vs Western Strength,  
Neutrality and Fear of War

"If you look at the political situation in the world  
as a whole, which side has had more success lately: the  
Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	26%	29%	18%	27%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	38	26	19	17	261
Women	17	31	16	36	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	22	31	17	30	491
Beyond elementary	46	18	23	13	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	18	27	13	42	90
150 to 299 DM	19	35	17	29	190
300 to 399 DM	30	28	18	24	133
400 to 499 DM	24	38	20	18	61
500 DM and more	44	19	25	12	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	26	37	12	25	68
25 to 34 years	30	30	20	20	122
35 to 44 years	28	28	22	22	139
45 to 54 years	23	32	17	28	131
55 years and over	24	22	16	38	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	27	32	17	24	106
CDU/CSU	21	34	22	23	207
FDP	48	25	17	10	40
Other parties	40	20	24	16	25
No party	27	25	15	33	153
No answer	19	22	10	49	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	39	17	33	11	18
Businessmen	44	18	18	20	39
White-collar workers	42	23	23	12	40
Skilled laborers	31	28	21	20	61
Semi-skilled laborers	25	31	22	22	55
Farmers	18	32	18	32	60
Housewives	17	31	15	37	247
Unemployed	22	50	14	14	14
Pensioners; retired	43	26	9	22	46
Students	38	12	50	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	17	34	18	31	263
Protestants	31	25	18	26	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	25	30	17	28	487
Expellees, Refugees	31	25	18	26	110

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"According to your view, who has the better chance finally to win the upper hand in the East-West struggle, the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both equal chances	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	7%	58%	11%	24%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	8	63	12	17	261
Women	7	54	9	30	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	7	59	9	25	491
Beyond elementary	8	57	17	18	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	8	50	14	28	90
150 to 299 DM	6	56	10	28	190
300 to 399 DM	10	62	10	18	133
400 to 499 DM	3	74	8	15	61
500 DM and more	7	62	11	20	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	7	62	12	19	68
25 to 34 years	6	62	11	21	122
35 to 44 years	7	58	10	25	139
45 to 54 years	11	60	8	21	131
55 years and over	5	52	13	30	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	8	64	9	19	106
CDU/CSU	3	69	13	15	207
FDP	5	60	15	20	40
Other parties	12	68	4	16	25
No party	11	45	10	34	153
No answer	9	43	6	42	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	6	44	28	22	18
Businessmen	8	61	8	23	39
White-collar workers	7	65	13	15	40
Skilled laborers	3	66	11	20	61
Semi-skilled laborers	9	58	7	26	55
Farmers	8	55	13	24	60
Housewives	6	56	9	29	247
Unemployed	14	65	7	14	14
Pensioners;retired	13	54	11	22	46
Students	-	75	25	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	5	60	9	26	263
Protestants	8	57	12	23	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	7	58	11	24	487
Expellees, Refugees	8	60	9	23	110

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"Do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side?"

	West	East	Neither side	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	60%	1%	30%	9%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	63	1	31	5	261
Women	59	1	28	12	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	59	1	30	10	491
Beyond elementary	67	2	25	6	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	49	3	31	17	90
150 to 299 DM	58	-	31	11	190
300 to 399 DM	62	1	32	5	133
400 to 499 DM	76	-	23	1	61
500 DM and more	70	3	24	3	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	55	-	41	4	68
25 to 34 years	58	-	35	7	122
35 to 44 years	62	2	27	9	139
45 to 54 years	64	2	25	9	131
55 years and over	61	1	26	12	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	58	2	31	9	106
CDU/CSU	75	-	20	5	207
FDP	55	-	43	2	40
Other parties	64	-	32	4	25
No party	50	3	36	11	153
No answer	44	1	33	22	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	56	-	39	5	18
Businessmen	69	-	26	5	39
White-collar workers	68	2	25	5	40
Skilled laborers	59	-	38	3	61
Semi-skilled laborers	55	-	38	7	55
Farmers	75	-	22	3	60
Housewives	57	2	28	13	247
Unemployed	64	-	36	-	14
Pensioners; retired	55	4	26	15	46
Students	63	-	37	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	61	2	27	10	263
Protestants	60	1	31	8	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	60	1	30	9	487
Expellees, Refugees	62	1	27	10	110

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"And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S., do you think West Germany should take any side or not take a side? (Which side?)"

	Side with Russia	Side with the U.S.	Not take side	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	* %	44%	46%	10%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	*	47	47	6	261
Women	-	42	46	12	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	*	42	48	10	491
Beyond elementary	-	54	37	9	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	-	40	44	16	90
150 to 299 DM	1	44	46	9	190
300 to 399 DM	-	41	54	5	133
400 to 499 DM	2	57	38	3	61
500 DM and more	-	50	42	8	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	1	42	53	4	68
25 to 34 years	1	43	48	8	122
35 to 44 years	-	44	47	9	139
45 to 54 years	-	45	45	10	131
55 years and over	-	46	41	13	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	1	37	56	6	106
CDU/CSU	*	58	36	6	207
FDP	-	43	55	2	40
Other parties	-	52	48	-	25
No party	-	37	51	12	153
No answer	-	28	46	26	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	-	28	55	17	18
Businessmen	-	44	46	10	39
White-collar workers	-	43	55	2	40
Skilled laborers	1	38	56	5	61
Semi-skilled laborers	-	47	49	4	55
Farmers	2	62	33	3	60
Housewives	-	42	44	14	247
Unemployed	-	43	57	-	14
Pensioners; retired	-	43	48	9	46
Students	-	75	25	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	-	45	46	9	263
Protestants	1	44	45	10	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	*	43	47	10	487
Expellees, Refugees	-	48	43	9	110

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

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"Do you believe that there will be a world war in the next 3 or 4 years or not?"

	There will be a war	War will be avoided	War will be avoided if .....	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	22%	55%	8%	15%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	23	56	10	11	261
Women	21	55	7	17	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	22	54	8	16	491
Beyond elementary	22	61	9	8	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	31	46	3	20	90
150 to 299 DM	22	54	7	17	190
300 to 399 DM	22	60	9	9	133
400 to 499 DM	11	62	12	15	61
500 DM and more	20	64	12	4	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	15	66	4	15	68
25 to 34 years	23	56	10	11	122
35 to 44 years	22	56	10	12	139
45 to 54 years	27	46	9	18	131
55 years and over	20	56	7	17	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	24	57	7	12	106
CDU/CSU	19	61	9	11	207
FDP	33	62	-	5	40
Other parties	16	44	28	12	25
No party	22	52	8	18	153
No answer	24	41	7	28	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	28	44	11	17	18
Businessmen	28	52	10	10	39
White-collar workers	15	60	12	13	40
Skilled laborers	16	66	7	11	61
Semi-skilled laborers	22	51	5	22	55
Farmers	30	45	12	13	60
Housewives	21	56	7	16	247
Unemployed	14	65	7	14	14
Pensioners; retired	28	48	9	15	46
Students	12	88	-	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	20	59	8	13	263
Protestants	24	53	8	15	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	23	56	8	13	487
Expellees, Refugees	15	51	12	22	110

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VI. Trends in EDC Support, National Army Preference,  
and Reactions to Possible French Failure to Pass EDC

"In general, are you for or against West Germany's participation in the EDC, that is, in the West European Defense Community? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) Very much against it or somewhat against it?"

	Very much or somewhat for it	Very much or somewhat against it	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	53%	30%	17%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	59	30	11	261
Women	47	30	23	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	48	32	20	491
Beyond elementary	74	19	7	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	42	25	33	90
150 to 299 DM	54	29	17	190
300 to 399 DM	44	40	16	133
400 to 499 DM	59	30	11	61
500 DM and more	71	23	6	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	44	40	16	68
25 to 34 years	58	30	12	122
35 to 44 years	58	28	14	139
45 to 54 years	47	33	20	131
55 years and over	51	24	25	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	40	47	13	106
CDU/CSU	63	25	12	207
FDP	78	20	2	40
Other parties	60	16	24	25
No party	44	27	29	153
No answer	41	31	28	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	61	39	-	18
Businessmen	49	38	13	39
White-collar workers	68	25	7	40
Skilled laborers	56	34	10	61
Semi-skilled laborers	51	29	20	55
Farmers	48	30	22	60
Housewives	47	28	25	247
Unemployed	72	28	-	14
Pensioners; retired	59	26	15	46
Students	88	12	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	50	27	23	263
Protestants	54	32	14	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	52	31	17	487
Expellees, Refugees	54	23	23	110

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ation in the defense of West Europe - which way would you consider preferable?

A West German National Army should be established which would participate in the defense of West Europe.

German divisions should be integrated in a general West European Army."

IF German Divisions Should Be Integrated in a General West European Army:

"Speaking of such a general West European Army, would you prefer if it would be a federation of individual armies which will operate jointly in the form of a coalition army and in which each country would have the right to decide independently about its own troops

or

would you prefer if each country would provide troops which in the form of divisions would be integrated in a general West European army, with no participating country having the right to decide independently about its troops?"

	National Army	National armies in- tegrated in Coa- lition Army	Troop con- tingents integrated in general West European Army	Un- decided	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	47%	9%	14%	30%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	54	10	17	19	261
Women	42	9	10	39	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	46	8	12	34	491
Beyond elementary	52	15	22	11	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	37	8	9	46	90
150 to 299 DM	48	8	10	34	190
300 to 399 DM	57	8	12	23	133
400 to 499 DM	42	15	20	23	61
500 DM and more	51	12	25	12	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	47	7	15	31	68
25 to 34 years	46	10	18	26	122
35 to 44 years	54	9	14	23	139
45 to 54 years	46	14	7	33	131
55 years and over	43	6	14	37	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	54	8	9	29	106
CDU/CSU	42	10	19	29	207
FDP	50	20	20	10	40
Other parties	44	8	20	28	25
No party	48	7	10	35	153
No answer	50	7	4	39	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	39	11	33	17	18
Businessmen	39	18	20	23	39
White-collar workers	63	7	17	13	40
Skilled laborers	49	10	21	20	61
Semi-skilled lab.	45	4	18	33	55
Farmers	52	8	7	33	60
Housewives	42	10	8	40	247
Unemployed	72	14	7	7	14
Pensioners; ret.	59	9	13	19	46
Students	38	12	38	12	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	41	12	14	33	263
Protestants	51	7	13	29	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	46	10	14	30	487
Expellees, Refugees	50	6	13	31	110

"If France should not agree to the EDC, what should West Germany then do?"

- A - West Germany should give up all plans and efforts for Germany's remilitarization.
- B - West Germany should make renewed efforts to induce France to give its approval.
- C - West Germany should try to achieve an agreement with America and other West European countries on our remilitarization without regard to France."

	A	B	C	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	15%	18%	41%	26%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	15	17	52	16	261
Women	14	18	32	36	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	16	17	36	31	491
Beyond elementary	9	20	65	6	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	8	19	29	44	90
150 to 299 DM	15	19	36	30	190
300 to 399 DM	18	14	43	25	133
400 to 499 DM	18	12	54	16	61
500 DM and more	12	25	56	7	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	24	16	38	22	68
25 to 34 years	14	21	45	20	122
35 to 44 years	16	16	45	23	139
45 to 54 years	19	19	35	27	131
55 years and over	5	16	41	38	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	26	13	36	25	106
CDU/CSU	10	25	42	23	207
FDP	10	22	58	10	40
Other parties	24	8	48	20	25
No party	14	12	43	31	153
No answer	12	15	29	44	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	16	39	39	6	18
Businessmen	26	8	46	20	39
White-collar workers	15	15	63	7	40
Skilled laborers	20	21	51	8	61
Semi-skilled laborers	13	11	45	31	55
Farmers	12	20	36	32	60
Housewives	15	17	31	37	247
Unemployed	14	22	57	7	14
Pensioners; retired	6	20	50	24	46
Students	-	25	63	12	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	14	18	37	31	263
Protestants	16	17	43	24	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	14	17	42	27	487
Expellees, Refugees	16	20	37	27	110

"Supposing France would not agree to the EDC, would you then feel that France disapproves of any form of a West German remilitarization or do you think it only means that France is against our participation in the EDC, but would agree to West Germany's military participation in the West European defense in some other form?"

	Means disapproval of West Germany's remilitarization in any form	Means disapproval of the EDC, but possibly West Germany's remili- tarization in some other form	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	45%	18%	37%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	57	23	20	261
Women	35	15	50	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	44	15	41	491
Beyond elementary	49	37	14	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	30	13	57	90
150 to 299 DM	46	13	41	190
300 to 399 DM	48	20	32	133
400 to 499 DM	54	18	28	61
500 DM and more	50	37	13	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	38	21	41	68
25 to 34 years	49	25	26	122
35 to 44 years	50	20	30	139
45 to 54 years	49	12	39	131
55 years and over	36	17	47	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	44	21	35	106
CDU/CSU	46	23	31	207
FDP	60	28	12	40
Other parties	56	12	32	25
No party	45	14	41	153
No answer	29	12	59	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	39	33	28	18
Businessmen	49	28	23	39
White-collar workers	68	17	15	40
Skilled laborers	61	23	16	61
Semi-skilled laborers	51	14	35	55
Farmers	45	15	40	60
Housewives	34	14	52	247
Unemployed	50	43	7	14
Pensioners; retired	52	22	26	46
Students	50	50	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	42	19	39	263
Protestants	46	18	36	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	46	19	35	487
Expellees, Refugees	43	16	41	110

"Are you in general for or against making efforts towards uniting West Europe?"

	For	Against	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany Generally:</u>	73%	9%	18%...062	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	80	9	11	261
Women	68	4	28	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	71	6	23	491
Beyond elementary	86	8	6	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	60	12	28	90
150 to 299 DM	70	5	25	190
300 to 399 DM	81	2	17	133
400 to 499 DM	79	8	13	61
500 DM and more	88	6	6	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	72	6	22	68
25 to 34 years	78	6	16	122
35 to 44 years	78	6	16	139
45 to 54 years	66	9	25	131
55 years and over	74	4	22	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	78	11	11	106
CDU/CSU	79	4	17	207
FDP	83	12	5	40
Other parties	88	8	4	25
No party	67	5	28	153
No answer	56	3	41	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	94	6	-	18
Businessmen	79	8	13	39
White-collar workers	83	12	5	40
Skilled laborers	75	10	15	61
Semi-skilled laborers	78	7	15	55
Farmers	75	2	23	60
Housewives	66	5	29	247
Unemployed	79	7	14	14
Pensioners; retired.	82	7	11	46
Students	75	13	12	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	69	5	26	263
Protestants	77	7	16	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	72	6	22	487
Expellees, Refugees	78	6	16	110

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"This is one of the many suggestions made for forming a West European union. (CARD)

All West European countries should unite and form a common government which would decide about all questions that concern West Europe as a whole. However, each country would keep the right to decide on things that concern it alone.

Would you like to see West Germany be a part of such a West European government, or would you be against it?"

IF For

"In the interest of West Europe as a whole, such a West European government may have to make decisions that would sometimes be unfavorable to West Germany and sometimes to other countries. In view of this, would you be for or against West Germany taking part in such a government?"

For, even if Against in general Undecided in general  
sometimes disadvantageous or if disadvantageous or under such circumstances No. of cases:

West Germany	57%	15%	28%...100%	No. of cases:
<u>Generally:</u>				
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	65	19	16	261
Women	51	11	38	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	54	13	33	491
Beyond elementary	71	19	10	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	47	12	41	90
150 to 299 DM	52	12	36	190
300 to 399 DM	59	19	22	133
400 to 499 DM	67	10	23	61
500 DM and more	74	16	10	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	63	12	25	68
25 to 34 years	57	17	26	122
35 to 44 years	61	14	25	139
45 to 54 years	49	21	30	131
55 years and over	57	7	36	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	63	17	20	106
CDU/CSU	65	10	25	207
FDP	60	33	7	40
Other parties	60	12	28	25
No party	48	17	35	153
No answer	38	10	52	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	72	22	6	18
Businessmen	62	20	18	39
White-collar workers	68	25	7	40
Skilled laborers	56	20	24	61
Semi-skilled laborers	62	11	27	55
Farmers	54	18	28	60
Housewives	50	11	39	247
Unemployed	79	14	7	14
Pensioners; retired	69	11	20	46
Students	88	-	12	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	56	12	32	263
Protestants	58	16	26	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	56	16	28	487
Expellees, Refugees	62	9	29	110

# VIII. Trends in Extent of Satisfaction

With Present Regime and Chancellor Adenauer's Handling of Saar Issue

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?  
(IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied?)  
(IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Dis- satisfied	Very dis- satisfied	No opinion	No. of cases:
<u>West Germany</u>						
<u>Generally:</u>	36%	37%	10%	3%	14%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>						
Men	36	41	11	4	8	261
Women	35	34	10	2	19	338
<u>Education:</u>						
Elementary school	35	35	12	3	15	491
Beyond elementary	38	47	5	4	6	108
<u>Income:</u>						
Up to 149 DM	36	29	8	6	21	90
150 to 299 DM	36	35	11	3	15	190
300 to 399 DM	29	41	16	2	12	133
400 to 499 DM	39	41	7	2	11	61
500 DM and more	39	43	10	3	5	95
<u>Age:</u>						
18 to 24 years	34	41	4	3	18	68
25 to 34 years	37	38	11	1	13	122
35 to 44 years	32	38	16	3	11	139
45 to 54 years	36	36	9	5	14	131
55 years and over	39	35	9	3	14	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>						
SPD	21	40	25	6	8	106
CDU/CSU	52	35	4	-	9	207
FDP	39	48	7	-	7	40
Other parties	32	44	12	8	4	25
No party	27	36	11	6	20	153
No answer	27	35	6	-	32	68
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Professionals	66	28	-	-	6	18
Businessmen	36	41	8	3	10	39
White-collar workers	45	40	8	5	2	40
Skilled laborers	28	45	11	3	13	61
Semi-skilled lab.	25	46	11	4	14	55
Farmers	52	31	7	-	10	60
Housewives	34	35	11	2	18	247
Unemployed	21	36	22	14	7	14
Pensioners; retired	26	39	18	4	13	46
Students	50	30	-	-	12	8
<u>Religion:</u>						
Catholics	42	31	8	3	16	263
Protestants	32	43	11	2	12	313
<u>Origin:</u>						
Natives	36	36	11	3	14	487
Expellees, Refugees	35	44	6	2	13	110

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"By and large, are you satisfied or dissatisfied about  
the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer handles the Saar issue?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Undecided	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>				
<u>Generally:</u>	34%	18%	48%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	35	31	34	261
Women	27	16	57	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary school	27	22	51	491
Beyond elementary	43	27	30	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	26	15	59	90
150 to 299 DM	32	17	51	190
300 to 399 DM	25	33	42	133
400 to 499 DM	33	20	47	61
500 DM and more	36	31	33	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	27	19	54	68
25 to 34 years	35	28	37	122
35 to 44 years	30	29	41	139
45 to 54 years	27	21	52	131
55 years and over	31	16	53	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	21	32	47	106
CDU/CSU	45	13	42	207
FDP	25	47	28	40
Other parties	24	40	36	25
No party	24	22	54	153
No answer	21	16	63	68
<u>Occupation</u>				
Professionals	22	28	50	18
Businessmen	26	28	46	39
White-collar workers	48	32	20	40
Skilled laborers	30	34	36	61
Semi-skilled laborers	18	26	56	55
Farmers	35	17	48	60
Housewives	27	16	57	247
Unemployed	50	50	-	14
Pensioners; ret.	37	28	35	46
Students	75	-	25	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	38	13	49	263
Protestants	25	29	46	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	32	22	46	487
Expellees, Refug.	24	27	49	110

"Supposing Federal Chancellor Adenauer would make concessions towards France on the Saar issue in order to induce France to agree to the EDC: Would you be for or against Federal Chancellor Adenauer making concessions on the Saar issue for this reason?"

IF Against

"If through these concessions of Federal Chancellor Adenauer on the Saar issue the union of West European countries would be considerably furthered, would you even then be against these concessions, or would you under these circumstances be for them?"

	For Con- cessions	For Con- cessions if European Union furthered	Against Con- cessions even if European Union furthered	Un- decided	No. of cases
<u>West Germans Generally:</u>	21%	13%	34%	32%..100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	24	12	47	17	261
Women	19	14	25	42	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	20	10	34	36	491
Beyond elementary	26	28	38	8	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	22	6	23	49	90
150 to 299 DM	24	11	30	35	190
300 to 399 DM	21	13	40	26	133
400 to 499 DM	15	16	41	28	61
500 DM and more	21	26	42	11	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	22	13	34	31	68
25 to 34 years	21	18	40	21	122
35 to 44 years	20	20	36	26	139
45 to 54 years	17	8	38	37	131
55 years and over	30	8	24	38	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	17	15	42	26	106
CDU/CSU	32	13	29	26	207
FDP	20	20	47	13	40
Other parties	20	12	52	16	25
No party	13	13	35	39	153
No answer	15	7	21	57	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	22	11	56	11	18
Businessmen	8	23	56	13	39
White-collar workers	15	17	56	12	40
Skilled laborers	18	18	43	21	61
Semi-skilled laborers	24	9	36	31	55
Farmers	28	3	40	29	60
Housewives	21	12	22	45	247
Unemployed	22	21	50	7	14
Pensioners; retired	33	11	35	21	46
Students	38	25	12	25	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	22	15	27	36	263
Protestants	21	12	39	28	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	22	13	34	31	487
Expellees, Refugees	21	13	36	30	110

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"Do you believe that, in the end, the East Zone government will have to be recognized as the official, though not as the legitimate government of East Germany, or are you of the opinion that one can go along without such a recognition?"

IF Can Go Along Without Recognition

"Supposing real progress in things such as interzonal traffic and interzonal trade could only be achieved through an official recognition of the East Zone government would you even then be gainst an official recognition of the East Zone government, or would you under such circumstances be for an official recognition of the East Zone government?"

	Recognizing necessary in end	Can go a-long without recognition even if progress in interzonal Traffic etc. could be achieved by such	For recog-nition of East Zone govt. if Progress in inter-zonal traf-fic etc. could be a-chieved by it	Undecided generally or under such cir-cumstan-ces	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>					
<u>Generally:</u>	19%	30%	17%	34% 100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>					
Men	21	40	18	21	261
Women	17	23	17	43	338
<u>Education:</u>					
Elementary school	17	28	18	37	491
Beyond elementary	25	43	14	18	108
<u>Income:</u>					
Up to 149 DM	18	21	10	51	90
150 to 299 DM	20	25	17	38	190
300 to 399 DM	16	34	22	28	133
400 to 499 DM	18	44	17	21	61
500 DM and more	24	40	20	16	95
<u>Age:</u>					
18 to 24 years	28	22	18	32	68
25 to 34 years	23	36	16	25	122
35 to 44 years	16	35	21	28	139
45 to 54 years	16	32	13	39	131
55 years and over	17	25	17	41	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>					
SPD	27	28	17	28	106
CDU/CSU	16	35	20	29	207
FDP	32	35	23	10	40
Other parties	20	44	12	24	25
No party	16	30	16	38	153
No answer	15	15	10	60	68
<u>Occupation:</u>					
Professionals	28	33	17	22	18
Businessmen	26	49	10	15	39
White-collar workers	18	60	15	7	40
Skilled laborers	26	34	15	25	61
Semi-skilled laborers	16	25	23	36	55
Farmers	13	28	19	40	60
Housewives	17	25	17	41	247
Unemployed	7	50	29	14	14
Pensioners; ret.	24	22	17	37	46
Students	25	50	12	13	8
<u>Religion:</u>					
Catholics	17	27	20	36	263
Protestants	21	32	15	32	313
<u>Origin:</u>					
Natives	19	29	18	34	487
Expellees, Refug.	19	36	14	31	110



"If conditions would substantially improve for the East Zone population through an official recognition of the East Zone government, would you then be for or against such an official recognition of the present East Zone government?"

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
<u>West Germans</u>				
<u>Generally:</u>	62%	21%	17%...100%	599
<u>Sex:</u>				
Men	61	29	10	261
Women	63	15	22	338
<u>Education:</u>				
Elementary School	62	19	19	491
Beyond elementary	62	31	7	108
<u>Income:</u>				
Up to 149 DM	51	20	29	90
150 to 299 DM	64	17	19	190
300 to 399 DM	71	17	12	133
400 to 499 DM	62	31	7	61
500 DM and more	59	30	11	95
<u>Age:</u>				
18 to 24 years	65	21	14	68
25 to 34 years	69	19	12	122
35 to 44 years	58	27	15	139
45 to 54 years	55	23	22	131
55 years and over	66	15	19	138
<u>Party Preference:</u>				
SPD	71	17	12	106
CDU/CSU	66	21	13	207
FDP	68	27	5	40
Other parties	56	40	4	25
No party	58	21	21	153
No answer	44	16	40	68
<u>Occupation:</u>				
Professionals	50	44	6	18
Businessmen	67	25	8	39
White-collar workers	60	30	10	40
Skilled laborers	66	23	11	61
Semi-skilled laborers	60	22	18	55
Farmers	53	30	17	60
Housewives	63	15	22	247
Unemployed	71	29	-	14
Pensioners; ret.	68	13	19	46
Students	62	38	-	8
<u>Religion:</u>				
Catholics	61	19	20	263
Protestants	63	22	15	313
<u>Origin:</u>				
Natives	62	20	18	487
Expellees, Refugees	63	24	13	110

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ESTIMATES OF SOVIET ZONE AUDIENCES  
OF RIAS PROGRAM FEATURES

Report No. 201

Series No. 2

August 20, 1954

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

EVALUATION STAFF

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

SUNDAY

1st Program

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	1%	4%	1%	0
00:00	Nachrichten (News)	5%	2%	3%	2%	1%	0		3	1	*
00:10	Barmusik (Bar Music)	4	2	2	3	1	0		3	1	*
00:45	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	5	3	2	3	2	*		4	1	*
01:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	4	3	1	2	1	1		4	*	*
01:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	3	2	1	2	1	*		3	*	*
02:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	*	*
02:05	"Hollywood - New York" - Amerikanische Tanzmusik ("Hollywood - New York" - American Dance Music)	3	2	1	1	2	*		3	0	*
03:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	1	1	*	*	1	0		1	0	*
03:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	1	1	0	0	1	0		1	0	*
04:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	1	1	*	1	*	0		1	0	*
04:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	1	*	1	1	*	0		1	0	0
05:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	2	2	*	1	1	*		2	0	0
05:05	Fruehkonzert (Early Morning Music (Light Music))	2	2	*	1	0	1		2	*	0
05:30	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	1	1	*	1	0	*		1	*	0

(a) Elementary School (Volksschule)  
 (b) High School w/o Abitur (Diploma)  
 (c) Abitur or University (Abitur oder Universitaet)

\* Less than one half of one per cent.

## SUNDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
05:35	Fruehkoncert (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	2%	1%	1%	1%	*	1%		2%	0	0
06:30	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	5	3	2	2	2	1		4	1	0
06:40	Fruehkoncert (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	4	2	2	1	2	1		4	*	0
06:45	Morgendandacht der Freikirchen (Sunday Morning Worship (Association of Christian Churches))	2	1	1	*	1	1		2	0	0
07:00	Sonntagmorgen auf dem Lande mit der "Kleinen Dorf- musik" (Sunday Morning in the Country" (Folk Music))	14	8	6	4	8	2		11	2	1
07:30	Nachrichten (News)	21	12	9	5	11	5		15	5	1
07:40	RIAS gratuliert (RIAS Congratulates)	17	7	10	5	10	2		13	3	1
07:45	Orgelmusik (Organ Recital)	10	4	6	2	7	1		7	2	1
08:00	Katholische Morgenfeier (Catholic Sunday Morning Service)	14	6	8	2	8	4		9	4	1
08:30	Nachrichten (News)	22	12	10	6	11	5		14	6	2
08:40	Evangelische Morgenfeier, anschliessend Bach-Kantate 17 (Protestant Sunday Morning Service, followed by Bach Cantata)	17	9	8	2	9	6		13	3	1
09:25	Programmorschau, anschliessend (Program Preview, followed by)	12	6	6	4	6	2		8	3	1
09:30	Heiterer Auftakt (Cheerful Beginning)(Light Music)	14	7	7	4	7	3		10	3	1
10:00	Die RIAS-Kinder besuchen Onkel Tobias (RIAS-Children Visit Uncle Tobias) (Children's Program))	43	19	24	10	26	7		33	8	2
10:30	Die Woche in Bonn (The Week in Bonn" (Political Commentary)	14	10	9	5	9	4		12	5	1

SUNDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age			Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
11:00	Musik, Sprache der Welt - Grosse Werke fuer alle (Music - Lingua Franca - Great Compositions for Everybody)	13%	8%	5%	4%	7%	2%	8%	4%	1%
11:45	Die Stimme der Kritik ("The Voice of the Critic")	21	12	9	5	12	4	12	7	2
12:00	Mittagskonzert (Mid-Day Concert)	40	18	22	13	20	7	30	8	2
12:30	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentary)	51	26	25	13	25	13	36	12	3
12:50	Kulturnachrichten (News about Cultural Events)	30	15	15	8	15	7	20	7	3
12:55	Programmorschau, anschliessend (Program Preview, followed by )	27	12	15	7	14	6	18	7	2
13:00	Mittagskonzert (Forts.) (Mid-Day Concert (cont'd))	32	14	18	10	16	6	22	8	2
14:00	Musiker und Poeten - Vergessenes und Unver- gessenes aus Music and Dichtung (Musicians and Poets - Forgotten and Unforgotten Music and Poetry)	9	3	6	3	4	2	4	3	2
15:00	Die Sonntagskinder (Sunday Children) (Children's Program)	29	11	18	7	16	6	20	7	2
15:30	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	17	8	9	7	7	3	11	5	1
16:00	Antworten auf Hoererbriefe und Briefmarken- ecke. Wunschkonzert (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (Letter Box and Stamp Corner. Music on Request (VOA))	36	17	19	12	17	7	27	8	1
16:30	Nachrichten (News)	25	14	11	7	11	7	19	5	1
16:40	Beschwingte Melodien (Enchanting Rhythms)	21	10	11	7	10	4	14	5	2
17:15	Sportecho (Sports News)	22	12	10	9	10	3	16	5	1



## SUNDAY (cont'd.)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
		14%	7%	7%	5%	7%	2%		10%	3%	1%
17:43	Programvorschau (Program Preview)	20	9	11	6	9	5		13	6	1
17:45	Pressespiegel (Press Review)										
18:00	Gelaut der Freiheitsglocke, anschliessend europaeische Stunde (Bell of Freedom Tolls, followed by "The European Hour (Reports from Abroad))	33	15	18	8	17	0		24	8	1
19:00	Nachrichten (News)	41	23	18	12	20	9		30	9	2
19:10	Ohne festgelegte Program (No Fixed Program)	9	6	3	3	5	1		6	3	*
19:25	Toto-Ergebnisse und -Neuansetzungen (Toto Results)	13	8	5	5	6	2		10	3	*
19:30	Programmvorschau (Program Preview)	9	5	4	3	5	1		6	3	*
19:31	Im Wechsel: Unterhaltungskonzert - Oper - Operette - Tanzmusik (Alternately: Light Music - Opera - Operetta - Dance Music)	24	11	13	7	12	5		18	5	1
20:00	Am letzten Sonntag im Monat Guenter Neumann und seine Insulaner, anschliessend Tanzmusik (At the last Sunday of a Month: Guenter Neumann and his Islanders, followed by Dance Music)	44	20	24	13	21	10		32	10	2
21:30	Grosse Erzaehler (Great Authors)	14	6	8	5	6	3		9	3	2
22:00	Nachrichten (News)	25	14	11	7	13	5		19	5	1
22:15	Sportnachrichten (Sports News)	12	8	4	5	5	2		10	2	*
22:30	Tanzmusik oder Kammermusik (Dance- or Chamber Music)	15	8	7	5	7	3		13	2	*
23:00	Unterhaltungs- oder Tanzmusik (Light or Dance Music)	12	6	6	5	5	2		11	1	0

## SUNDAY (cont'd)

## 2nd Program

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
14:00	Die Sonntagskinder (Sunday Children" (Children's Program))	3%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%		1%	2%	0
14:30	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	2	2	*	1	1	*		1	1	0
15:00	Europäische Stunde (European Hour" (Reports from Abroad))	1	1	*	1	*	*		*	1	0
16:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	*	0
16:30	Nachrichten (News)	2	2	*	*	1	1		1	1	0
16:40	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	2	2	*	*	2	*		1	1	*
17:43	Programmorschau (Program Preview)	1	1	0	*	1	*		*	1	0
17:45	Pressespiegel (Press Review)	2	2	*	*	2	*		1	1	*
18:00	Geläut der Freiheitsglocke, anschließend Sportecho (Bell of Freedom Tolls, followed by Sports News)	3	3	*	1	1	1		3	*	0
18:30	Nachrichten (News)	2	2	0	*	1	1		2	*	0
18:40	Ohne festgelegtes Programm (No Fixed Program)	1	1	*	0	1	0		1	*	0
18:55	Toto Ergebnisse und -Neuansetzungen (Toto Results)	1	1	0	*	1	0		1	0	0
19:00	Programmorschau (Program Preview)	2	1	1	1	1	0		1	1	*
19:05	Im Wechsel: Unterhaltungskonzert - Oper - Operette - Tanzmusik (Alternately: Light Music - Opera - Operetta - Dance Music)	2	2	*	1	1	0		2	*	0

# SUNDAY (cont'd)

## 2nd Program

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
21:00	Grosse Erzähler (Great Authors)	1%	1%	0	1%	*	0		*	1%	0
21:30	Nachrichten (News)	1	1	*	*	1	0		*	1	0
21:45	Sportnachrichten (Sports News)	1	1	*	1	*	0		*	1	0
22:00	Antworten auf Hoererbriefe und Briefmarkenecke. Wunschkonzert (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (Letter Box and Stamp Corner. Music on Request (VOA))	2	2	0	1	1	0		1	1	0
22:30	Musik (Music)	3	3	0	1	2	*		2	1	*
23:00	Musiker und Poeten - Vergessenes und Unvergessenes aus Musik und Dichtung (Musicians and Poets - Forgotten and Unforgotten Music and Poetry)	1	1	0	1	0	0		*	1	0

## MONDAY

## 1st Program

00:00	Nachrichten (News)	3	1	2	1	1	1		3	*	0
00:10	Eine Viertelstunde mit Mr. und Mrs. Nelson (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (Mr. and Mrs. Nelson (VOA))	2	1	1	1	*	1		2	*	0
00:25	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	1	1	*	*	0	1		1	*	0
01:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	1	*	1	*	0	1		1	*	0
01:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	1	*	1	*	0	1		1	*	0

MONDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
02:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	*	0	*	*	0	0		*	0	0
02:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
03:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	*	*	0	0	*	0		*	0	0
03:05	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
04:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	0	0
04:05	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	0	0
05:05	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	5	3	2	1	3	1		4	1	0
05:10	Fruehmusik (Early Morning Music)	4	2	2	*	3	1		3	1	0
05:30	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	7	4	3	1	4	2		6	1	0
05:35	Werktag der Zone ("Work Day in the Soviet Zone")	7	4	3	1	5	1		5	2	*
05:45	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	5	3	2	1	3	1		4	1	0
06:00	Information aus der sowjetischen Besatzungszone (Information about the Soviet Zone)	19	11	8	4	10	5		14	4	1
06:05	Jugend spricht zur Jugend ("Youth Speaks to Youth")	11	5	6	2	7	2		6	3	*
06:10	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	11	6	5	2	7	2		9	2	*
06:30	Nachrichten (News)	17	9	8	4	9	4		13	3	1
06:40	"Der Tag beginnt" ("The Day Begins" (Short Daily Morning Service)	11	5	6	3	6	2		8	2	1
06:45	Im Sendewagen durch Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) ("With the Broadcasting-Van Through America" (VOA))	14	6	8	4	7	3		11	2	1

06330

## MONDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age			Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
07:00	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: "Sympathien durch Melodien", dazwischen (Commercially Sponsored Program in between) und	14%	4%	10%	6%	6%	2%	9%	4%	1%
07:30	Nachrichten und (News)	14	5	9	4	6	4	10	3	1
07:40	Jugend spricht zur Jugend ("Youth Speaks to Youth")	7	2	5	3	3	1	6	*	1
08:15	Berlin am Morgen ("Berlin in the Morning" (Radio Newsreel))	7	3	4	2	4	1	5	1	1
08:30	Nachrichten (News)	9	4	5	1	5	3	7	1	1
08:40	"Haben Sie 5 Minuten Zeit?" (Stimme der Frau) (Can You Spare Five Minutes?" (Program for Women))	5	1	4	1	3	1	4	1	*
08:45	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	3	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	*
09:30	Nachrichten (News)	6	2	4	2	3	1	3	2	1
09:40	Funk fuer Eltern und Erzieher oder Musik (Program for Parents and Teachers or Music)	7	2	5	1	5	1	4	2	1
10:00	Schulfunk (School Program)	8	2	6	2	4	2	5	3	*
10:30	15 Minuten Geschichte (15 Minutes of History)	1	1	*	*	1	0	1	*	*
10:45	Instrumentalmusik oder Lieder (Instrumental Music or Songs)	1	*	1	0	1	0	1	*	0
11:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	5	2	3	1	3	1	4	1	*
11:30	Der RIAS-Antwortmann ("The RIAS-Answerman")	16	4	12	4	9	3	11	4	1
11:45	Vermisstensuchdienst (Tracing Program)	13	4	9	4	6	3	9	4	*



## MONDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	2%	a	b	c
12:00	Mittagskonzert (Mid-Day Concert)	13%	4%	9%	5%	6%	2%		11%	2%	*
12:20	Sendung fuer die Landbevölkerung (Farm Program)	13	5	8	3	6	4		12	1	*
12:30	Nachrichten (News)	21	9	12	4	11	6		17	3	1
12:40	Berliner Blitzfunk (Newsflashes from Berlin)	12	5	7	3	6	3		9	2	1
12:45	Programmvorschau, anschliessend Mittagskonzert (Forts.)	8	4	4	2	4	2		7	1	*
	(Program Preview, followed by Mid-Day Concert (cont'd))										
13:30	Nachrichten (News)	9	5	4	3	3	3		6	2	1
13:40	Zur Politik des Tages (On Current Politics (Political Commentary))	5	4	1	1	2	2		4	1	*
13:45	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: "Eine Viertelstunde fuer die freie Wirtschaft" (Commercially Sponsored Program: "Fifteen Minutes for the Free Economy")	7	4	3	2	2	3		4	3	0
14:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	3	2	1	1	2	*		2	1	0
14:30	Kinderfunk - Wir freuen uns, dass Ihr Geburtstag habt! (Children's Program - Happy Birthday!)	5	1	4	2	2	1		3	2	0
14:45	Kammermusik, Lieder oder Instrumentalmusik (Chamber Music, Songs or Instrumental Music (Classical Music))	*	*	0	0	0	*		0	*	0
15:15	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	3	2	1	1	1	1		3	*	0
15:30	Wissen und Wahrheit (Eine Sendung fuer die Schueler in der Zone) (Knowledge and Truth (A Program for the Pupils in the Soviet Zone))	4	2	2	1	2	1		1	2	1

MONDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
16:00	Orchesterkonzert (RIAS-Kammerorchester) (Orchestra Concert (RIAS-Chamber- orchestra))	1%	1%	*	0	1%	*		1%	*	0
16:30	Nachrichten (News)	3	2	1	*	2	1		2	1	*
16:40	Jugend in unserer Zeit oder Funk fuer Eltern und Erzieher ("Youth in Our Times" (Talk Program) or Program for Parents and Teachers)	3	2	1	*	2	1		*	2	1
17:00	Teemusik (Music at Tea-Time)	10	4	6	3	5	2		6	3	1
17:40	Programmvorschau (Program Preview)	4	3	1	*	3	1		2	2	*
17:45	Zeitschriftenvorschau (Periodicals Review)	5	3	2	*	3	2		2	2	1
18:00	Sportueckblick (Looking back on Sports Events)	12	9	3	4	6	2		0	4	*
18:10	Musik zum Feierabend (Music After Work)	17	9	0	7	7	3		13	4	0
18:30	Berlin am Abend (Berlin at Night (Radio Newsreel))	13	7	6	6	4	3		9	3	1
18:45	Von Tag zu Tag (Eine aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	24	12	12	7	10	7		17	6	1
19:00	("From Day to Day" (VOA)) Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	47	25	22	14	20	13		36	9	2
19:30	Programmvorschau, anschliessend Schlager der Woche (Program Preview, followed by Hits of the Week)	33	18	15	15	12	6		25	7	1
20:30	Tatsachen und Meinungen oder Unterhaltung (Facts and Opinions, or Entertainment Program)	13	7	6	4	6	3		9	3	1
21:00	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	25	14	11	6	13	6		16	8	1
21:30	Lieder der Heimat (German Folksongs)	17	9	8	3	9	5		12	5	*

MONDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education	
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b
21:55	Die Parteien haben das Wort (Political Parties on the Rostrum)	12%	0%	4%	3%	5%	4%		8%	4%
22:00	Kirche in der Zeit (Church in our Times)	5	2	2	1	1	2		2	2
22:15	Kammermusik (Chambermusic)	2	1	1	1	1	*		2	*
22:45	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	12	6	6	4	4	4		9	3
23:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	6	4	2	1	3	2		5	1
23:05	Chansons oder Zigeunermusik (Chansons or Gypsy Music)	4	1	3	2	1	1		3	1
23:30	Zigeunermusik oder Unterhaltungsmusik (Gypsy Music or Light Music)	3	2	1	1	1	1		2	1

MONDAY

2nd Program

18:00	Berlin am Abend (Berlin at Night (Radio Newsreel))	1	1	0	*	1	0		1	0
18:15	Von Tag zu Tag (Eine aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	4	3	1	1	2	1		4	*
18:30	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	3	2	1	1	1	1		2	1
19:00	Programmvorschau, anschliessend volkstuemliches Konzert (Program Preview, followed by Popular Concert)	2	2	*	1	1	*		1	1
20:15	Die Parteien haben das Wort (Political Parties on the Rostrum)	2	2	0	1	1	*		1	1
20:20	Zwischenmusik (Music between Programs)	1	1	0	*	1	0		1	*
20:30	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	3	3	0	1	2	0		2	*

MONDAY (cont'd)

2nd Program

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
21:00	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	3%	2%	1%		1%	0		2%	1%	*
	("America Calling" (VOA))										
21:15	Hoerspiel, Schiffsband (Radio Play) followed by)	1	1	0	*	1	0		1	*	*
22:15	Musik (Music)	1	1	0	1	0	0		1	*	0
23:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	1	1	0	*	1	0		1	*	0
23:05	"Musik in Dur und Moll" ("Music in Minor and Major")	*	*	0	*	0	0		0	0	*

TUESDAY

1st Program

00:00	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentary)	2	1		1	1	*		2	*	0
00:15	Nachtkonzert (Night Concert)	1	1	*	*	1	0		1	0	0
01:00	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentary)	*	0	*	*	0	0		*	0	0
01:15	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	*	0	*	*	0	0		*	0	0
02:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	*	0	*	0	0	*		0	0	*
02:05	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	*	0	*	0	0	*		0	0	*
03:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
03:05	Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik (Dance and Light Music)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
04:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	0	0
04:05	Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik (Dance and Light Music)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	0	0

## TUESDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education	
			Men	Wcmen	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b o
05:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	5%	3%	2%	1%	2%	2%		4%	1% 0
05:05	Fruehmusik (Early Morning Music)	5	3	2	1	2	2		4	1 0
05:30	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	8	5	3	1	5	2		7	1 0
05:35	Werktag der Zone (Work Day in the Soviet Zone)	8	5	3	1	5	2		6	2 *
05:45	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Musio (cont'd))	7	4	3	1.	4	2		5	2 0
06:00	Informationen aus der sowjetischen Besatzungs- zone (Information about the Soviet Zone)	17	9	8	4	8	5		12	4 1
06:05	Jugend spricht zur Jugend (Youth Speaks to Youth)	11	5	6	3	6	2		8	3 *
06:10	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Musio (cont'd))	10	5	5	2	6	2		6	2 *
06:30	Nachrichten (News)	17	10	7	4	8	5		12	4 1
06:40	"Der Tag beginnt" (The Day Begins) (Short Daily Morning Service))	11	5	6	3	5	3		6	2 1
06:45	Sie hoeren Amerika (Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas ("America Calling" (VOA)))	13	6	7	4	6	3		10	2 1
07:00	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: "Sympathien durch Melodien", dazwischen (Commerically Sponsored Program. "Impathien durch Melodien", Nachrichten und (News and) Kommentar, (Commentary)	16	6	10	6	7	3		11	4 1
07:30	Nachrichten und (News and) Kommentar, (Commentary)	14	5	9	4	5	5		10	3 1
07:40	Kommentar, (Commentary)	8	4	4	2	4	2		5	2 1
08:15	Berlin am Morgen (Berlin in the Morning) (Radio Newsreel))	7	2	5	2	3	2		5	1 1
08:30	Nachrichten (News)	9	4	5	2	4	3		7	1 1



TUESDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age			Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
08:40	Haben Sie 5 Minuten Zeit? (Stimme der Frau) ("Can You Spare Five Minutes?" (Program for Women))	6%	2%	4%	2%	3%	1%	5%	1%	*
08:45	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	4	2	2	1	2	1	3	1	*
09:30	Nachrichten (News)	7	3	4	2	3	2	4	3	*
09:40	Jugendfunk zur Fruhestueckspause (Youth Program for Breakfast Recess)	3	2	1	1	1	1	3	*	0
10:00	Schulfunk (School Program)	6	2	4	1	4	1	4	2	*
10:45	Chor- oder Instrumentalmusik (Choir or Instrumental Music)	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
11:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	6	3	3	1	4	1	5	1	*
11:30	"Die bunte Palette": Alltag - heiter betrachtet ("The Bright Palette" (Music and Household Advice)	20	5	15	4	11	5	15	4	1
12:00	Mittagskonzert (Mid-Day Concert)	10	5	5	4	4	2	8	2	*
12:20	Sendung fuer die Landbevoelkerung (Farm Program)	12	6	6	3	6	3	10	2	0
12:30	Nachrichten (News)	20	10	10	5	11	4	15	4	1
12:40	Berliner Blitzfunk (Berlin "Blitzfunk" (Newsflashes from Berlin))	12	6	6	4	6	2	8	3	1
12:45	Programmverschau, anschliessend Mittagskonzert (Forts.) (Program Preview, followed by Mid-Day Concert (cont'd))	8	4	4	2	5	1	5	3	*
13:30	Nachrichten (News)	10	5	5	3	4	3	6	3	1
13:40	Zur Politik des Tages (On Current Politics (Political Commentary))	5	3	2	2	2	1	3	2	*
13:45	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: Eine Viertel- stunde fuer die freie Wirtschaft (Commerioally Sponsored Program: Fifteen Minutes for the Free Economy)	5	3	2	1	3	1	3	2	

## TUESDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education	
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b
14:00	Instrumentalmusik (Instrumental Music)	1%	1%	*	*	1%	0		1%	0
14:30	Fuer Jungen and Maedel (Program for Boys and Girls)	1	1	*	*	1	0		1	0
15:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	3	1	2	1	1	1		2	1
15:30	Funk fuer Eltern und Erzieher oder Stimme der Frau (Program for Parents and Teachers, our Program for Women)	4	2	2	1	3	0		2	1
15:45	Das Klavierquintett (The Pianoquintett)	*	*	0	*	0	0		*	0
16:30	Nachrichten (News)	5	2	3	2	2	1		2	1
16:40	Laender und Menschen oder Psychologie des Alltags, anschliessend Teemusik (Countries and People or Psychology in Our Daily Life, followed by Teemusik)	3	1	2	2	1	*		2	0
17:25	Programmvorschau (Program Preview)	3	3	0	*	2	1		2	*
17:30	15 Minuten Geschichte (15 Minutes of History)	4	3	1	1	2	1		2	1
17:45	Pressespiegel (Press Review)	8	5	3	2	4	2		5	2
18:00	Musik zum Feierabend (Music After Work)	16	8	8	6	7	3		13	3
18:30	Berlin am Abend (Berlin at Night (Radio Newsreel))	12	7	5	4	5	3		10	2
18:45	Von Tag zu Tag (Eine aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (From Day to Day (VOA))	26	13	13	8	11	7		20	5
19:00	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	48	26	22	13	20	15		35	11
19:30	Programmvorschau, anschliessend Symphoniekonzert (Program Preview, followed by a Symphony-Concert)	14	8	6	4	7	3		9	4

TUESDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	1%	a	b	c
7%			3%	4%	3%	3%	1%		4%	3%	0
27	20:30 Literatur (Literature)		17	10	7	13	7		16	10	1
18	21:00 Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)		12	6	4	9	5		12	5	1
10	21:30 Kommentar von Alfred Boerner (Boerner Commentary)		5	5	3	4	3		6	4	0
13	21:35 Operetten- oder Opernkonzert, anschliessend (Operetta or Opera Concert, followed by)		6	7	5	5	3		9	4	*
	22:15 Unterhaltung oder Insulaner (Wiederhlg.) oder (Light Music or the "Islanders"(Repeat Performance) or )		2	1	1	1	1		2	1	*
	22:30 Literatur (Je 1x im Monat) (Literature (Only once a Month))		6	3	3	4	2		7	2	*
	22:45 Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas ("America Calling" (VOA)))		4	3	2	2	1		5	2	*
	23:00 Kursnachrichten (Brief News)		1	*	*	1	0		1	*	0
	23:05 Funkuniversitaet (University on the Air)		3	3	5	1	0		5	1	0
	23:35 Tanzmusik (RIAS-Tanzorchester) (Dance Music (The RIAS Dance Orchestra))										

TUESDAY

2nd Program

1	18:00 Berlin am Abend (Berlin at Night)(Radio Newsreel))	1	0	*	1	0	*
2	18:15 Von Tag zu Tag (Eine aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas ("From Day to Day" (VOA)))	2	0	*	1	*	2 0 *
3	18:30 Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	2	1	*	1	2	1 2 *
5	19:00 Kommentar von Alfred Boerner (Boerner Commentary)	4	1	1	2	2	3 2 *

TUESDAY (cont'd)  
Tuesday Program 'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
19:05	Programmvershan, anschliessend Musik (Program Preview, followed by Music)	2%	2%	*	1%	1%	*		1%	1%	*
20:00	Tatsachen und Meinungen oder Unterhaltung (Facts and Opinions or Entertainment Program)	3	3	0	1	1	1		2	1	*
20:30	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	3	3	0	1	1	1		2	1	*
21:00	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	4	4	*	2	2	*		3	1	*
21:15	"America Calling" (VOA)) Kammermusik	1	1	0	1	0	0		*	1	0
21:45	(Chamber Music) Kirche in der Zeit	1	1	0	1	0	0		1	*	0
22:00	(Church in Our Times) Unterhaltungsmusik	1	1	0	*	1	0		1	*	0
22:25	(Light Music) Neues vom Sport	1	1	0	1	*	0		*	1	0
22:30	(Sports News) Funkuniversitat	*	*	0	*	0	0		0	*	0
23:00	(University on the Air) Kurz Nachrichten	1	1	*	1	*	*		*	1	0
23:05	(Brief News) Wir gehen ins Theater (1x) bis 24:00 oder Schallplattensendung, anschliessend (We Go to the Theater" (once) until 24:00 or Record Concert, followed by Literatur oder Gespraech der Zeit (je 1x im Monat) (Literature or Talk about Current Issues (Each Program Once a Month)	1	1	0	1	0	*		1	0	0
23:30		0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0

WEDNESDAY

1st Program

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education	
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	*	a	b
		2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	*		2%	0
00:00	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentary)	1	*	1	1	*	0		1	0
00:15	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	*	0	*	*	0	0		*	0
01:00	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentary)	*	0	*	*	0	0		*	0
01:15	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
02:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
02:05	"Out aufgelegt": Schallplatten aus aller Welt ("In a Happy Mood": Records from all over the World)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
03:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
03:05	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	0
04:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	1	*	1	*	1	0		1	0
04:05	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	5	3	2	*	3	2		4	1
05:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	5	2	3	*	3	2		4	1
05:05	Fruehmusik (Early Morning Music)	7	4	3	*	5	2		5	2
05:30	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	7	4	3	*	5	2		5	2
05:35	Werktag der Zone (Workday in the Soviet Zone)	6	3	3	1	4	1		4	2
05:45	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	18	10	8	4	10	4		13	4
06:00	Information aus der sowjetischen Besatzungszone (Information about the Soviet Zone)	12	5	7	2	8	2		9	3
06:05	Jugend spricht zur Jugend ("Youth Speaks to Youth")									



## WEDNESDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	2%	a	b	c
06:10	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Musio (cont'd))	12%	6%	6%					9%	3%	*
06:30	Nachrichten (News)	19	10	9	4	11	4		14	4	1
06:40	"Der Tag beginnt" ("The Day Begins" (Short Daily Morning Service))	13	5	8	3	8	2		9	3	1
06:45	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	14	6	8	4	8	2		10	3	1
07:00	("America Calling" (VOA)) Ausserhalb des RIAS Programms: "Sympathien durch Melodien", dazwischen (Commercially Sponsored Program. "In it characterization" (Advertising and Light Music))	15	5	10	7	6	2		10	4	1
07:30	Nachrichten und (News and )	15	5	10	5	7	3		11	4	*
07:40	Jugend spricht zur Jugend (Youth Speaks to Youth)	8	2	6	4	3	1		5	2	1
08:15	Berlin am Morgen ("Berlin in the Morning" (Radio Newsreel))	7	2	5	3	3	1		4	2	1
08:30	Nachrichten (News)	9	3	6	2	5	2		5	3	1
08:40	Haben Sie 5 Minuten Zeit? (Stimme der Frau) ("Can You Spare 5 Minutes" (Program for Women))	6	1	5	2	3	1		4	2	*
08:45	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	4	1	3	1	2	1		2	2	*
09:30	Nachrichten (News)	7	3	4	1	3	3		3	3	1
09:40	Musik oder Funk fuer Eltern und Erzieher (Music or Program for Parents and Teachers)	4	1	3	1	3	0		4	*	0
10:00	Schulfunk (School Program)	7	2	5	2	4	1		5	2	*
10:45	RIAS-Kammerorchester oder RIAS-Schulfunk- orchester (RIAS-Chamber- or RIAS-School-Orchestra)	1	*	1	0	1	*		1	*	0
11:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	5	2	3	1	4	*		5	0	*

## WEDNESDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education	
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	2%	a	b
11:30	Der RIAS-Antwortmann (The RIAS-Answerman)	15%	4%	11%	3%	10%	2%		11%	3%
11:45	Vermisstensuchdienst (Tracing Service)	13	4	9	4	8	1		9	3
12:00	Mittagskonzert (Mid-Day Concert)	12	5	7	4	7	1		10	2
12:20	Sendung fuer die Landbevoelkerung (Farm Program)	14	6	8	3	8	3		11	3
12:30	Nachrichten (News)	21	10	11	5	11	5		16	4
12:40	Berliner Blitzfunk (Berlin "Blitzfunk" (Newsflashes from Berlin))	12	5	7	4	6	2		9	3
12:45	Programmvoerschau, anschliessend Mittagskonzert (Forts.)	9	4	5	2	5	2		6	3
	(Program Preview, followed by Mid-Day Concert (cont'd))									
13:30	Nachrichten (News)	10	5	5	3	5	2		7	2
13:40	Zur Politik des Tages (On Current Politics (Political Commentary))	5	2	3	1	3	1		4	1
13:45	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: Eine Viertel- stunde fuer die freie Wirtschaft (Commercially Sponsored Program: "Fifteen Minutes for the Free Economy")	6	2	4	1	4	1		4	2
14:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	*
14:30	Kinderfunk (Children's Program)	5	1	4	2	3	*		4	1
14:45	Instrumentalmusik (Instrumental Music)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
15:15	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	1	1	0	1	*	*		1	0
15:30	Schulfunk (School Program)	4	1	3	1	3	*		2	1
16:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	3	2	1	1	1	1		3	*

WEDNESDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
		6%	3%	3%	2%	2%	2%		3%	2%	1%
16:30	Nachrichten (News)	3	2	1	1	1	1		2	*	1
16:40	So sehe ich meine Zeit: Eine technische Plauderei (("That's How I See the Age We Live In" (A Talk on Technics)))	2	1	1	*	2	*		1	1	*
17:00	Opernkonzert (Opera Concert)	3	2	1	*	3	*		2	1	*
17:40	Programmorschau (Program Preview)	5	3	2	1	2	2		3	1	1
17:45	Pressespiegel (Press Review)	13	7	6	4	6	3		11	2	0
18:00	Musik zum Feierabend (Music after Work)	12	7	5	4	5	3		9	3	*
18:30	Berlin am Abend (("Berlin at Night" (Radio Newsreel)))	23	12	11	8	9	6		18	4	1
18:45	Von Tag zu Tag (Eine aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (("From Day to Day" (VOA)))	45	26	19	14	18	13		35	9	1
19:00	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	15	10	5	4	6	5		11	4	*
19:30	Programmorschau, anschliessend Musik (Program Preview, followed by Music)	35	17	18	13	13	9		25	9	1
20:00	Hoerspiel (Radio Play)	25	15	10	5	13	7		16	8	1
21:00	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	8	3	5	1	4	3		6	2	0
21:30	Musik in Dur und Moll, anschliessend (Music in Minor and Major, followed by)	4	3	1	2	1	1		3	1	0
22:15	Wir nehmen Stellung - Kulturforum (1x) oder (We Take Stand - Cultural Forum (Once) or)	6	5	1	2	2	2		4	2	*
22:30	Aus Kultur und Wissenschaft (3x) (Cultural and Scientific Events (3 times))	13	8	5	5	5	3		9	4	*
22:45	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (("America Calling" (VOA)))										

# WEDNESDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age			Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
23:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	4%	6%	2%	3%	4%	1%	7%	1%	0
23:05	Musikkritik am Mikrophon (The Music Critic at the Microphone)	3	1	2	2	1	0	3	*	0
23:15	Zeitfragen neuer Musik bis 24:00 oder Kammer- musik und (We talk about Modern Music until 24:00 or Chamber Music and )	2	1	1	1	1	0	2	*	0
23:45	Lyrik (Lyric Poetry)	*	*	0	0	*	0	*	0	0

## WEDNESDAY

Time	Program	2nd	Program		Age			Education		
			1	2	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
18:00	Berlin am Abend (“Berlin at Night” (Radio Newsreel))	1	1	0	*	1	0	1	0	*
18:15	Von Tag zu Tag (Eine Aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (“From Day to Day” (VOA))	2	2	0	1	1	*	2	0	*
18:30	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	3	3	*	1	1	1	2	1	*
19:00	Programmorschau, anschließend “Mach mit” bis 20:30 oder “Da ist man sprachlos” und (Program Preview, followed by “Join In” until 20:30) Opr “That Leaves One Speechless” and	6	4	2	1	4	1	3	3	*
19:30	Unterhaltungsmusik und (Light Music and )	1	1	0	1	*	*	1	*	0
20:00	“Es geschah in Berlin” (“It Happened in Berlin”)	5	4	1	1	3	1	3	2	*
20:30	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	4	4	*	1	2	1	2	2	*
21:00	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (“America Calling” (VOA))	3	3	*	1	2	*	2	1	*

WEDNESDAY (cont'd)  
2nd Program

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age			Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
21:15	Musik oder Unterhaltung (1x) "Insulaner" (Wiederhlg.), anschliessend Musik (Music or Entertainment Program (Once) "The Islanders" (Repeat Performance), followed by Music)	2%	2%	0	1%	1%	0	2%	*	0
22:00	Aus Kultur und Wissenschaft (3x) (Cultural and Scientific Events (3 times))	1	1	0	*	1	0	1	*	*
22:15	Musik (Music)	*	*	0	*	0	0	0	*	0
22:30	Literatur (1x) (Literature (Once))	*	*	0	*	0	0	0	*	0
23:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	1	1	0	*	1	0	1	*	0
23:05	Chansons oder Zigeunermusik (Chansons or Gypsy Music)	*	*	0	*	*	0	*	0	0
23:30	Zigeunermusik oder Unterhaltungsmusik (Gypsy Music or Light Music)	*	*	0	*	*	0	*	0	0

THURSDAY

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age			Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
00:00	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentary)	2	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	0
00:15	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	1	*	1	1	*	0	1	0	0
01:00	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentary)	*	0	*	*	0	0	*	0	0
01:15	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	*	0	*	*	0	0	*	0	0
02:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
02:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0



## THURSDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
03:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
03:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0
04:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	0	0
04:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	0	0
05:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	5	3	2	*	3	2		4	1	0
05:05	Fruehmusik (Early Morning Music)	5	3	2	*	3	2		4	1	0
05:30	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	7	4	3	*	5	2		5	2	0
05:35	Worktag der Zone (Work Day in the Soviet Zone)	8	4	4	1	5	2		5	3	*
05:45	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	7	4	3	*	5	2		5	2	0
06:00	Informationen aus der sowjetischen Be- satzungszone (Information about the Soviet Zone)	18	10	8	4	9	5		14	3	1
06:05	Jugend spricht zur Jugend (Youth Speaks to Youth)	12	5	7	2	8	2		9	3	*
06:10	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	12	7	5	2	8	2		9	3	*
06:30	Nachrichten (News)	19	10	9	4	10	5		14	4	1
06:40	"Der Tag beginnt" (The Day Begins) (Short Daily Morning Service))	13	6	7	3	7	3		10	2	1
06:45	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	14	7	7	4	7	3		11	2	1
07:00	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: "Sympathien durch Melodien", dazwischen (Commercially Sponsored Program: "Infection durch belebten"), between	13	4	9	5	5	3		9	3	1

THURSDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
07:30	Nachrichten und (News and)	16%	6%	10%	5%	7%	4%		12%	3%	1%
07:40	Kommentar (Commentary)	10	4	6	4	5	1		6	3	1
08:15	Berlin am Morgen (Berlin in the Morning (Radio Newsreel))	8	2	6	3	4	1		6	1	1
08:30	Nachrichten (News)	10	4	6	2	5	3		7	2	1
08:40	Haben Sie 5 Minuten Zeit? (Stimme der Frau) (Can You Spare Five Minutes?) (Program for Women)	6	2	4	2	3	1		5	1	0
08:45	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	5	2	3	1	2	2		4	1	0
09:30	Nachrichten (News)	7	3	4	2	3	2		5	2	*
09:40	Warn- und Vermisstenmeldungen (Warning Calls and Listing of Names of Missing Persons)	7	3	4	1	4	2		5	2	*
09:50	Ausgleichsgymnastik (Gymnastic)	2	1	1	*	2	*		2	0	0
10:00	Schulfunk (School Program)	6	2	4	1	4	1		5	1	*
10:45	Berliner Musiknachwuchs (Berlin's Young Musicians)	1	1	*	*	1	0		1	*	*
11:00	"Die bunte Palette": Alltag - heiter betrachtet ("The Bright Palette" - Music and Household Advice)	18	5	13	4	10	4		13	4	1
12:00	Mittagskonzert (Mid Day Concert)	13	5	8	4	6	3		10	3	0
12:20	Sendung fuer die Landbevoelkerung (Farm Program)	14	6	8	4	7	3		11	3	*
12:30	Nachrichten (News)	21	10	11	5	11	5		15	4	2
12:40	Berliner Blitzfunk (Berlin "Blitzfunk" (Newsflashes from Berlin))	12	6	6	4	6	2		9	3	*

## THURSDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education	
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b
12:45	Programmorschau, anschliessend Mittagskonzert(Forts.)10% (Program Preview, followed by Mid-Day Concert (cont'd))		5%	5%	2%	5%	3%		8%	2%
13:30	Nachrichten (News)	9	5	4	3	4	2		7	-2
13:40	Zur Politik des Tages ("On Current Politics" (Political Commentary))	5	3	2	1	3	1		4	1
13:45	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: Eine Viertel- stunde fuer die freie Wirtschaft (Commercially Sponsored Program: "Fifteen Minutes for the Free Economy")	8	4	4	3	3	2		6	2
14:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Musio)	2	2	*	1	1	*		2	0
14:30	Kinderfunk - Wir singen mit dem RIAS-Kinderchor (Children's Program - Let Us Sing with the RIAS- Children's Choir)	5	1	4	2	3	*		4	1
14:45	Komponisten schreiben Briefe ("Composers Write Letters")	*	*	0	0	*	0		*	0
15:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Musio)	3	2	1	1	1	1		2	1
15:30	Bunte Welt der Wissenschaft oder Unser Funk- atlas (Program on Various Scientific Events or Geography on the Air)	2	2	*	1	1	0		1	1
15:45	Kammermusik, Lieder oder Instrumentalmusik (Chamber Music, Songs or Instrumental Music)	*	*	0	*	*	0		*	*
16:30	Nachrichten (News)	5	3	2	1	2	2		2	2
16:40	Kirchennachrichten (Ecclesiastical News)	1	0	1	0	*	1		1	*
16:45	Kirchenfunk (Church Program)	2	*	2	0	1	1		1	*
17:00	Teemusik (Music at Tea Time)	5	2	3	1	3	1		3	2

## THURSDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
17:40	Programmvorschau (Program Preview)	3%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%		3%	*	*
17:45	Pressespiegel (Press Review)	7	3	4	1	3	3		4	2	1
18:00	Sportvorschau (Sports Preview)	10	7	3	3	5	2		8	2	0
18:05	Musik zum Feierabend (Music After Work)	13	6	7	4	6	3		10	3	0
18:30	Berlin am Abend ("Berlin at Night" (Radio Newsreel))	14	7	7	5	6	3		11	3	*
18:45	Von Tag zu Tag (Eine aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	23	12	11	9	8	6		17	5	1
19:00	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte ("From Day to Day" (VOA))	49	27	22	15	20	14		38	10	1
19:30	Programmvorschau, anschließend "Mach mit" bis 21:00 oder "Da ist man sprachlos" und (Program Preview, followed by "Join In" until 21:00 or "That Leaves One Speechless" and)	47	22	25	18	20	9		35	10	2
20:00	Unterhaltungsmusik und (Light Music and)	22	12	10	6	10	4		16	6	0
20:30	"Es geschah in Berlin" ("It Happened in Berlin")	35	16	19	10	17	8		25	9	1
21:00	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	26	15	11	5	14	7		17	8	1
21:30	An Sitzungstagen: Hoerbericht aus der Sitzung des Abgeordnetenhauses von Berlin (Hearings Take Place: On-the-Spot Broadcast From Sessions of the Berlin House of Representatives)	11	7	4	3	5	3		7	3	1
22:00	Stunde der Melodie (The Hour of Melodies (Light Music))	8	4	4	3	2	3		6	2	0
22:45	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) ("America Calling" (VOA))	11	7	4	3	5	3		8	3	0

## THURSDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
23:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	7%	5%	2%	2%	4%	1%		6%	1%	0
23:05	Funkuniversitaet (University on the Air)	2	1	1	1	1	0		2	0	0
23:20	"Universitaeten und Studenten". Aus dem in- und auslaendischen Hochschulleben ("Universities and Students". Reports from Universities at Home and Abroad)	1	1	*	1	*	0		1	0	0
23:35	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	3	1	2	3	*	0		3	*	0

## THURSDAY

## 2nd Program

18:00	Berlin am Abend (Berlin at Night. (Radio Newsreel))	1	1	*	*	1	0		1	0	0
18:15	Von Tag zu Tag (Eine aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	3	3	*	1	1	1		3	*	*
18:30	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	3	3	*	1	1	1		2	1	*
19:00	Programmvorschau, anschliessend Symphonie- konzert (Program Preview, followed by Symphony- Concert)	1	1	0	1	*	0		1	*	0
19:45	Jugend in unserer Zeit oder Tatsachen und Meinungen (Youth in Our Times or Facts and Opinions)	1	1	0	1	*	0		1	*	0
20:15	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	1	1	0	1	*	0		1	*	0
20:30	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	2	2	0	1	1	*		1	1	*



THURSDAY (cont'd)  
 2nd Program

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age			Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
21:00	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) ("America Calling" (VOA))	2%	2%	0	1%	1%	*	2%	*	*
21:15	Im Wechsel: Unterhaltungs- oder Operetten- oder Opernkonzert (Alternately: Light Music or Operettas or Operas)	1	1	*	1	*	0	1	*	*
21:55	Sportvorschau (Sports Preview)	*	*	0	*	0	0	*	*	0
22:00	An Sitzungstagen: Hoerbericht aus der Sitzung des Abgeordnetenhauses von Berlin (When Sessions Take Place: On-the-Spot Broadcast from Sessions of the Berlin House of Representatives)	2	2	*	*	2	0	2	*	*
22:30	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	*	*	0	*	*	0	*	*	0
23:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	1	1	0	*	1	0	1	*	0
23:05	Musikkritik am Mikrophon (At the Microphone: Critiques on Music)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23:15	Zeitfragen neuer Musik bis 24:00 oder Kammermusik und (We Talk about Modern Music until 24:00 or Chamber Music and)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23:45	Lyrik (Lyric Poetry)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

## FRIDAY

## 1st Program

Time	Program	Sex		Age			Education		
		Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
		1%	1%	1%	1%	*	2%	0	0
00:00	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentary)	*	1	1	*	0	1	0	0
00:15	Das saertliche Klavier (The Sentimental Piano)	*	0	*	0	0	*	0	0
00:30	Fuer die Freunde des Jazz (For Our Jazz Fans)	*	*	*	*	0	*	0	0
01:00	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentary)	*	*	*	*	0	*	0	0
01:15	Berliner Kapellen spielen zum Tanz (Berlin Bands Play Dance Music)	*	0	0	*	0	*	0	0
02:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	*	0	0	*	0	*	0	0
02:05	Tanz- und Unterhaltungsmusik (Dance and Light Music)	*	0	0	*	0	*	0	0
03:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	*	0	0	*	0	*	0	0
03:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	2	1	1	1	0	2	0	0
04:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	2	1	1	1	0	2	0	0
04:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	5	3	*	3	2	4	1	0
05:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	5	3	*	3	2	4	1	0
05:05	Fruehmusik (Early Morning Music)	6	4	1	5	2	7	1	0
05:30	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	8	5	1	5	2	6	2	*
05:35	Werktag der Zone (Work Day in the Soviet Zone)	7	4	1	5	1	5	2	0
05:45	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	18	10	4	9	5	14	3	1
06:00	Informationen aus der sowjetischen Besatzungs- zone (Information about the Soviet Zone)								

## FRIDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age			Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
06:05	Jugend spricht zur Jugend (Youth Speaks to Youth)	13%	6%	7%	3%	8%	2%	10%	3%	*
06:10	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	13	7	6	3	8	2	10	3	*
06:30	Nachrichten (News)	20	11	9	5	10	5	14	5	1
06:40	"Der Tag beginnt" (The Day Begins)	13	6	7	3	7	3	10	2	1
06:45	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	14	7	7	4	6	4	11	2	1
07:00	"America Calling" (VOA)) Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: "Sympathien durch Melodien", dazwischen (Commercially Sponsored Program: In. between between stations, between Nachrichten und (News and) Kommentar (Commentary)	14	5	9	6	6	2	10	4	*
07:30	Nachrichten und (News and) Kommentar (Commentary)	15	5	10	5	6	4	11	3	1
07:40	Berlin am Morgen (Berlin in the Morning. (Radio Newsreel))	8	3	5	2	4	2	5	2	1
08:15	Berlin am Morgen (Berlin in the Morning. (Radio Newsreel))	8	3	5	2	4	2	5	2	1
08:30	Nachrichten (News)	11	4	7	2	6	3	8	2	1
08:40	Haben Sie 5 Minuten Zeit? (Stimme der Frau) (Can You Spare Five Minutes?" (Program for Women))	7	3	4	2	4	1	5	2	*
08:45	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	5	2	3	1	3	1	4	1	0
09:30	Nachrichten (News)	7	3	4	1	4	2	4	3	*
09:40	Stimme der Frau (14tgl.: Unser Hausarzt) (Program for Women (Every Two Weeks: Our Family Doctor))	6	1	5	1	4	1	5	1	0
10:00	Schulfunk (School Program)	7	2	5	2	4	1	5	2	*

## FRIDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	1%	a	b	c
10:45	Instrumentalmusik (Instrumental Music)	1%	1%	0	0	1%	0	1%	1%	0	0
11:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	5	3	2	1	3	1	5	5	0	*
11:30	Der RIAS-Antwortmann (The RIAS-Answerman)	16	4	12	3	10	3	12	12	3	1
11:45	Vermiestensuchdienst (Tracing Service)	13	4	9	3	8	2	10	10	3	*
12:00	Mittagskonzert (Mid-Day Concert)	13	4	9	4	6	3	9	9	4	0
12:20	Sendung fuer die Landbevölkerung (Farm Program)	13	6	7	3	7	3	10	10	3	*
12:30	Nachrichten (News)	20	10	10	4	11	6	15	15	4	1
12:40	Berliner Blitzfunk (Berlin "Blitzfunk" (Newsflashes from Berlin))	12	6	6	4	6	2	8	8	3	1
12:45	Programmvorschau, anschliessend Mittagskonzert (Forts.)	10	5	5	3	5	2	7	7	3	*
13:30	Program Preview, followed by Mid-Day Concert (cont'd)	11	5	6	4	5	2	7	7	3	1
13:40	Zur Politik des Tages (On Current Political Events" (Political Commentary))	4	2	2	*	3	1	3	3	1	0
13:45	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: Eine Viertelstunde fuer die freie Wirtschaft (Commercially Sponsored Program: Fifteen Minutes for the Free Economy))	6	3	3	1	3	2	4	4	2	0
14:00	Berliner Kuenstler (Berlin Artists)	1	1	0	0	*	1	1	1	0	0
14:30	Kinderfunk (Children's Program)	3	*	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	0
14:45	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	2	1	1	1	0	1	2	2	0	0

FRIDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
		4%	2%	2%	2%	2%	0		2%	1%	1%
15:30	Fuer junge Menschen (For Young People)	3	1	2	2	1	*		2	1	*
16:00	Teemusik, dazwischen (Music at Tea-Time, in between)	4	2	2	2	2	*		2	2	*
16:30	Nachrichten (News)	*	*	*	0	0	*		*	0	0
17:00	Klaviermusik (Piano Concert)	2	2	*	*	1	1		2	0	*
17:25	Programmvorschau (Program Preview)	1	1	*	0	1	*		1	0	0
17:30	Sabbatfeier (Sabbath Worship)	7	3	4	2	3	2		4	2	1
17:45	Pressespiegel (Press Review)	18	9	9	6	8	4		14	4	0
18:00	Musik zum Feierabend (Music after Work)	13	7	6	4	6	3		10	3	*
18:30	Berlin am Abend (Berlin at Night) (Radio Newsreel))	25	14	11	9	9	7		18	7	0
18:45	Von Tag zu Tag (Eine aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	49	25	24	15	19	15		36	11	2
19:00	("From Day to Day" (VOA)) Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	21	10	11	7	9	5		15	5	1
19:30	Programmvorschau, anschliessend Volkstuemliches Konzert (Program Preview, followed by a Popular Concert)	10	5	5	4	4	2		6	4	*
20:45	Jugend in unserer Zeit oder Tatsachen und Meinungen (Youth in Our Times or Facts and Opinions)	25	15	10	5	13	7		16	8	1
21:00	Nachrichten und Kommentare, Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	20	10	10	7	8	5		15	5	0
21:30	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)										

06356



## FRIDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
21:55	Die Parteien haben das Wort (Political Parties on the Rostrum)	10%	7%	3%	2%	6%	2%		6%	4%	*
22:00	Symphoniekonzert (Symphony Concert)	4	2	2	1	2	1		2	2	*
22:45	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	11	6	5	4	5	2		9	2	0
23:00	"America Calling" (VOA)) Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	9	5	4	3	4	2		7	2	0
23:05	Wir gehen ins Theater (1x) bis 24:00 oder Schallplattensendung, anschliessend ("We go to the Theater" (Once) until 24:00 or Record Program, followed by)	4	2	2	2	1	1		4	*	0
23:30	Literatur oder Gesprach der Zeit (je 1x im Monat (Literature or We talk on Topical Events (Once a Month)))	*	*	*	*	*	0		*	0	0

## FRIDAY

## 2nd Program

18:00	Berlin am Abend (("Berlin at Night" (Radio Newsreel)))	1	1	*	1	*	0		1	*	0
18:15	Von Tag zu Tag (Eine aktuelle Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	3	3	*	1	2	*		3	*	*
18:30	"From Day to Day" (VOA)) Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	3	3	*	1	2	*		2	1	*
19:00	Lieder der Heimat (German Folksongs)	4	3	1	1	2	1		2	2	*
19:15	Die Parteien haben das Wort (Political Parties on the Rostrum)	3	2	1	1	1	1		1	2	*
19:30	Programmorschau, anschliessend Schlager der Woche (Program Preview, followed by "Hits of the Week"))	3	3	*	2	1	*		3	*	*

## FRIDAY (cont'd)

2nd Period

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education	
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b
20:30	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	4%	4%	0	1%	2%	1%		3%	1%
21:00	Sie hoeren Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas)	2	2	0	1	1	0		2	*
21:15	Symphoniekonzert ("America Calling" (VOA))	*	*	0	*	0	0		*	0
22:15	Symphony Concert (Musik bis 23:00 oder Literatur (1x) bis 22:30 oder Wir nehmen Stellung. Kultur- forum (1x) bis 22:45, anschliessend Musik (Music until 23:00 or Literature (Once) until 22:30 or "We Take Stand". Cultural Forum (Once) until 22:45, followed by Music)	*	*	0	*	0	*		*	*
23:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	1	1	0	*	1	0		1	*
23:05	Funkuniversitaet (University On the Air)	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
23:15	"Universitaeten und Studenten". Aus dem in- und auslaendischen Hochschulleben (Universities and Students". (Reports from Universities at Home and Abroad))	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
23:35	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	*	*	0	0	*	0		*	0

## SATURDAY

## 1st Program

Time	Program	TOTAL		Sex		Age				Education		
		2%	1%	Men	Women	10-29	30-49	50 & over	*	a	b	c
00:00	Nachrichten und Kommentar (News and Commentaries)	2%	1%						*	2%	0	0
00:15	Opernkonzert (Opera Concert)	*	*	*	*	*	*	0	0	*	0	0
01:00	Nachrichten und Kommentare (News and Commentaries)	*	*	*	*	*	*	0	0	*	0	0
01:15	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	*	*	*	*	*	*	0	0	*	0	0
02:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	*	0	0	*	*	0	0	0	*	0	0
02:05	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	*	0	0	*	*	0	0	0	*	0	0
03:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
03:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
04:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
04:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0
05:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	5	3	3	2	*	3	2	2	4	1	0
05:05	Fruehmusik (Early Morning Music)	5	3	3	2	*	3	2	2	5	*	0
05:30	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	8	4	4	4	1	5	2	2	7	1	0
05:35	Werktag der Zone (Work Day in the Soviet Zone)	7	4	4	3	*	5	2	2	5	2	*
05:45	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	6	4	4	2	1	4	1	1	5	1	0
06:00	Informationen aus der sowjetischen Besatzungszone (Information about the Soviet Zone)	17	10	7	7	3	8	6	6	13	3	1
06:05	Jugend spricht zur Jugend ("Youth Speaks to Youth")	13	6	7	7	3	7	3	3	10	3	*
06:10	Fruehmusik (Forts.) (Early Morning Music (cont'd))	13	7	6	6	3	7	3	3	10	3	*

SATURDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
06:30	Nachrichten (News)	19%	11%	8%	4%	9%	6%		14%	4%	1%
06:40	"Der Tag beginnt" (The Day Begins" (Short Daily Morning Service))	12	6	6	3	6	3		10	1	1
06:45	Eine Viertelstunde mit Mr. und Mrs. Nelson (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (Mr. and Mrs. Nelson (VOA))	14	7	7	4	6	4		11	2	1
07:00	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: "Sympathien durch Melodien", dazwischen (Commercially Sponsored Program: Interpathien "between Melodien", between)	15	5	10	5	6	2		10	4	1
07:30	Nachrichten (News)	15	6	9	4	7	4		11	4	*
07:40	Jugend spricht zur Jugend (Youth Speaks to Youth)	8	3	5	3	4	1		6	2	*
08:15	Berlin am Morgen (Berlin in the Morning (Radio Newsreel))	9	4	5	3	4	2		7	2	*
08:30	Nachrichten (News)	11	5	6	2	6	3		8	2	1
08:40	Haben Sie 5 Minuten Zeit? (Stimme der Frau) (Can You Spare 5 Minutes?" (Program for Women))	7	3	4	1	4	2		6	1	0
08:45	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	5	3	2	1	2	2		4	1	0
09:30	Nachrichten (News)	5	3	2	1	2	2		3	2	*
09:40	Bunte Welt der Wissenschaft oder Musik oder Jugend im Beruf (Program on Various Scientific Events or Music or Youth in Vocational Life)	3	2	1	*	3	*		3	*	0
10:00	Schulfunk (School Program)	6	4	4	2	5	1		6	2	*
10:45	Klaviersmusik (Piano Concert)	2	2	*	0	2	*		2	*	*

06360

## SATURDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
		7%	4%	3%	2%	4%	1%		7%	*	*
11:00	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	19	6	13	4	11	4		14	4	1
11:30	"Die bunte Palette"; Alltag - heiter betrachtet ("The Bright Palette" (Music and Household Advice))	17	7	10	6	8	3		14	3	0
12:00	Mittagskonzert (Mid-Day Concert)	20	10	10	6	10	4		15	4	1
12:20	Sendung fuer die Landbevoelkerung (Farm Program)	26	13	13	7	13	6		21	4	1
12:30	Nachrichten (News)	16	8	8	6	7	3		13	3	*
12:40	Berliner Blitzfunk (Berlin "Blitzfunk" (Newsflashes from Berlin))	13	7	6	4	6	3		11	2	*
12:45	Programmvorschau, anschliessend Mittagskonzert (Forts.) (Program Preview, followed by Mid-Day Concert (cont'd))	15	8	7	4	8	3		10	4	1
13:30	Nachrichten (News)	10	7	3	3	4	3		8	2	*
13:40	Zur Politik des Tages (On Current Politics (Political Commentary))	9	6	3	2	5	2		7	2	*
13:45	Ausserhalb des RIAS-Programms: Eine Viertel- stunde fuer die freie Wirtschaft (Commercially Sponsored Program: "Fifteen Minutes for the Free Economy")	7	5	2	2	3	2		5	2	0
14:00	Wirtschaftspolitischer Kommentar (Political-Economic Commentary)	10	5	5	3	5	2		8	2	0
14:10	Unterhaltungsmusik (Light Music)	13	5	8	4	7	2		10	3	*
14:30	Maerchenfunk (Children's Program)	17	9	8	5	7	5		15	2	*
15:00	Volksmusik (Folksongs and Dances)	13	8	5	3	6	4		10	3	*
15:30	Mensch und Arbeit (("Man and His Work" (Lectures and Discussions))										





## SATURDAY (cont'd)

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age				Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over		a	b	c
21:30	Unterhaltung oder Unterhaltungsmusik (Entertainment Program or Light Music)	22%	11%	11%	7%	9%	6%		17%	5%	*
22:00	Tanzmusik oder (Dance Music or)	26	14	12	11	11	4		19	7	*
22:10	Die Opernschallplatte (Opera Records)	17	9	8	7	7	3		11	5	1
22:45	Im Sendewagen durch Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (With the Broadcasting-Van Through America (VOA))	26	15	11	9	11	6		19	6	1
23:00	Kurznachrichten (Brief News)	20	12	8	9	8	3		15	5	*
23:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	16	8	8	9	5	2		12	4	*

## SATURDAY

## 2nd Program

18:00	Berlin am Abend (Berlin at Night) (Radio Newsreel))	1	1	0	0	1	0		*	0	1
18:15	Berliner Probleme (Berlin's Problems)	*	*	0	*	0	0		*	0	*
19:30	Nachrichten, Kommentare und Berichte (News, Commentaries and Reports)	3	3	0	*	2	1		1	1	1
19:00	Programmorschau, anschliessend Unterhaltung oder Unterhaltungsmusik oder Tanzmusik (Program Preview, followed by Entertainment Program or Light Music or Dance Music)	4	4	0	2	1	1		2	1	1
19:50	Am letzten Sonnabend im Monat Guenter Neumann und seine Insulaner (At the last Saturday in a Month: Guenter Neumann and His Islanders)	5	5	*	1	3	1		3	1	1
20:30	Nachrichten (News)	4	4	0	1	3	*		3	1	*



SATURDAY (cont'd)  
S. ThadDPromt'd

Time	Program	TOTAL	Sex		Age			Education		
			Men	Women	18-29	30-49	50 & over	a	b	c
20:45	Ueber gesamtdeutsche Fragen, anschliessend Sportnachrichten (We Talk About All-German Problems, followed by Sports News)	4%	4%	0	1%	3%	*	3%	1%	*
21:00	Im Sendewagen durch Amerika (Eine Sendung der Stimme Amerikas) (With the Broadcasting-Van Through America (VOA))	5	5	0	1	3	1	4	1	*
21:15	Unterhaltungsmusik oder Die Opernschallplatte oder Unterhaltung, anschliessend Tanzmusik (Light Music or Opera Records or Entertainment Program, followed by Dance Music)	3	3	0	2	1	0	2	1	0
22:45	Sportnachrichten (Sports News)	1	1	0	1	*	0	1	*	0
23:00	Kursnachrichten (Brief News)	2	2	0	1	1	0	2	*	0
23:05	Tanzmusik (Dance Music)	1	1	0	*	1	0	1	0	0

06364

**CONTINUED ON**

**REEL NUMBER**

6